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The Washington Historical Quarterly

VOLUME III

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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VOL. III No. 1 — OCTOBER, 1908

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARCUS WHITMAN.

The following list of references relating to Marcus Whitman has been prepared for the Reference Department of the University of Washington Library. It is submitted for publication as a means of saving cards and space in the library catalogue, and also with the hope that it may prove useful to students and neighboring librarians.

As to scope, the list covers the following points:

1. Biographical material.
2. The "Macedonian cry" of the Indians as a cause of Whitman's connection with the Oregon Mission.
3. Whitman's Wailatpu station of the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
4. Whitman's ride.
5. The Whitman massacre.
6. The controversy over Whitman's political influence. In connection with this controversy arises the question of the attitude of the United States Government towards Oregon, especially during the years immediately preceding Whitman's visit to the East in 1842-43. Owing to the large amount of material relative to this question, it has been excluded from the list with the exception of some few references to authorities that have been prominently brought into the controversy.

As to arrangement, the references have been given in three groups:

1. Manuscripts.
2. Books.
3. References to periodicals and the publications of societies.

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In the form of entry used, a departure has been made from bibliographic custom. Instead of the usual "see" or "in" analytic entry, in which the name of the book or magazine containing the article and the pages referred to are mentioned last, it has been thought desirable to bring these facts to the front. The list exhibits first of all the places where material bearing upon the subject may be found, after that, facts showing what such material may be. This arrangement makes it possible for a student to select with promptness such articles as he may wish to call for in a library or for the librarian to readily check such items as the library may contain. Notes have been given as to the contents of many of the articles, not at all for the purpose of taking sides in a discussion, but merely to give the student, if possible, some clue to the contents or trend of the article so that he may judge as to whether he wishes to see it or not.

Many of the items have been examined only in the form of clippings and the compiler has been compelled to depend upon a marginally pencilled statement for the name and date of the periodical from which the clipping was made. It thus becomes impossible to vouch for the accuracy of all references here given, but it is hoped that the number of errors may not be large. Many clippings have been discarded from the list because not fully labelled. It is unfortunate that persons who have shown most commendable zeal in clipping and preserving scraps of historic worth, have often failed to properly label their clippings, thus greatly impairing their value for reference, and making them bibliographically worthless.

Few, if any, in the list of American heroes, have been more variously estimated than Marcus Whitman. For twenty years before Professor Bourne called the attention of Eastern historians to the saved Oregon story, the question of Whitman's political influence was being debated in Oregon and Washington. The controversy was bitterly contested, and although it has mainly subsided since the death of the principal participants, the results are still in local evidence. No generally accepted conclusions have been reached, and the topic is by many delicately avoided.

In 1897 a Seattle man suggested the rechristening of Mt. Rainier in honor of the savior of Oregon.[1] In 1905, however, a Seattle school board was unwilling even that the name of Whitman should be associated with a grade school building under its charge.[2] Again, in 1908, in the same city, a movement was

[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, December 8, 1897.
[2] Seattle Daily Times, September 12, 1906.

launched towards placing a statue of Marcus Whitman in the rotunda of the National Capitol at Washington.[1]

Nor has there been greater unanimity of opinion in the country at large. In New England the name of Whitman has been ranked with that of Lincoln.[2] A student from the Middle West held that he was not above the stature of a third or a fourth rate man.[3] Barrows, in the East, made him the central figure in his history of "Oregon," while Garrison from the South in an intensive study of the ten years of "Westward Extension" covering the period of his greatest influence, had room for but two sentences relating to Marcus Whitman.[4]

What are the sources of information in regard to the life and work of this variously estimated man? The greatest single collection of source material is to be found in the correspondence between Whitman and his associates and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This correspondence is now on file in the Archives of the American Board in the Congregational House, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., where "Persons who come with clear certification as to their character and motives are allowed to examine these manuscript letters and documents in the rooms during office hours, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., excepting Saturday afternoons."[5] Unfortunately this correspondence is quite out of the reach of the average student. It ought to be published at the earliest moment for the benefit of all who are interested in the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Another important set of Whitman manuscripts is also located outside of the State. This is the collection of letters written from Oregon by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman to friends and relatives in the East, and contained in the Library of the Oregon State Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. Fortunately these letters have been published, and are easily accessible in public and private libraries.[6]

The most important Whitman collection in the State of Washington is owned by Mr. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle. In addi-

[1] Seattle Daily Times, June 21, 1908, Magazine Section, p. 3.

[2] J. Wilder Fairbank in New Haven Evening Register, February 19, 1901.

[3] Whitten, J. Marshall, in American Historical Association, Annual Report for 1905, v. 1, p. 232.

[4] Barrows, William. Oregon, the Struggle for Possession. Boston, Houghton, 1884. (American Statesmen, Series.)

Garrison, George Pierce. Westward Extension, 1841-1850. N. Y. Harper, 1906. (Hart, A. B., Ed. The American Nation), v. 17, p. 38-39.

[5] Letter to the compiler from Dr. E. E. Strong, Corresponding Secretary, A. B. C. F. M., under date of October 26, 1908.

[6] Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for the years 1891 and 1895 contain copies of most of the Whitman letters owned by the Oregon State Historical Society.

tion to his own collected savings covering many years, he has recently obtained the William I. Marshall collection. Here are to be examined Marshall's letter files containing hundreds of letters written by Whitman's associates and friends, and by the principal parties to the Whitman controversy covering a period of over twenty-five years. Here are also typewritten copies of a great deal of contemporaneous source material. The collection includes twenty-four notebooks containing Marshall's manuscript notes and memoranda; five of these are filled with copies of letters from the file of the American Board in Boston. It includes also five scrap-books of mounted newspaper clippings and many pamphlets and books relating to the early history of Oregon. In addition to all this, there is a bound manuscript copy of Marshall's unpublished history of the "Acquisition of Oregon and the long suppressed evidence about Marcus Whitman." This is a remarkable piece of work covering over 1,300 pages with an exhaustive eighty-eight-page index. Fortunately for students, Mr. Bagley makes his collection available to all serious workers in the field of history. For those who have occasion to use his library, he makes generous provision of a large well lighted study room, affording access to his books and pamphlets relating to the Pacific Northwest and to bound files of early newspapers not elsewhere available in the State.

Possessing the Marshall collection, Mr. Bagley's library is naturally strong upon the negative side of the Whitman controversy. Whitman College Library has the best collection upon the affirmative side. Here is the Myron Eells collection of books, pamphlets, mounted clippings and manuscript material. One of the interesting treasures is a scrap-book of clippings collected by Mr. H. H. Spalding and containing much of the material that he used in the compilation of his "Executive Document, Number 37." Whitman College Library is strong in missionary literature.

The University of Washington Library has a good collection of United States Public Documents, and, barring newspaper accounts, is fairly well supplied with secondary material for the study of Whitman.

The present list of references is by no means complete. but it is hoped that the field has been sufficiently covered to make it of practical use as a bibliographic introduction to the study of Marcus Whitman. If it should be the means of causing some few students to suspend judgment until they have had opportunity to carefully examine the sources of information, it will amply

justify its compilation. There has been so much undignified criticism upon both sides of the controversy and so many misstatements have been made, based upon secondary authorities and long range reminiscences, that it is refreshing to hope that the time has come when no one will have the temerity to rush into print upon this subject without at least some familiarity with the real sources in the case.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

University of Washington Library.
November 12, 1908.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Hutchinson, Arthur Howard. Growth and development of the Whitman myth. 20p.

Mr. Hutchison based his essay upon a careful study of contemporaneous source material, examining the archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston, the Bowditch Papers in the Boston Public Library, and other records in the Libraries of Harvard and Yale Universities. His paper is of particular interest in connection with the work of Edward Gaylord Bourne. Professor Bourne acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hutchinson as follows: "My eyes were first opened to the intricacies and serious origin of the legend by a very careful investigation conducted under my supervision by one of my students, Mr. Arthur Howard Hutchinson. His study of the question convinced him that there was a larger amount of collusion and purpose in developing and disseminating the story than I have thought it best to try to prove in this article." American Historical Review, 6:277, note (January, 1901). Mr. Hutchinson's paper contains a 4-page list of references.

Contained in the private library of Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington.

Marshall, William L. Acquisition of Oregon and the long suppressed evidence about Marcus Whitman. 2v. in 4. c 1905.

Copyrighted manuscript of over 1,300 pages with an 88-page index. An exhaustive work based upon 23 years of study to combat the saved Oregon story. Mr. Marshall completed this shortly before his death in 1906, and was unable to secure its publication. It is typewritten upon letter size paper and well bound. On the whole, it is not so polemical in tone as his published writings which it entirely supercedes. While written to disprove the saved Oregon story, it contains also much material of general interest in the history of the Pacific Northwest. It is especially strong in the study of the attitude and action of the U. S. Government toward the Oregon Territory.

Contained in the private library of Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, Washington.

Parker, Samuel J. Open letter to Rev. John L. Maile, dated Ithaca, February 23, 1897. 24 p.

Contains some excellent biographical material. In regard to the personal appearance of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Dr. Parker says: "There is to me no good imaginary picture of them.... I should recognize the faces of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman if I saw them; but I cannot call their appearance to mind fully; I do Mrs. Whitman's most. Certainly they are not the ideal Methodist clergy faces of Dr. Nixon's book fancies, whatever may be said."

Contained in the Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

Parker, Samuel J. On the Oregon Missions and their consequences with copies of original documents referring especially to the mission of the A. B. of C. for F. M. 267p. Bound copy.

This manuscript was completed August 1, 1892, and donated to Whitman College Library. Has much material relating to Marcus Whitman. Mr. Parker thinks that Whitman's name has quite overshadowed that of his father, who established the Oregon mission of the A. B. C. F. M. He says it should not be called the Whitman Mission, as Whitman was in charge of only one of the four stations composing it.

Contained in the Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

Parmelee, Egbert Nelson. Early missions of old Oregon; a thesis salumitted for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Washington, Seattle, 1905. 112p.

Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. p. 33-72. Takes a middle ground in regard to Whitman's influence. Says that he did not save Oregon or any part of it, but that he did exercise a very real and potent political influence. Bound typewritten copy.

Contained in the University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington.

Pringle, Catherine Sager. The Whitman massacre. 1059.

Mrs. Pringle was one of the Sager girls adopted by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman. She was a grown girl at the time of the massacre. A few years after the massacre she committed her recollections of it to paper. She still has the manuscript and has made it the basis for lectures. It throws much light on conditions at the station before and during the massacre. Professor Meany, of the University of Washington, has procured a typewritten copy of this manuscript which he has bound and placed in his private library. He had two carbon copies made at the same time and these he has bound and presented, the one to Whitman College Library, and the other to the University of Washington Library.

Walker, J. E. Esther Among the Cayuses: a true tale of 1847. 89.

This is softened story of the experiences of Esther Lorinda Bewley, a survivor of the massacre. The manuscript is dated Forest Grove, Oregon, April 28, 1908. It is based upon personal recollections.

Contained in Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

BOOKS.

American Home Missionary Society. Testimony of the workers given at the 58th anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society, Saratoga Springs, June 3-5, 1884. N. Y. A. H. M. S., 1884. p. 1-12.

Address of Rev. Cushing Eells. Refers to massacre and the founding of Whitman Seminary as a monument to memory of Marcus Whitman.

Atkinson, Nancy Bates. Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D. D. Portland. Baltes. 1893. p. 66, 72, 110-111, 147, 175-176.

Atkinson visited the East in 1848 and attended the meeting of the A. B. C. F. M. at Norwich, Conn. He there took the opportunity to try to establish the fact of Dr. Whitman's going to Washington in midwinter to save Oregon to the United States. In Oregon at that time, very few admitted this, but Dr. Atkinson was firm in the belief of the important fact, and urged Dr. Whitman's associate missionaries to speak out to establish it, but there was great opposition to the idea."...p. 147. This book contains reprints of Atkinson's "The American Colonist in Oregon," of Lovejoy's letter to Atkinson, dated February 14, 1876, and of Atkinson's address before the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Atwood, Rev. A. The Conquerors. Cin. Jennings & Graham. *c* 1907. p. 222-234.

"Work of the American Board in Oregon." Speaks highly of Whitman, but says he didn't save Oregon.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. History of Oregon. 2v. San Francisco. History Co. 1886. Use index in v. 2.

A straightforward account based upon early sources. Not much attention is given to Whitman's Eastern trip. In a footnote, v. 1, p. 343, the author says, "Gray wickedly asserts that Whitman went to Washington with a political purpose, instead of going on the business of the mission." This account was written by Mrs. Victor. (For a valuable discussion of the origin and authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications, see paper by Dr. W. A. Morris in the Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly, 4:287-304. Dec. 1903.)

Barrows, William. Oregon, the struggle for possession. Boston. Houghton. 1884. Index.

Much space given to Whitman. An uncritical account containing many errors.

Beeson, John. A plea for the Indians with facts and testimony of the late war in Oregon. N. Y. Beeson. 1857. p. 116-124.

Says Indians were not treacherous, but that the massacre of Whitman followed directly from his medical practice.

"We shall now see how it was that through the lamentable error of this practice [medicine], the good Dr. Whitman lost his life." p. 118.

Blaisdell, Albert F. The story of American history. Boston. Ginn. 1900. p. 342-345.

"How Dr. Whitman saved Oregon to the Union." A rather dramatic presentation for children. Inaccurate.

Blanchet, Rev. Francis Norbet. Historical sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon. Portland. n. pub. 1878. p. 133-183.

Defends the Catholics from charges of having incited the murder of Whitman.

Bliss, Edwin Munsell. Encyclopedia of missions. 2v. N. Y. Funk. 1891. v. 2. p. 472.

One column. Says Whitman saved Oregon.

Bourne, Edward Gaylord. Essays in historical criticism. N. Y. Scribner. 1901. p. 3-100.

"Legend of Marcus Whitman," enlarged from the American Historical Review, 6:276-300 (Jan. 1901). Rejects most of features of the saved Oregon story and attempts to trace its origin and growth.

Bourne, Edward Gaylord and Scott, H. G. The Whitman myth. n. pub. 1905. 15 p.

Reprints from the Morning Oregonian, of March 29, 1903.

British and American joint commission for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound agricultural companies. [Papers.] Washington. Gov't printing office, etc.; Montreal. Lovell. 1865-1869. 14v.

v. 2. Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Co. Montreal. Lovell. 1868. p. 1-213.

Deposition of Dugald Mctavish bearing upon the Whitman massacre.

v. 4. Memorial and argument on the part of the Hudson's Co. Montreal. Lovell. 1868. p. 142-149.

Shows services of the H. B. Co. in helping the American settlers. Analyzes testimony of W. H. Gray and scores him for his bitter partisanship.

v. 8. Evidence for the United States in the matter of the claim of the Hudson's Bay Co. Wash. McGill & Witherow. 1867. p. 75, 150-191.

Cross examination of Jos. L. Meek and testimony of W. H. Gray. Much material relating to the Whitman station. Gray swears that Whitman when in Washington interviewed President Fillmore.

Note. The compiler has been unable to examine a complete set of the above papers. The University of Washington Library contains but 8 out of the 14 volumes as shown in the printed catalog of the Library of Congress.

Brouillet, Rev. J. B. A. Protestantism in Oregon; account of the murder of Dr. Whitman and the ungrateful calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant missionary. N. Y. Cozans. 1853.

A Catholic account of the Whitman massacre which appeared later in a U. S. Public Document (U. S. Congress, 35-1, House Exec. Doc., No. 38).

Brown, J. Henry. Political history of Oregon, Volume 1, Provisional government. Portland. 1892. p. 49-52, 57-58, 79, 87-90, 111-115, 118-122, 148-154, 316-431.

Contains copies of many important Whitman documents and sources, such as the permit issued by Secretary of War Cass to Whitman and Spalding to reside in the Indian country among the Flathead and Nez Perce Indians, dated March 2, 1836, a fac simile of Whitman's signature, Lovejoy's account of his ride with Whitman, and Whitman's letter to the Secretary of War enclosing synopsis of a proposed bill.

Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer. N. Y. Appleton. 1880.

Based on a journal of the immigration of 1843 kept from the rendezvous near Independence, Mo., to Walla Walla. A high estimate is given of Whitman's services. Spalding's attack of the Catholics considered unjust. "Mr. Spalding and myself agreed to discuss the matter through the columns of a small monthly newspaper, [Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist], published by Mr. Griffin, and several numbers were written and published by each of us, but the discovery of the gold mines in California put a stop to the discussion," p. 305.

Burgess, John W[illiam]. The middle period. N. Y. Scribner. 1897. p. 315-316.

Ride. Object stated to be political with political results.

Butterworth, Hezekiah. Log school house on the Columbia. N. Y. Appleton. c 1890. p. 235-236, 244-249.

Whitman said to have secured a delay of treaties at Washington City, thus saving Oregon and Washington to the U. S.

Catlin, George. Manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians, 1832-1839. 2v. Lond. Catlin. 1841. p. 108-109.

Letter No. 48, an oft quoted authority in regard to the "Macedonian cry." Catlin traveled with the two young Nez Perce Indians on their return from St. Louis.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin. American fur trade of the far West. 3v. N. Y. Harper. 1902. v. 2, p. 640-649.

A critical account of the St. Louis delegation of 1832 and of Whitman's return to the East in 1842-43.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin, and Richardson, A. T. Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J. 4v. N. Y. Harper. 1905. v. 1, p. 27-28, 129, 267; v. 2, p. 486.

Holds that Whitman considered the American occupation of Oregon his chief mission.

Clark, Joseph B. Leavening of the nation. N. Y. Baker & Taylor. 1903. p. 194-200.

Saved Oregon story. In a foot note, p. 199, Mowry and Eells are cited as "conservative and accurate."

Clark, S. A. Pioneer days of Oregon history. 2v. Portland. Gill. 1905.

Vol. 2 gives much space to various phases of Whitman's life and mission. Author rejects inaccuracies of men like Barrows and Spalding, but is inclined to give all possible praise to Whitman. Quotes much but without carefully citing references.

Coffin, Charles Carleton. Building of the nation. N. Y. Harper. c1882. p. 371-386.

Dramatic. Macedonian cry. Quart of seed wheat. Walla Walla dinner. Deep laid scheme.

Colvocoresses, George M. Four years in the government exploring expedition commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes. Ed. 2. N. Y. Young. 1853. p. 238.

Oregon mission. Remarkable experience of Walker and Eells in teaching the Indians.

Craighead, J[ames] G[eddes]. Story of Mareus Whitman. Phil. Presbyterian Board. Phil. c1895.

"The incentive of this volume was the wish to vindicate the characters and the work of the early Protestant missionaries in Oregon from aspersions which have been cast upon them."—Author's preface.

Crawford, Medorem. Journal: an account of his trip across the plains with the Oregon pioneers of 1842. (Sources of the history of Oregon, v. 1, no. 1). Eugene. University of Oregon. 1897. p. 19-20.

Visit at the Whitman station. Mention of the threshing machine and grinding mill.

Creegan, C[harles] C., & Goodnow, Mrs. J. A. B. Great missionaries of the church. N. Y. Crowell. 1895. p. 341-366.

Inaccuracies. Webster made to say to Whitman that George Simpson was at that time (March, 1843) present in Washington.

Dellenbaugh, Frederick S. Breaking the wilderness. N. Y. Putnams. 1905. p. 287-290.

Speaks guardedly of Whitman's services to Oregon.

Drake, Samuel Adams. Making the great West, 1512-1883. N. Y. Scribners. 1887. p. 232-233, 239-240.

Says that Whitman went to Washington with news of the Red River invasion, and that he raised an immigrant train of 200 wagons for Oregon.

De Saint-Amant. See Saint-Amant, Pierre Charles de.

Dunn, Jacob Piatt, Jr. Massacres of the mountains. Lond. Low. (N. Y. Harper). 1886. p. 37-42, 93-117.

Inaccurate. Says the British prevented wagons from crossing to Oregon. Walla Walla dinner story.

Dunning, Albert E. Congregationalists in America. N. Y.: Hill. 1894. p. 442-443.

Massacre. States political reasons as the cause of Whitman's ride.

Dye, Eva Emery. McLoughlin and old Oregon. Chic. McClurg. 1900.

Interweaves much Whitman fact and fiction.

Dye, Eva Emery. Stories of Oregon. San Francisco. Whitaker. 1900. p. 61-99.

No extravagant claims for Whitman. A rather guarded account.

Edwards, Jonathan. Marcus Whitman, M. D., the pathfinder of the Pacific Northwest....1891. Spokane. Union Printing Co.

Preface states that the pamphlet was issued in the interests of Whitman College. Based upon lectures. Much space given to developing the opposition of the H. B. Co. to a wagon road.

Eells, Myron. Father Eells...a biography of Rev. Cushing Eells, D. D. Boston. Congregational S. S. and Pub. Soc. c1894. Index.

Claims that the single object that Whitman had in view in making his famous ride was to save Oregon to the U. S.

Eells, Myron. The hand of God in the history of the Pacific Coast. 15p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.

Address at Whitman College, June 1, 1888. Discusses the missionary as an "entering wedge." Gives the H. B. Co. credit for caring for the missionaries.

Eells, M[yron]. History of the Congregational Association of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. Phil. Am. S. S. Union. c1882. p. 27-32, 162-175.

Whitman saved Oregon story.

Eells, Myron. History of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington Teritory, 1848-1880. Portland. Himes. 1881. p. 9-12.

Story of Whitman's ride.

Eells, Myron. Memorial of Mrs. Mary R. Walker. 12p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.

Sermon at the funeral of Mrs. Walker, Forest Grove, Dec. 7, 1877. References to the Whitman station and massacre.

Eells, Myron. Marcus Whitman, M. D.; proofs of his work in saving Oregon to the U. S. and in promoting the immigration of 1843. 34p. Portland, Himes. 1883.

Eells was one of the ablest defenders of the saved Oregon story. This pamphlet contains copies of many letters written to him in corroboration of his views.

Eells, Myron. Reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman legend." 122p. Walla Walla, Statesman Pub. Co. 1902.

Reprint from Whitman College Quarterly, v. 4, no. 3.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 25v. N. Y. Scribners. 1884. v. 17, p. 825.

Article by G. H. Atkinson. Gives Whitman credit of at least attempting to save Oregon. Says his ride of 1842-43 was made to remove the bar on immigration.

Evans, Elwood. Washington Territory; address delivered at the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, Sept. 1876. Olympia (Wash.), Bagley. 1877. p. 12-14.

Whitman massacre attributed to "Indian jealousy, superstition and hate."

Evans, Elwood, editor. History of the Pacific Northwest. 2v. Portland, North Pacific History Co. 1889. v. 1, p. 190-207, v. 2, p. 629-630, and elsewhere.

Takes a conservative view of Whitman's political influence.

Fagan, David D. History of Benton County, Oregon. Portland, Walling. 1885. p. 257-265.

Condemns Gray's "fiction" in regard to Whitman.

Farnham, Charles H. History of the descendants of John Whitman, of Weymouth, Mass. New Haven. 1889. p. 237-239.

Perrin B. Whitman's version of the saved Oregon story.

Farnham, Thomas J. Travels in the great western prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains. 2v. Lond. Bentley. 1843. v. 2, p. 131-149.

Farnham arrived at the mission Sept. 23, 1839, and remained about one week. He tells about the farm, the mill, and the mission work. One of the best contemporaneous accounts. Contained also in the Tribune edition of the same book. N. Y. Greeley & McElrath. 1843. p. 79-83.

Flohr, Michael. Did Whitman save Oregon? n. p. n. publ. n. d.
In this unpaged pamphlet issued by St. Patrick's Church, Walla Walla, Wash., is contained an account of Father Flohr's lecture in which he discredits the saved Oregon story.

Foster, John W. Century of American diplomacy. Boston, Houghton, 1901. p. 305-306.
Follows Barrow's Oregon.

Fremont, John C. Report of the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the years 1843-44. Ed. 1. Wash. Gales & Seaton, 1845. p. 182-183.
Fremont was at the Whitman station, Oct. 23, 1843, for about one hour.

Garrison, George Pierce. Westward extension, 1841-1850. N. Y. Harper, 1906 (Hart, A. B. ed. The American Nation, v. 17). p. 38-39.
Two sentences only, as follows: "In 1836 two Presbyterian missions were founded, one at Waiilatpu, on the Walla Walla River, and one on Lapwai Creek near its confluence with Clearwater River. The group of mission workers in this quarter included Rev. Samuel Parker, Rev. H. H. Spalding, a secular assistant named William H. Gray, and a physician, Marcus Whitman, who carried the first wagon over the divide of the Rockies, and whom a most interesting but wholly unfounded myth has credited with saving Oregon from the English."

Gilbert, Frank T. Historic sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory, and Umatilla County, Oregon. Portland, Walling. 1882. p. 63-64, 68-70, 85-86, 96-97, 113-131.
Based on Gray.

Gray, W[illiam] H[enry]. History of Oregon, 1792-1849. Portland, Harris. 1870. Use table of contents.
A large part of the book is devoted to the Whitman massacre. Inaccurate. Should be used with extreme caution. Gray's main purpose seems to have been to throw all possible censure upon the Catholics and the Hudson Bay Co.

Greenhow, Robert. History of Oregon and California. Lond. Murray. 1844. p. 501.
Good material on the Oregon question. Bare mention of Whitman. Printing press at the mission noticed.

Griffis, William Elliott. The romance of conquest. Boston. Wilde. 1899. p. 171-173.
The saved Oregon story. Some inaccuracies due, perhaps, to careless proof reading, e. g. "Webster-Ashburton treaty 1846."

Grover, La Fayette. Oregon archives. Salem. Bush. 1853. p. 218-219, 321-325.

Contains copy of a letter from Robert Greenham [Greenhow], dated Washington City, Sept. 2, 1846, sending six copies of his "History of Oregon and California" with the request that one copy be presented "to my friend, Dr. Whitman, of Walla Walla." Copies are given of several important documents bearing upon the massacre, including one from James Douglass to George Aberdeen, dated Fort Vancouver, Dec. 7, 1847, officially announcing the catastrophe.

Guerber, H A ——— Story of the great republic. N. Y. American Book Co. c1896. p. 113-117.

Macedonian cry. Says nothing as to the real purpose of Whitman's ride.

Hanna, [Joseph] A. Dr. Whitman and his ride to save Oregon. 8p. [Los Angeles? 1903?]

Saved Oregon story with the Walla Walla dinner and the announcement of the Red River immigration as the inciting cause of the ride.

Harper and Brothers. Harper's encyclopedia of United States history. 10v. N. Y. Harper. c1901. v. 10, p. 349.

Brief note saying that Whitman "in all probability kept Oregon from falling into the hands of the British."

Hastings, Langsford W. New description of Oregon and California. Cinn. Ruilson. 1857. c1849. p. 21, 54, 60.

Hastings stayed at the mission over Sunday, got provisions, etc. Describes the mission and says that the burning of the mill while Whitman was in the East was accidental.

Hawthorne, Julian, editor. History of Washington. 2v. N. Y. Am. Hist. Pub. Co. 1893. v. 1, p. 366-370; v. 2, p. 105-132.

Biography in v. 1. Whitman massacre in v. 2, written by G. D. Brewerton. Blames Catholics for the massacre. Gives deposition of Miss Bewley.

Hines, Gustavus. Oregon, its history, condition and prospects. Buffalo. Derby. 1851. p. 164-185, 411-412.

Hines arrived at the mission May 8, 1843. Received by Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Geiger. Whitman away on a tour to the U. S. Gives a full account of the meeting of the Indians as called by E. White, Indian Agent.

Hines, H. K. Illustrated history of the State of Washington. Chic. Lewis. 1893. p. 107-112.

Guarded account.

Hines, H. K. Missionary history of the Pacific Northwest. Portland. Hines. c1899. p. 446-486.

American Board Missions. Says the Wilkes report influenced the board to make the destructive order.

Holman, Frederick V. Dr. John McLoughlin, the father of Oregon. Cleveland. Clark. 1907. p. 53-54, 73-74, 167, 280.
"History says Dr. Whitman was the man who saved Oregon to the U. S., but that is not true. It was Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company," p. 280.

Holst, Herman Eduard, von. Constitutional and political history of the United States. Tr. Chic. Callaghan. 1881-1892. v. 3, p. 51-52.
"Whitman's influence with President Tyler is asserted with some hesitation and with a citation to Gray.

Howe, Henry. Historical recollections of the great West. Cinn. Howe. 1853. p. 382.
Speaks highly of Whitman's hospitality to immigrants. No mention of political services.

Hudson's Bay Company versus United States, see British and American Joint Commission.

Johnson, Overton and Winter, William H. Route across the Rocky Mountains, with a description of Oregon and California. Lafayette, (Ind.). Semans. 1846.
Reprinted in Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly. For brief references to Whitman, see 7:56 (March, 1906) and 7:150 (June, 1906).

Johnson, Sidonia V. Short history of Oregon. Chic. McClurg. 1904. p. 194-212, 234-240, 249-250.
Story of Whitman told in a fair and careful way with attempt to strike the truth.

Johnson, Theodore T. California and Oregon. Phil. Claxton. 1851. p. 183-184.
Whitman massacre.

Kane, Paul. Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America. Lond. Longmans. 1859. p. 378-384, 317-322.
Kane was at the mission from July 18 to July 22, 1847. Sent Whitman a warning of danger from the Indians. (See entry for Sept. 21). Later hears of the massacre.

Kip, Lawrence. Army life on the Pacific. N. Y. Redfield. 1859. p. 324-325.
Kip heard reminiscences of Whitman at Walla Walla from the Cayuse, "Cutmouth John."

Lang H[erbert] O. ... History of the Willamette Valley. Portland. Himes and Lang. 1885. p. 260-273, and elsewhere.
Much on Whitman. Well indexed. Rejects cod fishery episode and the Walla Walla dinner story. Says the Whitman "romance" was first given to the world in the "History of Oregon," written by W. H. Gray, a man "incompetent to form an unprejudiced opinion" (p. 267). Gives Whitman credit for demonstrating a practical emigrant route to Oregon.

Laurie, Thomas. The Ely volume, or contributions of our foreign missions to science and human well being. Bost. A. B. C. fr. 3l. c1881. p. 11, 13-15.

Some interesting variations to the usual saved Oregon story.

Laurie, Thomas. The Whitman controversy. 24p. Astoria (Ore.). Snyder. 1896.

"Published in the Missionary Herald, Boston, February and September, 1885."

Lee, D. and Frost, J. H. Ten years in Oregon. N. Y. Collard. 1844. p. 109-113, 211-215, 257-259.

Mr. Lee says that the "Macedonian cry" account as published in the "Advocate" is "high wrought" and "incorrect." Says that Dr. Whitman visited the U. S. to obtain further assistance in order to strengthen the efforts that had already been made. The Geigers and Littlejohns to spend the year of Whitman's absence with Mrs. Whitman.

Lenox, Edward Henry. Overland to Oregon...in 1843. Oakland (Cal.). Dowdle Press. 1904. p. 8, 17, 33, 49, 54, 60-61.

Recollections of Marcus Whitman. Says that Whitman was hired to accompany the emigration of 1843.

Leonard, Zenas. Adventures of Zenas Leonard, fur trader and trapper, 1831-36. Cleveland. Burrows. 1904. p. 35.

Mentions incident of Whitman's extracting an arrow from Capt. Bridger's back.

Lyman, H[orace] Sumner. History of Oregon. 4v. N. Y. North Pacific Publishing Society. 1903. v. 3, use index; v. 4, p. 382-302.

Lyman closes the work with an estimate of Whitman, quoting Bourne together with defenders of the saved Oregon story, but not expressing his own opinion.

Lyman, H[orace] Sumner. Milleposts in the development of Oregon. (Bulletin of the University of Oregon, Historical Series, v. 1, no. 1). Eugene. 1898. p. 4-6.

Whitman's political influence discussed.

Lyman, W D . History of Walla Walla County, State of Washington. n. p. Lever. 1901. p. 40-55.

Missions of Walla Walla and the Whitman massacre. Claims that the last word has been said on the question of why Whitman went East, and that his aim was political. Refers to Nixon as authority.

McBeth, Kate C. The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark. N. Y. Revell. c1908. p. 27-74.

Saved Oregon story based upon Gray. Considerable attention given to the Macedonian cry.

McMaster, John Bach. History of the people of the United States. v. 1-6. N. Y. Appleton. 1892-1906. v. 6, p. 440-452.

Establishing of the Walla tpu mission. The narrative only comes down to 1841, and hence there is no discussion of the ride of 1842-1843.

McMaster, John Bach. School history of the United States. N. Y. American Book Co. c1897. p. 331.

One sentence regarding Whitman. "Still later in the thirties went Marcus Whitman and his party."

McMaster, John Bach. With the Fathers. N. Y. Appleton. c1896. p. 305-310.

Saved Oregon story, including the Walla Walla dinner and the announcement of the Red River immigration.

Marshall, T[homas], W[illiam] M. Christian missions. 2v. Lond. Longmans. 1863. v. 2, p. 266-267.

Massacre. Spalding and the Catholics. Kane quoted.

Marshall, William I. History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon story. Chic. Blakely. 1904.

Three essays, as follows:

1. Strange treatment of original sources. A review of Mowry's "Marcus Whitman" published in the Daily Oregonian, Sept. 3, 1902. p. 9-43.
2. Why his search? for the truth of history was a failure. Review of Myron Eells' "Reply to Professor Bourne," p. 45-92.
3. Marcus Whitman: a discussion of Professor Bourne's paper. (From the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, v. 1, p. 219-236).

Marshall has done thorough work and calls attention to many inaccuracies in the extravagant claims that have been made about Whitman. His attitude is belligerent.

Marshall, William I. The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story. 36p. Chic. Blakely. 1905.

Controverts statements which have been made in 1904 to the effect that "The Hudson's Bay Company was Whitman's bitterest enemy, and sought in every way to forestall his plans" and that their records "give positive evidence that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the Union."

Miles, Nelson A[ppleton]. Personal recollections. Chic. Werner. 1897. p. 384-396.

"A chapter out of early history." Saved Oregon story. Not based on personal recollections.

Mission life among the Indians of Oregon. N. Y. Carlton and Porter. c1864. p. 56-58.

Mention of Whitman and the incident of the adoption of the Sager children.

Montgomery, D. H. Leading facts of American history. Bost. Ginn. 1902. p. 263-265.
Credits Whitman with perhaps saving Oregon. Says he went East with a double purpose.

Morris, Charles. Primary history of the United States. Phil. Lippincott. c1899. p. 210-215.
The English boast. Whitman in saddle in a day's time. How Whitman and consequently the whole Oregon country was saved to the Union by the instinct of a mule.

Mowry, William A[ugustus]. Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon. N. Y. Silver. 1901.
Attempts to retain so far as possible the saved Oregon story. Some valuable documents are printed.

Mowry William A[ugustus]. Territorial growth of the United States. N. Y. Silver. 1902. p. 161.
Brief statement of Whitman's services to the U. S.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and Arthur May. American heroes and heroism. N. Y. Silver. 1903. p. 176-180.
Father Eells and Whitman College. Masssacre, p. 176.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and A[rthur] M[ay]. First steps in the history of our country. N. Y. Silver. 1900. p. 228-234.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and Blanche S. American pioneers. N. Y. Silver. 1905. p. 201-202.
Story of Lovejoy, his arrival at the Whitman station, and his return to the East with Whitman on the famous ride.

Nixon, Oliver W. How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon. Chic. Star Pub. Co. c1895.
Dramatic.

Nixon, Oliver W. Whitman's ride through savage lands. n. p. Winona Pub. Co. 1905.
Saved Oregon story. Much attention to the Macedonian cry.

Pacific Railway Report, see U. S. Congress 36-1, House Executive Document, no. 56.

Palladino, L. B. Indian and white in the Northwest. Baltimore. Murphy. 1894. p. 9-18.
Flathead delegation to St. Louis in 1831. Says the Flatheads insisted on having Catholic missionaries. Refers to Whitman and Spalding.

Parker, Henry W. How Oregon was saved to the United States, or facts about Marcus Whitman. n. pub. 1901. 109.
Same in Homiletic Review, July, 1901.

Palmer, Joel. Journal of travels over the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River.——, 1845-1846. Cinn. James. 1847. p. 55, 57-58, 123-132, 165-177.

A valuable source. Appendix contains letter of Rev. H. H. Spalding to Joel Palmer, dated Apr. 7, 1846. This letter was written at Mr. Palmer's request for use in his book. It was apparently given to Dr. Whitman for his approval, and contains four notes signed "M. W." Tells about the Mission and the Oregon country.

This rare volume has been reprinted in Thwaites, Editor. Early western travels, v. 30. The Whitman references are p. 108, 112-114, 227-242, and 281-291.

Parker, Samuel. Journal of an exploring tour beyond the Rocky Mountains under the direction of the A. B. C. F. M., 1835-36-37. Ithaca. Published by the author. 1838.

One of the important sources for the founding of the Oregon Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Parker finds Whitman at St. Louis and they travel together to the Green River, where Whitman turns back to secure associates. Greenhow criticised Parker for his discursiveness, saying that his narrative "would have been more valuable had the worthy and intelligent author confined himself to accounts of what he himself experienced, and not wandered as he has done, into the regions of history, diplomacy, and cosmogony." (Greenhow, Oregon and California, p. 361).

Parrish, Randall. The great plains. Chic. McClurg. 1907.

Asserts that the object of Whitman's ride was to bear to Washington the news of British encroachment on the Columbia. p. 143.

Roberts, William P. "The wheels of destiny." n. p. Beacon Ethical Union. c1901. p. 9-13.

A pro-Whitman pamphlet.

Robertson, James Rood. Development of civil government in Oregon. Forest Grove (Ore.). Thompson. 1899. p. 29-31.

A careful statement of Whitman's political influence.

Same article contained in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, v. 1, no. 1 (March, 1900), see p. 41-44.

Rollins, Alice Wellington. Whitman's ride, by a lady of Brooklyn (name unknown). 8p. Priland. Barnegardt and Palmer. n. d.

In imitation of the ride of Paul Revere. The saved Oregon story.

This poem is contained also in Nixon's How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon, p. 180-185, and Craighead's Story of Marcus Whitman, p. 205-211. It is said to have made its first appearance in the New York Independent for March 19, 1885.

Ross, Ed. C., Eells, M., and Gray, W. H. The Whitman controversy, in reply to Mrs. F. F. Victor and Elwood Evans, whose contributions appeared in the Oregonian of Nov. 7 and Dec. 26, 1884. 70p. Portland. Himes. 1885.
A defense of the saved Oregon story.

Saint-Amant, [Pierre Charles] de. Voyages en Californie, 1851-52. Paris. Maison. 1854. p. 226-227.
States that "The Reverend Mr. Whitman, an American Baptist missionary," had been an active agent of American interests. Says massacre was caused by Indian superstition. Translated in Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss, v. 2, p. 441.

Schafer, Joseph. History of the Pacific Northwest. N. Y. Macm. 1905. Use Index.
An excellent statement of the main facts of Whitman's career. Controverted points in regard to his political influence are avoided.

Schurz, Carl. Henry Clay. 2v. Bost. Houghton. 1887. v. 2, p. 278.
Whitman is credited with giving the government valuable information, and with leading the emigration of 1843.

Scudder, Rev. Doremus. A national hero. Sermon at first Congregational Church, Woburn, Mass., Sunday, November 28, 1847. 19p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.
Text: Genesis, 6:4, "There were giants in the earth in those days." Follows Mowry.

Scudder, Horace S. History of the United States of America, 1894. p. 348-350.

Shea, John Gilmary. History of the Catholic missions among the Indian tribes of the United States, 1529-1854. N. Y. Kenedy. 1854. p. 478.
Mention of the Whitman massacre.

Shelton, Don O. Heroes of the cross. Cinn. Jennings. 1904. p. 133-172.
Saved Oregon story. Apparently based on Mowry and Mrs. Barrett in the Sunday School Times of Jan. 10, 1903.

Simpson, George. Narrative of a journey around the world, during the years 1841 and 1842. 2v. Lond. Colburn. 1847. p. 162.
Derogatory remarks of the missionaries to the Indians. Speaks of the good feeling between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Co., as contrasted with Dr. Whitman and the Cayuses, and says that Dr. Whitman lacked tact.

Smalley, Eugene V. History of the Northern Pacific Railway. N. Y. Putnam's. 1883. p. 46-50.
Chapter V, "Marcus Whitman's heroic ride." Inaccuracies.

Smet, P[ierre] J [ean] de. Oregon missions and travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46. N. Y. Dunigan, 1847. p. 30.
Refers to the Presbyterian post at Walla Walla. Catholic plans for evangelizing Oregon. DeSmet to go to Europe.

Spalding, Henry Harmon. Executive Document No. 37, see U. S. Congress 41-3. Senate Executive Document, No. 37, Serial No. 1440.

Sparks, Edwin Erle. Expansion of the American people. Chic. Scott. 1900. p. 306-307.
Saved Oregon story, qualified acceptance.

Spokesman-Review, publ. A race for empire and other true tales of the Northwest. 48p. Spokesman-Review, Spokane (Wash.). 1896. p. 5-9.
Saved Oregon story.

Steel, W[illiam] G . The mountains of Oregon. Portland, David Steel. 1900. p. 108.
Quotes Barrow's Oregon to the effect that Whitman's ride was "to prevent our government from abandoning Oregon."

Stevens, Isaac I. Pacific Railway Report, see U. S. Congress, 36-1. House Executive Document, No. 56.

Taylor, J M History and government of Washington. St. Louis. Becktold. 1898. p. 37, 77-78.
Credits Whitman with a role "to save Oregon for the United States."

Thomas, A[llen] C. Elementary history of the United States. Bost. Heath. 1901. p. 250-258.
Saved Oregon story with rather full details. Gives a note saying that the question is now under discussion.

Thornton, J. Quinn. Oregon and California in 1848. 2v. N. Y. Harper. 1849. v. 2, p. 22-23.
Refers to Whitman's station. Says the emigrants (in contradistinction to the missionaries) of 1843 were the first who proceeded west of Fort Hall with wagons.
Note in regard to Whitman with mention of the controversy, but no opinion expressed.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold. Rocky Mountain exploration. N. Y. Appleton. 1905. p. 223-228.
Bare mention of Whitman.

Townsend, John K. Narrative of a journey across the Rocky Mountains..... Phila. Perkins. 1839. p. 249.
Brief mention of Whitman.

Tyler, Lyon G[ardiner]. Letters and times of the Tylers. 3v.
v. 1. Richmond, Va. Whittet. 1884.
v. 2. Richmond, Va. Whittet. 1885.
v. 3. Williamsburg, Va. n. publ. 1896.
v. 2, p. 438-439, 607; v. 3, p. 57.
Speaks of Whitman's eastern visit. Says that President Tyler received Whitman more favorably than Webster.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. Rise of the new West. N. Y. Harper. 1906. (Hart, A. B. ed. The American Nation, v. 14). p. 124.

Brief mention of the coming of Whitman and party in 1836.

U. S. Congress, 21-2, Senate Executive Document, No. 39, Serial No. 181. Pilcher's report.

Quoted by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, v. 1, p. 80-90, in regard to Rocky Mountains.

U. S. Congress, 25-2, Senate Document, No. 24, Serial No. 324. Slacum's memorial of 31 pages calling attention to the great value of the Oregon country.

This document was also reprinted in Cushing's report, U. S. Congress, House Report, No. 101, Serial No. 351.

U. S. Congress, 25-2, House Executive Document, No. 42, Serial No. 322. Messages from President Van Buren transmitting a letter from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, dated December 23, 1837.

In regard to the possession of the U. S. Territory on the Columbia River. Refers to the joint occupation clause.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, Senate Document, No. 237, Serial No. 340. Petition of a number of citizens of Missouri praying a grant of land in the Oregon Territory, to enable them to form a settlement in said Territory, dated St. Charles, Mo., Jan. 31, 1839.

Signed by about 80 people. The settlement was to be made near the head of navigation of the Columbia.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, Senate Document, No. 266, Serial No. 341. Petition of a number of citizens of Michigan, praying for a donation of land to emigrants and settlers in the Oregon Territory, dated Jan. 20, 1839.

Request for a donation of 1,000 acres of land for single men and 2,000 acres for married men. Suggests that the settlement of this country would insure it against foreign invasion.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, House Report, No. 101, Serial No. 351. Cushing's report on the Territory of Oregon, January 4, 1839. 51-619.

Contains much information about Oregon. One of the most important of the early reports based on Kelley, Wyeth, Slacum, Jason Lee, and others. Emphasizes the need of colonization and control of Oregon by the U. S.

U. S. Congress, 26-1, Senate Document, No. 61, Serial No. 356. Resolution of the Illinois Legislature calling for a speedy settlement of the Oregon boundary and its occupation by the government, January 16, 1840.

U. S. Congress, 26-1, Senate Document, No. 174, Serial No. 357. Edition 1 of Greenhow's History of Oregon, Feb. 12, 1840. p. 194-195.

In regar dto the ease of a wagon road to Oregon. Gives account of the first expedition to the Rocky Mountains with wagons in 1820.

U. S. Congress, 27-2, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 401. Report of the Secretary of War (Spencer), December, 1841.

"It is indispensable that a chain of posts should be established extending from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia." Commended by President Tyler in his message to Congress for that year, p. 14.

U. S. Congress, 27-3, Senate Document, No. 102, Serial No. 415. Message of President Tyler dated January 23, 1843, transmitting to the Senate a letter from Daniel Webster in regard to grants of land in Oregon said to have been made by the British Government to the Hudson's Bay Co.

The matter had been taken up with the English Government and assurance given that no such grants had been made.

U. S. Congress, 27-3, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 418. Reports of Secretary of War for 1842.

Secretary Spencer repeats his request for a chain of military posts from Council Bluffs to the Columbia, p. 186. Calls for maintaining our right to title, for colonization, etc. Approved by the President in his Message, p. 9.

U. S. Congress, 27-3, House Report, No. 157, Serial No. 427. Report of select committee to whom various memorials in regard to the settlement of Oregon had been referred, Feb. 9, 1843.

Favors settlement. Considers our title good. Speaks of the value of the country.

U. S. Congress, 28-1, Senate Executive Document, No. 105, Serial No. 433. Petition, dated March 25, 1843, complaining against Hudson's Bay Co.

Signed by 65 persons headed by Robert Shortess. See Evans, Elwood. History of the Northwest Coast, v. 1, p. 246-247.

U. S. Congress, 30-1, Senate Executive Document, No. 8, Serial No. 472. Petition, dated June 28, 1845, asking for territorial government.

In refutation of the Shortess petition, it is here stated that the British have been "most friendly, liberal, and philanthropic."

U. S. Congress, 30-1, House Miscellaneous Report, No. 20, Serial No. 523. Howison's Report, 1846. p. 25-26.

Speaks of Mr. Spalding and of the various missions.

U. S. Congress, 30-1, House Miscellaneous Aeport, No. 98, Serial No. 523. Memorial of the legislative assembly of Oregon Territory relative to their present situation and wants, dated January 25, 1848.

This message announcing the Whitman massacre was borne to Congress by Joseph L. Meek. It is an extremely important Whitman source. Copies of twelve letters relating to the massacre are here printed, also Ogden's Address to the Indian Chiefs together with their replies stating causes of the massacre. Lists are given of those at Whitman's station at the time of the massacre, of those who were killed, and of the supplies furnished in ransom of the captives

U. S. Congress, 32-1, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 636. p. 472-481, Report of Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, 1851.

Spalding said to be an incompetent Indian Agent, p. 472. Visit to the site of Whitman's station, p. 481.

U. S. Congress, 35-1, House Executive Document, No. 38, Serial No. 956. Bronillet's Protestantism in Oregon. Contained in the Report of J. Ross Brown on the affairs of the Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, 1858, p. 13-66.

Gives a Catholic version of the causes of the Whitman massacre. Appeared also in the government documents of Congress, 35-1, as Senate Executive Document, No. 40, Serial No. 928, but it is usually cited as "Executive Document, No. 38."

U. S. Congress, 36-1, House Executive Document, No. 66, Part 1, Serial No. 1,054. Stevens' Pacific Railway Report. p. 152-153.

A visit to the site of Whitman's station. The mission house was occupied by Bumford and Brooke. Massacre said to have been caused by the false reports of a troublesome half-breed.

U. S. Congress, 41-3, Senate Executive Document, No. 37, Serial No. 1440. Spalding's compilation entitled, "Early labors of missionaries in Oregon." 1871. 81pp.

Written as an antidote to Brouillet. Compiled from various sources, especially from some accounts many of which were written by Mr. Spalding. Clippings of many of these newspaper articles are in a scrapbook made by Mrs. Spalding and now in possession of Whitman College Library. Whitman is the central figure in this document, which unfortunately abounds in inaccuracies and misstatements. On p. 42, it is stated that the victims of the massacre were 20, instead of 14 of the earlier accounts, also that Mrs. Spalding was one of the number, whereas it is known that she was over a hundred miles distant at the time, and did not die until 1851, four years after the massacre.

This document was ordered reprinted on January 15, 1903, but seems not to have been again bound up in the U. S. Depository set of serially numbered volumes.

U. S. Congress, 50-2, House Executive Document, No. 548, Serial No. 4769, see American Historical Association. Annual report for 1900.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 31-2, v. 23, appx. p. 39. Speech of S. R. Thurston, Dec. 26, 1850, on land titles in Oregon City.
Says the Hudson's Bay Co. was responsible for the Whitman massacre.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 32-1, v. 38, p. 776. (March 31, 1869). Joseph Lane's Remarks on the people of Oregon.
Refers to Whitman as a noble missionary who had been murdered by the Indians, but says nothing of his political influence.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 42-2, Pt. 1, p. 157, (December 15, 1871). Mr. Mercur presents resolutions and a petition calling for a fair and adequate relief on behalf of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.
A clipping of this brief notice is contained in the Spalding scrapbook.

U. S. Congressional Record, 60-1, v. 42, p. 1760 (February 10, 1908). Speech of Samuel H. Piles on the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.
Brief mention of Whitman in connection with immigration of 1843. Says Oregon was saved by the pioneers.

U. S.—Education, Bureau of. Annual Report for 1903. v. 2, p. 1331-1332.
Sir. D. K. Pearsons in telling of his benefactions to Whitman College gives the story of Whitman's ride.

Van Dusen, W. W. Blazing the way. Cinn. Jennings. [1905.] p. 32-35.
Avoids controverted points in regard to Whitman.

Van Tramp, John. Prairie and Rocky Mountain adventures, or life in the West. Columbus (Ohio). Segner. 1867. p. 143-145.
Whitman mission. Kindness and aid of the H. B. Co. Information drawn from Spalding's account in the Missionary Herald for October, 1839.

Victor, Frances Fuller. All over Oregon and Washington. San Francisco. Carmany. 1872. p. 107-109.
Speaks of the mission site. Nothing upon controverted points.

Victor, Frances Fuller. Early Indian wars of Oregon. Salem (Ore.). Baker. 1894. See index.
Story of the ride, p. 32-42. Denies that Whitman exercised any great political influence. Mrs. Victor has been much criticised, especially by Myron Eells, for her statements in this book.

Victor, Frances Fuller. River of the West. Hartford. Columbian Book Co. c1869. p. 186-188, 201-213, 280, 308-315, 399-427.

In this book Mrs. Victor sanctioned the saved Oregon story which she afterwards denied. Tells the codfishery incident. Illustration of the massacre, p. 411.

Von Holst, see Holst, Herman Eduard, von.

Walker, Williston. History of the Congregational churches in the United States. N. Y. Scribners. 1900. c1894. p. 377-378.

Says Whitman saved Oregon.

Walling, A. G. History of southern Oregon. Portland. Walling. 1884. p. 147-150.

Whitman's ride to save Oregon based on the arrival of the Red River emigrants.

Wells, Harry L. Popular history of Oregon. Steele. Portland. 1880. p. 260-275.

Saved Oregon story.

White, Dr. E[lijah] and Lady. Ten years in Oregon. Compiled by Miss A. J. Allen, Ithica. Mack, Andruss & Co. 1848. p. 117-118, 166, 174-212, 215-216.

Considerable information in regard to the mission. Several anecdotes, mention of the printing press, etc.

White, James T. & Co. National cyclopedia of American biography. N. Y. White. 1901. v. 11, p. 212.

Says the story of Whitman's journey as given by Gray, Barrows, Nixon, and others is fictitious.

Whitman College. Summer announcement for 1895. Walla Walla. Walla Walla Union Print. 1895. p. 22.

Contains a selection from the inaugural address of President Penrose, delivered June 11, 1895, in which he says: "The nation will never forget, when the stars and stripes are waving before its eyes, that three of the stars of that flag are due to Marcus Whitman, and the red of that flag may well stand for the outpoured blood with which he baptized this country, in the name of God and of the United States."

Whitman's grave and monument. n. p. n. publ. n. d. 16p.

A pamphlet signed by W. Barrows, D. D., Financial Agent, Reading, Mass., 1887.

Says that Whitman secured Oregon, p. 6.

Whitson, John H. A courier of empire; a story of Marcus Whitman's ride to save Oregon. 2150. Rost. Wilde. 1904.

A work of fiction based upon and covering the entire period of Whitman's life in Oregon.

Wilkes, Charles. Narrative of the U. S. exploring expedition during the years 1838-1842. 5v. and atlas. Phila. Lea & Blanchard. 1845. v. 4, p. 393, 395-396.

The Wilkes party were at Whitman's station in 1841 and a short but interesting account of the mission is here given. It is stated that the Indians learned to irrigate their crops from Dr. Whitman and that they tried to use his trenches to save making their own.

Wilkes, George. History of Oregon, geographical and political. N. Y. Gould. 1845. p. 76, 88-89.

Under date of Oct. 8 [1843], tells of the arrival at the Whitman station of the emigration of 1843. In spite of the fact that Wilkes had travelled in the same party with Whitman, he calls his station a "Methodist mission establishment," and says that it should look to 1843.

Wilson, James Grant, and Fiske, John. Appleton's cyclopedia of American biography. N. Y. Appleton. 1889. v. 6, p. 485.

Follows Barrows. "Had it not been for him [Whitman], the United States might have given up Oregon to England as comparatively worthless."

Winsor, Justin. Narrative and critical history of America. 8v. Boston. Houghton. 1889. v. 7, p. 562.

Barrows Oregon is "probably overwrought as to the influence of Whitman."

REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

Advance (Chicago). December 1, 1870. "An evening with an old missionary."

Interview with H. H. Spalding. Saved Oregon story. Clark's refusal of the Bible to the Flatheads. Story of the quart of seed wheat. Copied in Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.

March 14, 1895. Whitman number.

January 17, 1901.

January 24, 1901. Howard, C. H. "Is Whitman's ride a legend?"

Albany (Ore.) Register. November 21, 1868. Resolutions in regard to "Protestantism in Oregon." Clipping in Spalding's Scrapbook.

Albany (Ore.) States Right Democrat. November, 1866—September, 1867. A series of thirty-seven articles by H. H. Spalding recounting at length the story of his missionary experiences among the Oregon Indians.

November 23, 1867. An editorial saying that the Spalding articles had been dropped because of the opinions of the old settlers who were tired of them. Mentions that Spalding is considered by some to be crazy.

About half of the above articles are contained in Spalding's Scrapbook at Whitman College Library.

American Antiquarian, 26:326 (September-October, 1904). Review of Marshall's History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon story.

Says the literature is exhaustive but not convincing on either side of the controversy.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Annual Report.

25th (1834) p. 26-27. Samuel Parker left Ithaca, N. Y., on May 5 for an exploring tour among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. At St. Louis he decided to return and obtain associates for the trip.

26th (1835) p. 99-101. Journey of Parker and Whitman to the Rocky Mountains begun. Objects of the trip stated.

27th (1836) p. 98-99. Outlook for missionary work west of the Rocky Mountains.

28th (1837) p. 113-115. Beginnings of the Oregon mission. Kindness of the H. B. Co.

29th (1838) p. 125-127. Glowing reports. The request made by Mr. Gray for $0 additional missionaries and assistants.

30th (1839) p. 143-145. Arrival of reinforcements.

31st (1840) p. 176-179. Coming of the papists. Setting up of the first printing press.

32nd (1841) p. 181-185. Fall account of the various stations. Map of the territory.

33rd (1842) p. 103-105. Destructive order of the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M. "The Committee deemed it advisable to discontinue the Southern branch of the mission, embracing the stations at Wallatpu, near Walla Walla, and Clear Creek and Kamiah, higher up on the waters of Snake River."

34th (1843) p. 169-173. Action of the Mission in regard to the "destructive order." Whitman sent East. The order rescinded.

35th (1844) p. 212-213. Indians apprehensive and inclined to fault finding and jealousy. Outlook unfavorable.

36th (1845) p. 187-189. Mention of the growing numbers of immigrants and the need of preachers for the white population.

37th (1846) p. 103-106. Kindness of Mr. McDonald of the H. B. Co.

38th (1847) p. 185. Brief report.

39th (1848) p. 239-244. Whitman massacre. Indian sickness and superstition assigned as the immediate cause. Rescue of the captives. Map.

40th (1849) p. 201-203. The lower stations relinquished.

41st (1850) p. 182. The remaining Oregon missionaries at work among the whites. Attempts made through the Indian department at Washington to recover damages for the property destroyed by the Indians.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Maps and illustrations of the missions of the A. B. C. F. M. 56p. n. p. n. pub. 1843.

Gives a full page may of the Oregon Mission and vicinity.

American Catholic Historical Researches. January, 1899, 16:187-197. Beadle, H. M. Story of Marcus Whitman refuted.

April, 1901. Bourne's "Legend of Marcus Whitman."

April, 1906. Notice of Marshall's "The Hudson's Bay Company's archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story."

American Historical Association. Annual Report, 1900. v. 1, p. 219-236. (Issued as a government document, U. S. Congress, 56-2, House Document, No. 548, v. 125, Serial, No. 4190).

Marshall, Wm. I. Discussion of the paper of Professor Bourne. Tells of his study of the Whitman question and of his efforts to keep misstatements in regard to Whitman from circulation in school histories.

American Historical Review. 6:276-300 (January, 1901). Bourne, Edward Gaylord. The legend of Marcus Whitman.

An able discussion based upon contemporaneous source material. Revised and enlarged in his Essays in Historical criticism, 1901, p. 1-109.

14:79 (October, 1908). Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843. Copied by Professor Joseph Schafer from the Public Record Office at London.

Paragraph 46 of Letter dated November 25, 1841, refers to American missionaries. The four stations of the A. B. C. F. M. are mentioned with a list of the members of each station. Whitman is not elsewhere noticed. In a letter to the compiler, under date of October 30, 1908, Professor Schafer makes the following statement:

"As to the bearing of my recent researches on the Whitman question, the results are purely negative. The letters and dispatches of the British Minister at Washington during the years 1842 to 1846 make no mention of Whitman; neither does Dr. McLoughlin in his letters to the Hudson's Bay Company; neither does Sir George Simpson in his reports to the company, except in his list of Oregon missionaries contained in the letter of November 1, 1843 (Am. Antiquarian Hist. Rev. Oct. 1908). This is all negative evidence; Whitman's agency in influencing the negotiations was not known to these representatives of Great Britain or it would probably have been reported by them."

Annales de l'Association de la propagation de la Foi (Lyons, France), v. 5, p. 595, 600.

In regard to the Macedonian cry. First mention of the four Flatheads in a letter dated, St. Louis, Dec. 31, 1831, from Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, to the editor of the Annales. Translated on p. 188-189 of v. 2 of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia in an article by Maj. Edmond Mallet.

Astorian (Daily and Weekly). February 29, 1880. Daily. May 14, 1880. Daily. January 28, 1881. Weekly. March 6, 1881.
Articles by Mrs. F. F. Victor. "Did Dr. Whitman save Oregon?" Six articles in reply by W. H. Gray, issued as separates as, "Circular No. 8."

Astoria Marine Gazette. July and August, 1866.
Said to have contained Gray's account of Whitman's journey a few months after Spalding's.

Atlantic Monthly, 46:534 (October, 1880). Reminiscences of Washington.
Whitman's arrival at Washington. The codfishery story. An unsigned article attributed to Ben Perley Poore.

Bay View Magazine (Detroit). 10:258-259 (March, 1903). Lyman, W. D. Evolution of the Northwest.
Refers to Whitman and his services, politically. Illustrated.

Biloxi (Miss.) Daily Herald. February 17, 1905. Account of Dr. Nixon's lecture, that Dr. Whitman saved Oregon.

Boston Recorder. May 4, 1843. Quoted by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, mss. 2:450, as giving a short notice of Whitman's visit in Boston and his departure for the Oregon mission.

Boston Evening Transcript. January 21, 1901. Penrose, Stephen, B. L., "The Whitman story."
Refers to de Saint-Amant in support of the Whitman story.

Boston Transcript. March 23, 1901.

Californian. April 19, 1848. Said to have contained account of the massacre. 2:19-23 (July, 1880). Clarke, S. A. How Dr. Whitman saved Oregon.
Follows Gray.
2:229-233 (September, 1880). Victor, Mrs. F. F. Did Dr. Whitman save Oregon?
In refutation of the previous article by S. A. Clarke. Contends that Whitman went East on business of the mission. Disposes of the Ashburton story.

Catholic Magazine, 7:490. Said to contain material on the Whitman massacre.

Catholic Northwest (Seattle, Wash.). 4. No. 8:5 (August, 1907). Hylebos, P. F. Address at the breaking of ground for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.
States that Whitman did not save Oregon.

Catholic World. February, 1872, p. 665-682. "Several calumnies refuted."
A criticism of Spalding's Executive document, No. 37. Cited by Van der Donckt in Ecclesiastical Review, 32:13-14 (January, 1906). Bourne surmises that this article was written by Brouillet, (see his Essays in historical criticism, 1901, p. 34).

Chicago Advance, see Advance.

Chicago Interior, see Interior.

Chicago Interocean. August 5, 1893. "Who gave the Pacific Northwest to the nation?"
Scores the Spokane Review for having acknowledged a debt of gratitude to Jefferson. Says Whitman is the man who should receive first honors.
November 30, 1894.
December 16, 1894. Onderdonk's poem on Whitman's ride.
January 22, 1895.
May 5, 1895.
October 8, 1896.
November 26, 1895.
June 2, 1896.
June 9, 1896.
August 23, 1896. Baxter, Geo. M. Marcus Whitman's ride. Extravagant praise.
October 14, 1897.
December 21, 1897.
July 14, 1898.
August 21, 1898.
July 3, 1899. Review of Mowry's First steps. In speaking of the Whitman controversy, allusion is made to the "Smaller fry like Marshall, the Chicago school teacher and crank."
November 20, 1899.
February 12, 1900. Review of Boutell, Geo. S. Crisis of the republic.
April 2, 1900.
December 30, 1900.
January 9, 1901.
January 11, 1901.
January 15, 1901.
January 21, 1901.
February 6, 1901.
February 9, 1901.
November 28, 1901.
January 19, 1902.
July 12, 1902.
July 12, 1903. Nixon, O. W. The pioneer Whitman, who followed Lewis and Clark and saved Oregon.

Chicago Record. September 25, 1900. Woodburn, James A. Explorers of the great West.
Saved Oregon story briefly told.

Christian Advocate. March 1, 1833, p. 105. Disosway, G. P. Letter enclosing letter of William Walker, dated Upper Sandusky, Ohio, Jan. 19, 1833.
This has been referred to as the origin of the Protestant version of the Macedonian cry.

Christian Advocate—*Continued.*
March 22, 1833. President Fisk's "ringing editorial."
May 10, 1833. Mr. Lehon's letter dated St. Louis, April 16, 1833.
January 31, 1834.
February 21, 1834.
March 31, 1834.
Typewritten copies of the material in the Christian Advocate relating to the Indian Delegations to St. Louis were made for Wm. I. Marshall and are now available in the library of Mr. C. B. Bagley.

Christian Work. April, 1901, p. 600-602. Howard, Gen. C. H. Was it history or legend?

Church at home and abroad (Phila.). March, 1896, p. 189-204, 210-214. Parker, Prof. H. W. Article on his father, Samuel Parker.
Says that the pamphlet issued by Whitman in the interests of the emigration of 1843 was scattered widely, even to Texas.
August, 1897, p. 129-134. An article on Mr. and Mrs. Spalding with some references to Whitman.

Churchman (Chicago). 94:507-511 (October 6, 1906). Kirkbride, William Howard. The martyrdom of a pioneer missionary. il.
Typographical errors, eg. "Rev. P. P. Spalding who went to Oregon in 1866."

Cleveland Herald. April 6, 1843. Said to have copied Greeley's description of Whitman which appeared in the New York Tribune for March 30, 1843.

Colfax (Wash.) Commoner, 1893. Cited by Lyman, History of Walla Walla county, p. 47, as containing Mrs. Catherine Pringle's "Story of the Christmas dinner of 1847."

Commonwealth (Seattle, Wash.). March 4, 1905. Webb, J. G. Discovery of Puget Sound.
Beginning of material relating to Whitman. Macedonian cry.
March 11, 1905. Whitman continued.
March 18, 1905. Whitman continued.
March 25, 1905. Whitman continued.
April 1, 1905. Whitman continued.
Continued in later issues which the compiler has not examined. Based upon Barrows.

Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington. Minutes.
34th Session, 1882, p. 17-18. Resolutions touching Whitman, the Indians and the Catholics.
37th Session, 1885, p. 37-59. Apx. A. Eells, C. "Early workers." Anecdotes of Whitman. Apx. B. Eells, M. Work accomplished during fifty years, 1835-1885. Contains references to Whitman.

Congregationalist. October 5, 1866. An early version of the Whitman story cited by Bourne, Essays in historical criticism, p. 8, note.

November 18, 1897. Mowry, W. A. Dr. Marcus Whitman, the hero of Oregon.

Says that Whitman was not "snubbed" by the Board when he returned to Boston in 1843.

January 19, 1901.

January 2, 1902.

Congregationalist and Christian World. September 20, 1902. Griffis, W. E. The Marcus Whitman Centennial in Ithaca.

Dial. 32:40-43 (January 16, 1902). Hodder, F. H. The Marcus Whitman legend. Reviewing Bourne, Essays in historical criticisms and Mowry, Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon.

Mr. Hodder states clearly and forcibly his views agreeing with Bourne rather than with Mowry.

Ecclesiastical Review. 32:113-14 (January, 1905). Van der Donckt, Cyril. The founders of the church in Idaho. Refers to the Catholic Sentinel, No. 12 and No. 13, as containing material against Spalding's charge that the Catholics instigated the Whitman massacre.

Eclectic Magazine. 148:400 (May, 1907). Tyler, Lyon G. John Tyler and his presidency.

Mr. Tyler states that "The story told by Mr. Barrows, that the government was indifferent to Oregon and was only prevented from surrendering it to the British by the timely interference of Dr. Whitman, is totally without foundation." Refers to Marshall.

Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel. February 12, 1901. Fairbank, J. Wilder. Reply to Bourne's attack on Whitman.

Forest Grove Times. August 14, 1902. Walker, L. C. Why did Whitman went East.

Four Track News. 5:135-137 (September, 1903). Kane, Mary L. How Oregon was saved.

Great Round World. p. 359-361 (1901). Brown, Arthur J. Marcus Whitman's ride.

A popular rendering of Barrow's saved Oregon story.

Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.). July 22, 1884. In regard to Whitman's boyhood and schooling. Quoted by C. Kells in Minutes of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington, 37th session (1885), p. 41.

Harper's Magazine. 85:839 (November, 1892). Wyeth, John A. Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the struggle for Oregon.

Quotes Barrows in regard to Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

Home Missionary. December, 1890. Article by J. E. Roy. 78:280-281 (December, 1904). Address of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis at Des Moines in which he claims new evidence from the H. B. Co's. archives. Referring to E. G. Bourne and his work, Dr. Hillis says: "That « the Bourne to which no scholar will ever return."

Idaho Signal. June 7, 1873. Resolutions in regard to Exec. Doc. No. 37.
August 8, 1874. Death of a pioneer (Spalding).

Independent. March 10, 1885. Said to have contained the poem by Alice Wellington Rollins on "Whitman's Ride."
49:1528 (November 25, 1897). Whitman, Mary L. Whitman's ancestry.
54:2712-2713 (November 13, 1902. Review of Myron Eells' reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman legend." Favorable to Eells. Refers to de Saint-Amant's book.

Interior (Chicago). January 17, 1901. Whitman of Oregon.
February 14, 1901. Saved Oregon material.

Ithaca (N. Y.) Daily Journal. July 8, 1893. In regard to a proposed tablet in the new Presbyterian Church. Caption of article, "A dozen rich states gained through an Ithaca mission."

Journal of Education (Boston). January 24, 1901. Mowry, W. A. "Marcus Whitman, is the story history or tradition?"
Attacks Bourne.
60:401-402 (May 4, 1905). A plea for a just estimate of Whitman. Says questions regarding motives for his ride and causes of the massacre will probably never be settled.

Ladies Home Journal. 14, No. 12, p. 9-10 (November, 1897. Weed, George Ladington. When Dr. Whitman added three stars to our flag; how Oregon was saved to the Union.
Gives map showing Whitman's route. Drawing to illustrate the Fourth of July celebration in 1836.

Ladies Repository, September, 1868, p. 174-180. Hines, H. K. (of Fort Vancouver). "Waillelpu."
Walla Walla dinner, arrival of the Red River colony, deep laid scheme. Says that the Ashburton treaty had not yet been executed in March, 1843.

Lewiston (Me.) Journal. March 5-10, 1904. Whitman, C. F. A two page illustrated article in the Magazine Section.
Saved Oregon story with many details.

Literary World. 32:119 (August 1, 1901). Review of Mowry's Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon.
Reviewer states that Dr. Mowry's book is a "decisive contribution" and "ought to settle finally" the question of Whitman's political influence.

Littell's Living Age. 19:66-67 (October 14, 1848). Osborn, Josiah. The massacre in Oregon.

Letters from Ohio, dated Oregon, April 7, 1848, from the Oquawka (Ill.) Spectator. A valuable contemporaneous account by a survivor.

Magazine of American History. 10:536 (December, 1883). A favorable review of Barrow's Oregon.

11:168-170 (February, 1884). Tyler, Lyon Gardiner. A letter relating to the policy of President Tyler's administration in regard to the Oregon question.

"At no time has the President [Tyler] contemplate abandoning any portion of that country without a proper equivalent—to any nation on the face of the earth."

12:193-210 (September, 1884). Lamb, Martha J. A glimpse of the valley of many waters.

Saved Oregon story based on Barrows. Illustrated.

Midland Monthly. October, 1896. 6:329-349. Phelps, William W. How Oregon was saved to the Union.

Ride story. Quotes Spalding's Exec. Doc. No. 37. Gives illustration of Whitman pleading for Oregon before Tyler and Webstre.

Missionary Herald (Boston). 32:26, 35-36 (January, 1836). Account of Parker and Whitman from letters received from them. Speaks of Whitman's return to St. Louis.

32:70-72 (February, 1836). Letter from Mr. Parker dated on Green River, August 17, 1835.

Prospects of the mission. Dr. Whitman's return to obtain associates. "I do hope that Dr. Whitman with others will be sent back by the next caravan, an ithus a year or more be saved in bringing a knowledge of the Savior to these people." 71.

32:162 (April, 1836). Departure of Whitman and Spalding about March 1 for their field of labors.

32:268 (July, 1836). Note saying that Mr. Parker had found a desirable opening for missionary stations.

32:317 (August, 1836). Notice regarding Dr. Whitman and Messrs. Spalding and Gray en route for Oregon.

32:545 (November, 1836). Report from Parker's letter received from Mr. Parker. Claims a good field for missions. Mentions kindness of H. B. Co.

33:122-124 (March, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated July 8, 1836, written from the Green River rendezvous.

Tells of an Indian delegation come to meet them and go back with them to the Walla Walla country.

Letter from Mr. Parker from the Sandwich Islands, dated September 24, 1836. This very interesting letter tells of the country in the region of Spokane and Colville. Kindness of H. B. Co. Says that they and the U. S. traders had borne practically all of his expenses so that he had paid out less than two dollars in money from the time he left Council

Missionary Herald.—*Continued.*

Bluffs on the Missouri until he reached the Sandwich Islands, p. 124.

33:21 (January, 1837). The movements of Messrs. Parker and Whitman and the prospects for missionary work among the Indians.

33:317 (July, 1837). Return of Samuel Parker.

33:348-349 (August, 1837). Announces the arrival of Whitman, Spalding and Gray at Fort Walla Walla on September 3, 1836. On October 5, they had selected their stations.

33:369-371 (September, 1837). Extracts from the journal of Mr. Parker. The Oregon Indians.

33:421-428 (October, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated at Fort Vancouver, September 20, 1836. Much valuable information in regard to the founding of the mission.

33:497-501 (December, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding in regard to the prospects for the mission.

34:92-95 (March, 1838). Extracts from a letter from Mr. Gray who asks for more missionaries.

34:237 (June, 1838). Sending of reinforcements to the Oregon mission.

34:386-388 (October, 1838). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated September 4, 1837, written from Fort Colville where he had proceeded to obtain supplies for his station. Nearly a full page letter from Dr. Whitman dated March 12, 1838, telling about the Indians and the mission. All their books used in teaching had been furnished by the Methodist mission at Willamette.

35:14 (January, 1839). Abstract of the Annual Report of the A. B. C. F. M., with brief statement covering the Oregon mission.

35:54 (January, 1839). Receipt of letters from Messrs. Eells, Smith, Walker and Gray, dated at Fort Hall, July 30, on their way to recruit Whitman and Spalding.

35:260 (July, 1839). Arrival of Eells, Smith, Walker and Gray at Walla Walla on August 20, 1838.

35:346 (November, 1839). Arrival of Mr. Hall at Walla Walla with printing press, type and paper.

35:472-475 (December, 1839). Letters from Messrs. Walker and Spalding. Among other interesting things, is told how the Indians help dig the mill race for Dr. Whitman.

35:484-485 (December, 1839). Death of Alice Whitman. Mr. Hall at work printing an elementary text-book in the Nez Perces language.

36:15, 33-34 (January, 1840). Abstract of the Annual Report of A. B. C. F. M. Gives brief biographical data in regard to the various missionaries of the Oregon mission.

36:203-213 (June, 1840). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated October 2, 1839. Drought and failure of crops. Commencement of printing.

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

36:326-329 (August, 1840). "Letter from Mr. Smith, dated at Kamesh, Aug. 27th, 1839."

Valuable information regarding the missions. Says they cannot become self-supporting. Tells of the Indian superstition regarding medicine men. The coming of the Papists.

News from a letter from Doct. Whitman, dated Waiilatpu, Oct. 22, 1839.

Says the Indians like books in their own language.

36:437-441 (November, 1840). Letters from the various stations.

Eells, Feb. 25, 1840. Interesting letter with much information about the Indians and the methods used at the mission. p. 437-439.

Whitman, March 27, 1840. Letter telling of the handicap to mission work caused by the migratory habits of the Indians. Publication of a 52-page book, 800 copies. p. 439.

Spalding, March 16, 1840. Letter regarding his work with the Nez Perces.

37:14-15 (January, 1841). Abstract of the Report of the A. B. C. F. M., annual meeting September, 1840. Mentions members of each station. Brief progress report.

37:405 (September, 1841). "Letters have been received from the missionaries dated as late as 23rd March. At some of the stations the usual labors were going on prosperously, while at others there was opposition, and the prospects were disheartening."

37:436 (October, 1841). Letter from Doct. Whitman, March 28, 1841. Speaks of the work of the mission.

38:9-11 (January, 1842). Abstract of the Annual Report. Mention of the printing of the second book in the Nez Perces language.

39:14-15 (January, 1843). Abstract of the Annual Report. Gives the "destructive order" of the A. B. C. F. M. Mentions the coming of a papal priest for missionary work.

39:24 (January, 1843). Destructive order of the A. B. C. F. M. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, 1: p. 341.

39:81-82 (February, 1843). "Letter from Mr. Eells, March 1, 1841."

Gives information in regard to the missions.

39:356-359 (September, 1843). "Report of Doct. Whitman."

Introductory remarks. States the destructive order and that Whitman had gone East at the instance of the mission to consult the Prudential Committee in regard to it and that they had decided to continue operations without change. "Another object of Doct. Whitman in making the above mentioned visit, was to procure additional laborers." Nothing said of a political purpose. Whitman's report on the mission covers over two pages and is most interesting.

39:398 (October, 1843). "Doct. Whitman was one hundred miles west of Laramie's Fork, Black Hills, on the 20th

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

of July. The Indians at his station were very anxious for his return. One of them said to Mrs. Whitman, "O, that I could eat the word of God to the full!"

40:12 (January, 1844). Annual survey of the Mission. Encouraging progress reported at Waiilatpu and Clearwater. Arrival of the 1843 immigration. Printing press. Papists planning to occupy the country.

40:105 (March, 1844). Brief reference to Oregon mission. "Some fears of hostile movements had disturbed their quiet at one time.

40:175 (May, 1844). Letter from Whitman, November, 1843.

"Account of his return trip and arrival at the mission. Urges need of a minister for Waiilatpu, one who could meet the Romanists. Need of a good class of immigrants. "This country must be occupied by Americans or foreigners; if it is by the latter, they will be mostly papists."

40:384-385 (November, 1844). Letter from Mr. Eells, March 25, 1844. Has much to say in regard to Indian character.

40:385-386 (November, 1844). Letter from Dr. Whitman, April 13, 1844. In regard to Indian disturbances.

41:11 (January, 1845). Annual survey of the missions of the Board. "Jealousy of the white people seems to be awakened among the Indians, which may affect the mission unfavorably."

41:56-57 (February, 1845). Letter from Mr. Spalding, April 8, 1841. Work and sickness.

41:284 (August, 1845). Quotes from a letter from Whitman in regard to examination of candidates for admission to the church.

42:13 (January, 1846). Annual survey. Reports that the natives are rapidly advancing in the knowledge of agriculture and the means of living comfortably.

43:12 (January, 1847). Annual survey. "While there is an increase of religious knowledge, there is also more of cavilling and opposition...One of the gospels has been translated and printed."

44:11 (January, 1848). Annual survey.

44:104 (March, 1848). Brief report making mention of strong reinforcements to the Catholic mission.

44:237-241 (July, 1848). Letter from Mr. Spalding, dated January 8, 1848.

Gives brief biography of Whitman. Spalding tells of the massacre of his escape and of the ransom of the captives. "Too much praise cannot be awarded to the Hudson's Bay Company, especially to Mr. Ogden, for their timely, prompt, judicious and Christian efforts. We owe it, under a kind Providence, to the efforts of Messrs. Ogden and Douglass that we are alive at this place today." Gives map of Oregon Territory.

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

44:370 (October, 1848). Gloomy outlook reported for the mission.

45:12 (January, 1849). Annual survey. Taking over of the Methodist station at the Dalles. Kindness of H. B. Co.

45:58 (February, 1849). Rescue of Walker and Eells.

45:405 (November, 1849). "The efforts of the Board in behalf of these Indians may be considered as at an end."

46:13 (January, 1850). Annual survey. Formal statement of the close of the Oregon mission.

December, 1866. A six page article by Cushing Eells claiming political influence for Whitman. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, 341.

March, 1869, p. 76. Story that General Clark refused the Flatheads the "Bible." Says that Clark was a Catholic. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 21.

65:314-316 (October, 1870). Condemning Browne's Report, Exec. Doc. No. 38 (Brouillet) and the wrong done by Congress. Blames Catholics.

February and September, 1885. Articles by Rev. Thomas Laurie.

Replies to Victor and Evans. Same reprinted as a 24p. pamphlet. Astoria, Snyder. 1866.

Missionary review of the world. July and August, 1888. Cited by M. Eells in his list of Whitman references (Seattle Daily Times, April 12, 1903) as containing 11 pages of material by J. W. Bashford.

25:641-653 (September, 1902). Brain, Belle M. The true story of Marcus Whitman.

Illustrations. Map. Mowry cited as good authority.

Nation. 76:109 (February 5, 1903). Crandall, F. A. "Contentious public documents."

On the occasion of a reprint of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37. Government should keep out of missionary squabbles. Same article in N. Y. Post, Feb. 7, 1903.

76:169-170 (February 26, 1903). Wilson, J. R. "Whitman and Oregon." Letter to the effect that people in Oregon have not accepted Bourne's conclusions in regard to Whitman. De Saint-Amant's testimony discussed.

New Haven Evening Register, February 19, 1901. Long article by J. Wilder Fairbank in which the name of Whitman is linked with that of Lincoln.

New York Christian Advocate, see Christian Advocate.

New York Evening Post, February 7, 1903. Crandall's "Contentious public documents" as in the Nation of February 28, 1903.

Wilson's reply to Crandall.

New York Observer. October 25, 1866. Treat, S. B. A missionary patriot.

Speech at the meeting of the American Board. Eulogizes the missionaries. Says that Whitman got specimens of gold ore to prove the value of the country.

December 22, 1870. The Oregon mission and the U. S. Govt.

Calls for printing Spalding's antidote.

December 7, 1882.

December 21, 1882.

January 4, 1883.

January 11, 1883.

January 18, 1883.

January 25, 1883.

February 1, 1883.

The above seven articles written by Rev. William Barrows glorify Whitman as the Savior of Oregon. They were later thrown together as his "Oregon, the struggle for possession."

New York Sun. January 17, 1885 (?).

March 3, 1901. "A good statement of the legend and its summary execution at the hands of Prof. Bourne of Yale."

February 11, 1903. "The Marcus Whitman legend—demolished by Prof. Bourne of Yale and revived in a government document."

Deplores the reprint by the government of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.

March 15, 1908. Said to have contained ¾ column interview, in London, with Prof. Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. For results of Prof. Schafer's researches in the British Archives, see statement under American Historical Review, 14:70 (October, 1908).

New York Times Saturday Review of Books. March 12, 1904. Dodd's review of Johnson's Century of Expansion.

March 19, 1904. W. F. Johnson replies stating that Everett had credited Whitman with saving Oregon.

March 26, 1904. Prof. Bourne calls for the proof.

New York Tribune, March 29, 1843. Said to have contained an editorial by Greeley on Whitman's visit to New York.

Copied in Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 4:168-169 (June, 1903).

New York Voice. January 13, 1868. Saved Oregon story based upon Nixon.

Niles Register. A careful search through the entire file covering the period of Whitman's life in Oregon, barring an occasional missing number, failed to reveal any mention of Whitman. There is much relating to Oregon, especially Congressional action, speeches, etc.

North British Review. September, 1844.
The writer calls attention of the English to the necessity of colonizing Oregon. Quoted by John Minto in Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876, p. 36.

North Pacific Coast (New Tacoma, Wash).
1:88-89, 91 (March 1, 1880). Massacre.
1:101-103 (March 15, 1880). Massacre.
1:123-125 (April 1, 1880). Ride.
Three articles by Elwood Evans in regard to the life and services of Dr. Whitman. A critical examination of the saved Oregon story, written 20 years before Professor Bourne published "The legend of Marcus Whitman."

Northwest Magazine (St. Paul, Minn.?). August, 1895, p. 22. Contains favorable review of Nixon's How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon.

Occident. June 4, 1874. Whitman material in the form of resolutions. Clipping in the Spalding Scrapbook.

Ontario (N. Y.) County Times. November 26, 1902. Smith, Charles James. The Principal of the Rushville High School writes a long saved Oregon article but adds nothing new to the controversy.

Ogmawka (Ill.) Spectator. Cited by Littell's Living Age as containing the letter of Josiah Lapsley, dated April 7, 1848, in regard to the massacre. See Littell's Living Age, 19:66-67 (October 14, 1848).

Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist.
1, No. 1:12-15 (undated). Spalding, H. H. Letter dated Feb. 18, 1848, to the Editor of the Oregon Spectator.
In this letter Spalding explains why shortly after the massacre, he wrote favorably of McBean and the H. B. Co., his object being to secure good treatment for himself and the refugees. Now he is ready to tell the truth about the Catholics.
1, No. 2:23-27 (June 21, 1848). Letter from Alanson Hinman asking two pertinent questions in regard to Mr. McBean's conduct at the time of the massacre.
Spalding, H. H. History of the Wailatpu massacre.
The first article in the Burnett series. Gives names of those present at the time of the massacre. States that many were there against Whitman's wishes.
1, No. 3:35-37 (July 5, 1848). Osborn, Josiah. Affidavit in regard to escape from massacre.
Throws blame upon Mr. McBean of the H. B. Co. for not showing greater hospitality.
1, No. 3:37 (July 5, 1848). "True American." Dr. Whitman's death foretold.
States that Mr. McBean had tried to buy Whitman's station shortly before the massacre and on Dr. Whitman's refusing to sell, he had said that the Indians would kill him if he staid.

Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist—*Continued*.

1, No. 3:38-40 (July 1, 1848). Correspondence between Spalding and Burnett in regard to their discussion of the Whitman massacre.

1, No. 4:49-54 (July 10, 1848). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Details of the massacre. Much in regard to the Catholic ladder.

1, No. 5:65-68 (August 2, 1848). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Note. The file examined; pages 69-82 are missing.

1, No. 6:83-87 (?). Burnett, Peter H. Reply to Spalding.

Claims that Spalding has been unfair and underhanded.

1, No. 6:87-93 (?) "Review of Mr. Douglas' letter [continued]"

Anti-Catholic.

1, No. 7:105-108 (March 1, 1849). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Especially in regard to the escape of Messrs. Canfield and Kimble.

1, No. 7:108-109 (March 1, 1849). Anti-Catholic depositions in regard to threat to have Whitman killed.

1, No. 8:113-128 (May 23, 1849). Editorial note in regard to Burnett's running off with Charley, the printer. This is the end of the magazine. Entire number devoted to Anti-Catholic material.

Note. Copies of this magazine are exceedingly rare. With the exception of parts of No. 3 and No. 6, Mr. Bagley, of Seattle, has the complete file of 8 numbers. Whitman College Library has several numbers. The Oregon Historical Society has the complete file.

Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly.

1:31-45 (March, 1900). Robertson, James R. The genesis of political authority in Oregon.

Holds that Whitman was influential but not vital to the Oregon cause.

1:60-65 (March, 1900). Condon, Thomas. The process of selection in Oregon pioneer settlement.

"Doctor Whitman seems to have had a mild monomania on the subject of ox teams drawing plain Missouri wagons from Fort Independence to the Columbia at Wallula."

1:84-85 (March, 1900). Matthieu, F. X. Reminiscences collected by H. S. Lyman.

"In person he recalls Whitman as not very tall, rather slender in build, and of strongly Yankee style." Hair dark. Mention of McLoughlin's kindness to Whitman.

1:241-242 (Sept., 1900). Wilson, Joseph R. The Oregon question.

Credits Whitman with large political influence.

Oregon Historical Society—*Continued*.

1:351 (December, 1900). Young, F. G. The Oregon trail.

Speaking of Whitman, says, "He did go to Washington and he urged the importance of American interests in Oregon upon Pres. Tyler and some members of his cabinet."

1:379-81 (December, 1900). Applegate, Jesse. With the cow column in 1843.

Reprinted from the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876.

2:268-83 (September, 1901). Hinman, Alanson. Reminiscences collected by James B. Robertson.

Hinman, at 79 years of age, discusses Whitman's aid to pioneers, relations with Catholics and the massacre. He was with Whitman at Waiilatpu in 1844-45. Was at the Dalles at the time of the massacre. Thinks Bourne was incorrect in his statements.

3:220 (Sept., 1902). Minto, John. Sheep husbandry in Oregon.

Sheep at the Waiilatpu Mission in 1841. Whitman taught the Indians spinning and weaving.

3:281 (Sept., 1902). Jory, James. Reminiscences collected by H. S. Lyman.

Brief mention of Whitman.

3:292 (Sept., 1902). Brown, Mrs. Tabitha. Reminiscences collected by Jane Kinney Smith.

Whitman's suggestion that Christian families could make provisions for schools by acquiring contiguous donation claims and giving up part of the land for this purpose.

3:329-335 (December, 1902). Himes, George H. History of the press of Oregon.

An interesting account of the arrival and use of the printing press at Lapwai.

4:78-79 (March, 1903). McCarver, M. M. Letter to Hon. A. C. Dodge of Iowa immediately after the arrival of the immigration of 1843. (Reprinted from the Ohio Statesman, Sept. 11, 1843, taken from the Iowa Gazette where it was originally printed).

Estimates Whitman's services in accompanying the party out. "His knowledge of the route was considerable."

4:84-85 (March, 1903). Wood, Tallmadge, B. Letter to Isaac Nash, dated Oregon City, December 23, 1847.

Attributes the massacre to the measles. "It was in consequence of this that Dr. Whitman was killed as they held a malice against the whites for bringing the disorder into the country."

4:168-169 (June, 1903). Editorial from the New York Daily Tribune of March 29, 1843.

Whitman visited the Tribune office while in New York. Mention is here made of his personal appearance and of his

Oregon Historical Society—*Continued.*

missionary zeal but nothing is said of a political significance to his appearance in the East nor of his interest in securing emigrants for Oregon. This editorial is said to have been copied in full in the Boston Advertiser of March 31, 1843.

4:169-170 (June, 1903). "Civis." Cruising on the Sound. A communication published in the New York Spectator of April 5, 1843. Speaks of Whitman's rough appearance as he was seen on the boat between New York and Boston.

No mention is made of the object of his trip.

4:177 (June, 1903). Copy of a letter in Iowa Gazette, July 8, 1843, copied into the New York Tribune (weekly), August 5, 1843.

This letter dated Kansas River, June 3, 1843, has some bearing upon Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

4:253-254 (Sept., 1903). Cone, Anson Sterling. Reminiscences secured by H. S. Lyman.

"Whitman was a good man, he had a heart like an ox."

4:329-360 (Sept., 1903). Hopkins, Mrs. Rebeka. Reminiscences secured by H. S. Lyman.

Mrs. Hopkins, the daughter of Peter D. Hall, was at the Whitman station during the massacre as a girl of five years. Remembers the appearance of the room.

5:43-44 (March, 1904). Minto, John. Antecedents of the Oregon pioneers and the light they throw on their motives.

Unimportant.

5:67, 76-77 (March, 1904). Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer.

5:303-305 (Sept., 1904). Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Burnett's Recollections are reprinted in the Quarterly, the paging above given show the places where Whitman is mentioned.

7:96 (March, 1906). Johnson, Overton and Winter Wm. H. Route across the Rocky Mountains. (Reprinted.)

Brief mention of their arrival at Whitman's station.

7:190 (June, 1906). Johnson, Overton and Winter Wm. H. Route across the Rocky Mountains. (Reprinted).

Corn growing at the Whitman mission.

8:405-405 (December, 1907). Munger, Asahel and Eliza. Diary of Asahel Munger and wife.

Conditions at the Station, September 2-3, 1843. A valuable side light.

9:107, 114-118, 125 (June, 1908). Elliott, T. C. "'Doctor' Robert Newell: pioneer."

Newell pioneered the way for wagons from Fort Hall to Walla Walla. He named one of his sons "Marcus Whitman."

Oregon Native Son.

1:9 (May, 1899). Mentions Alice Whitman as the first white child born west of the Rockies.

1:27-29 (May, 1899). Letter dated Waiilatpu, July 7, 1842, from Narcissa Whitman to Maria Pambrun.

Said not to have been previously published. Adds nothing to the Whitman controversy.

1:62 (June, 1899). Portraits of survivors of the Whitman massacre.

1:63-65 (June, 1899). Denny, Mrs. Owen N. An interview with a survivor of the Whitman massacre.

Mrs. Denny was a child at the mission and remembers the massacre.

1:126-129 (July, 1899). Hampton, F. Who saved Oregon?

"To acclaim the Doctor [Whitman] 'the Savior of Oregon' is to claim more than the facts will warrant." His mission to Washington may have been to secure aid from a "secret service fund."

1:311-314 (October, 1899). Frederick, S. H. A pioneer patriot.

An uncritical account of Whitman's career containing many errors of fact.

1:471-472 (February, 1900). Ells, Myron. Concerning Dr. Marcus Whitman.

In a letter to the editor of the Native Son contributing extracts from two letters written by Whitman, Mr. Ells maintains that Whitman claimed credit for the Americanization of Oregon.

1:573 (April, 1900). Hines, H. K. Some historical inaccuracies.

Statement in regard government of the Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. Whitman was not superintendent.

2:60 (June, 1900). Portraits of survivors of the massacre.

2:120-124 (July-August, 1900). Indian war history errors.

Myron Ells points out mistakes of Mrs. Victor. Somewhat bitter criticism of Mrs. Victor's "prejudiced history."

2:126-128 (July-August, 1900). Riddell, H. H. The Dalles, Oregon, 1858.

In regard to the transfer of the Dalles Mission in 1847 from the Methodists to Dr. Whitman.

2:145-149 (July-August, 1900). Walker, Cyrus H. Address before the Oregon Pioneer Association.

Mr. Walker, son of Rev. Elkanah Walker, was born at the mission, Dec. 7, 1838. His address has no bearing on controverted points.

2:273-275 (November, 1900). Bode, Minnie M. The Whitman massacre. November, 1847 : to the survivors. June, 1897.

A poem. Illustrations of the scene of the massacre.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions.

1874. p. 58, 81. Thornton, J. Quinn. History of the provisional government of Oregon.

Says Whitman saved Oregon, p. 68. Speaks of Whitman's influence in persuading Thornton to go to Washington to procure the passage of a law organizing territorial government for Oregon, p. 81.

1875. p. 28. Deady, Matthew P. Annual address.

Mentions the Congressional missions. Speaks of Whitman's return to the East but does not state its object.

p. 45, 47-48. Nesmith, J. W. Occasional address.

Mentions Whitman's visit to Washington "to intercede in behalf of the American interests on this coast," p. 45. Whitman as guide in 1843, p. 47-48.

1876, p. 63-64. Applegate, Jesse. A day with the cow column of 1843.

Speaks of Whitman "that good angel" of the emigrants.

1877, p. 22-23, 35-36. Evans, Elwood. Annual address. Statements of Robert Newell in regard to the bringing of the first wagon to Walla Walla, in 1840. At the arrival at the mission, Whitman congratulates Newell on "having broken the ice." The Indians crowd around the wagons which they call "horse canoes."

Evans speaks in high terms of Whitman as a friend alike of Indian and emigrant.

p. 69-70. Atkinson, G. H. Rev. Elkinah Walker. Brief references to the mission and the massacre.

1878, p. 15-16. Thornton, J. Quinn. Annual address. Indian superstition is given as the cause of the Whitman massacre.

1880, p. 22-23. Nesmith, J. W. Annual address.

Whitman's personality. Massacre not instigated by the Catholics. Missionaries in general have been given undue credit for self-sacrifice.

p. 52-54. McLoughlin, John. Copy of a document written in McLoughlin's handwriting. Found among his papers.

McLoughlin warned Whitman before the massacre of Indian ill-feeling. Speaks of overbearing an Indian say, "It is good for us to kill these Bostonese," which sentiment McLoughlin rebuked and which incident he reported to Whitman.

1881, p. 14-17. Crawford, Medorum. Occasional address.

A pioneer of 1842. Tells of his arrival at Dr. Whitman's as he was preparing to leave for the East. Gives Dr. W. direct credit for the immigration of 1843, which he says "practically settled the question of occupation by American citizens of this then disputed territory."

1882, p. 10-11, 22-23. Kelly, James K. Annual address.

Says Whitman was influential in saving Oregon to the Union. Mentions the massacre.

p. 74-75. Whitman quoted as authority for the statement that Oregon was a good wheat country.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued.*

1883, p. 18. Hill, W. Lair. Annual address.
Refers to Whitman and Benton as the prophets of Oregon.

1884, p. 32-35. Tolmie, W. Fraser. Letter to the Oregon Pioneer Association.
Written to correct misrepresentations of Gray and Barrows. Accounts for the massacre on grounds of Indian superstition. Some details of the watermelon incident when Spalding placed tartar emetic in watermelons to prevent the Indians from stealing them. Holds Catholic priests were blameless.

1888, p. 20-24. Condon, Thomas. Annual address.
Gives Whitman credit for demonstrating the possibility of a wagon road to Oregon.

p. 41, 48-50, 56. An unsigned sketch of Dr. John McLoughlin in which Whitman is given incidental eulogistic mention.

p. 71. Driver, I. D. Annual address before the Indian War veterans.
Brief mention of the Whitman massacre.

p. 114-116. Parrish, Edward Evans. Crossing the plains in 1844 (Diary).
Parrish worked for Dr. Whitman. Was at the mission from October 23 to November 2, 1844.

1889, p. 31-32. Kelley, James K. Occasional address.
Whitman mission and massacre.

p. 85, 87-88. Fells, Myra F. Journal kept while passing through the United States and over the Rocky Mountains in the Spring and Summer of 1838.
Mentions kindness of the H. B. Co. Arrives at the mission August 29. Description of Dr. Whitman's house. Some account of the missionary plans.

p. 91-93. McKay, W. C. Additional light on the Whitman matter.
Letter dated Pendleton, Oregon, Jan. 30, 1885, in which McKay says that he received a letter from Whitman dated at Washington, D. C., in 1843, which fact settles the discussion as to whether Whitman went to Washington.

p. 94-97. Lang, Herbert J. The pioneer printing press of the Pacific Coast.
Story of the printing press brought from Honolulu to Spalding's station at Lapwai in 1839. This was the first printing press in the Pacific Northwest.

1890, p. 71. Mrs. Nancy Morrison, the Oregon pioneer woman.
An unsigned article. Mentions the incident of the Whitmans adopting the Sager children.

1901, p. 46-48. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. A journey across the plains in 1836.
Covers June 27 to October 18, 1836. An extremely valuable source. Manuscript secured by Myron Eells from eastern relatives. Not published in full.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued.*

1891, p. 68-78. Whitman, Marcus. Letter to the Secretary of War, James M. Porter, written in 1843, enclosing synopsis of a proposed bill prepared by him, entitled "A bill to promote safe intercourse with the territory of Oregon, to suppress violent acts of aggression on the part of certain Indian tribes west of the Indian territory, Neocho, better protect the revenue, for the transportation of the mail, and for other purposes."

These are copies from the original documents on file in the office of the Secretary of War and are extremely important in their bearing upon Whitman's political activity.

p. 79-82. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. Letters written by Mrs. Whitman from Oregon to her relatives in New York.

These letters are full of interesting details in regard to every phase of the mission work. They are of first importance in the light they throw upon Whitman's acts and motives. They bear the following dates: For the year 1836, March 15, 28, 29, 30, 31; April 2, 4, 7; November 5, 8, 26; for the year 1837, March 30, May 2 and 3; for the year 1838, March 14, 26, April 11; May 10, Sept. 18, 25, 28, Oct. 3, 6; for thes year 1839, Sept. 30 and Oct. 9; for the year 1840, April 30 and May 2; for the year 1841, Oct. 1, 6, 18, 19; for the year 1842, Feb. 2, 4; March 1, May 17, Oct. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 22; and for the year 1843, February 7, March 6, May 27 and 28.

p. 177-179. Whitman, Marcus. Letters dated Shawnee Mission School, May 27, 1843, and May 28, 1843.

The second of these letters written to "Dear Brother Galusha" throws important light upon Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

1893, p. 53-210. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. Additional letters.

A total of sixty-seven letters written by Mrs. Whitman to Eastern relatives under dates ranging from January 1, 1840, to Oct. 12, 1847.

p. 64-65, 68-70, 109-110, 198-203. Whitman, Marcus. Letters.

Five letters under the following dates: May 16, 1844, April 8, 1844, June 4, 1836, May 15, 1836, and November 5, 1836. These letters throw light upon the estimate which Whitman placed upon his own work.

p. 83-86. Rogers, Andrew, Jr. Letters to Miss Jane A. Prentiss dated, Tshamshim, April 22, 1846.

Side light upon the Whitmans.

p. 93-103. Spalding, H. H. Letters dated Oregon City, April 6, 1848, "To Stephen Prentiss, Esq., and Mrs. Prentiss, the Father and Mother of the late Mrs. Whitman of the Oregon Mission."

Spalding's contemporaneous account of the massacre. Praises Mr. Ogden of the H. B. Co. for deliverance and ransom of the captives.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued*.

1894. p. 73-74. Barlow, Miss M. S. Reminiscences of Oregon pioneers.

Follows Gray and Barrows with the Indian delegation to St. Louis in 1832. H. B. Co's hostility to a wagon road and Whitman's interview with Webster and Tyler.

1896. p. 101. Shortess, Robert. First emigrants to Oregon.

Arrival of the 1839 immigration at the Whitman mission. States that Whitman's labors were thwarted by "Jesuitical and Popish intolerances."

p. 113-119.- Young, J. Q. A. The Whitman massacre related by one of the survivors.

p. 120-128. Wilson, Mrs. E. M. The last day at Waiilatpuu.

Memories of Mrs. Elizabeth Sager Helm who was in the massacre, aged eleven years.

p. 129-130. Himes, Geo. H. List of all present at Waiilatpuu at the time of the massacre.

From a list made by Peter Skeen Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company. Gives ages and some other information.

1897. p. 61-62. Barnett, John. Occasional address.

Eulogium upon Dr. Whitman. Implies that Whitman went East in 1842-43 to influence the government to secure Oregon to the United States.

p. 106-120. Eells, Myron. Rev. H. H. Spalding, Mrs. E. H. Spalding and Mrs. R. J. Spalding.

Covers various points in the history of the Whitman mission.

p. 130-140. Eells, Myron. Mrs. Mary Richardson Walker. Some information in regard to the Whitman station.

1900. p. 35-48. Walker, Cyrus H. Occasional address.

Walker was born at the station, December 7, 1838. Quotes from his mother's diary. Has some memories of the time of the massacre.

1902. p. 100-103. McBride, T. A. Annual address.

Asserts that Oregon was safe long before Whitman's ride, that in fact it was never in danger.

1903. p. 189-195. Kimball, Nathan. Recollections of the Whitman massacre.

The story of a survivor. Gives harrowing details but adds little information upon controverted points.

Oregon Spectator. December 10, 1847. Letter from Hinman to Abernathy in regard to the massacre. See Bancroft, Ore. 1 767, note.

January 20, 1848. Contains Gov. Abernathy's letter of thanks to Peter Skeen Ogden for rescuing the captives of the Whitman massacre. List is given of those massacred. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, p. 647-648.

Oregon Statesman (Salem). August 11, 1855. Has been cited as containing a statement to the effect that Spalding was insane.

Oregonian (Portland). November 6-7, 1884. Mrs. Victor on Marcus Whitman. Important article with ample footnote references. Whitman's political influence questioned.
December 9, 1884. Reply by E. C. Ross.
December 26, 1884. Elwood Evans states that Whitman's journey had no political influence.
January 11, 1885. M. Eells' reply to Mrs. Victor and Elwood Evans.
February 1, 1885. W. H. Gray to the rescue. This article was reprinted as a pamphlet. Portland. 1885.
February 8, 1885. Eells replies to Evans.
February 15, 1885. E. C. Ross.
March 15, 1885. Evans replies to Ross. Long article.
March 22, 1885. Evans again.
May 21, 1885. M. Eells replies to Evans.
October 27, 1805. Hines, H. K. "An extended review of the Whitman romance."
Copied from the Pacific Christian Advocate of October 24, 1895. Claims that Whitman did not save Oregon.
November 21, 1896. Hines, George H. Reply to H. K. Hines' criticism of Nixon et al.
An able defense of pro-Whitman statements.
February 17, 1897. Regarding Whitman monument with an Ogden document about the massacre.
January 30, 1898. Regarding the reinterment on January 29 of the bones of the victims of the massacre.
September 1, 1901. M. Eells replies to Bourne.
March 26, ? . Bourne's article from the Sunday School Times.
September 3, 1902. Marshall's review of Mowry's "Marcus Whitman." Long article entitled "Evisceration of Dr. W. A. Mowry's book on the Whitman myth."
October 26, 1902. Mowry's reply to Marshall.
January 18, 1903. M. Eells replies to Marshall.
February 2, 1903. Prof. Schafer on the status of the Whitman question. In the same number C. Johnson in an article "Examining the myth" stands by Marshall.
February 8, 1903. Marshall defends his review of Mowry.
March 20, 1903. Professor Schafer replies to Marshall.
May 31, 1903. M. Eells reviews Bourne.
September 13, 1903. Marshall on the authorship and September 20, 1903. value of the account of the migration of 1843 to Oregon, which was published as Part 2, of Wilkes, Geo. "History of Oregon." N. Y. 1845. Says Burnett kept the journal. States that Burnett's Old Pioneer was written immediately after he had heard and been influenced by the Whitman saved Oregon story.

Oregonian (Portland)—*Continued*.

November 1, 1903. Professor Schafer discusses the value of Wilkes' Oregon as a Whitman source.

March 26,1905. August 20,1905. August 27, 1905. September 3, 1905. } Marshall's Hudson's Bay Co's. Archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story.

August 13, 1905. August 20, 1905. August 27, 1905 } Seven pure fictions of the Whitmanites.

September 10,1905. December 10, 1905. December 17, 1905. } Seven mistakes of Marshall.

July 8, 1906. July 15, 1906. } Marshall's reply entitled, "Rev. Myron Eells finds a mare's nest."

August 5, 1906. Eells, M. Long article in regard to the Whitman monument debt.

March 10, 1907. May 5, 1907. } Echoes of the controversy by C. T. Johnson

Outburst (Spokane, Wash.). February 8, 1896. "How Durham saved Whitman."

Mr. Durham, editor of the Spokesman-Review, has evidently taken part in the Whitman controversy, but the compiler has not examined the files of this newspaper.

Outlook, 57:859-880 (December 24, 1897). Dr. Marcus Whitman.

Notice of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the massacre. Credits the saved Oregon story

89:109 (May 23, 1908). Bruce H. Addington. Thomas Hart Benton and the occupation of Oregon.

Alludes to the Whitman "legend." States that Whitman went East to save his mission, not Oregon. In reply to the emphasis here placed upon Benton's services, see letter of T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Wash., in Outlook, 89:869-870 (August 15, 1908).

Overland Monthly. o. s. 1:157-133 (August, 1868). Applegate, Jesse. A day with the early colony.

Reminiscences of Whitman and the migration of 1843. Often quoted.

o. s. 3:148-159 (August, 1869). Victor, Mrs. F. F. Manifest destiny of the West.

In this article, Mrs. Victor sanctions the Walla Walla dinner story with the announcement of the Red River Immigration as a basis for Whitman's ride.

o. s. 6:297-306 (April, 1871). St. Mathew, John H. The Northwest boundary.

Whitman's ride. Condemns the H. B. Co. Says Whitman's devotion to his country was probably the cause of the massacre.

Pacific.

May 25, 1865.
June 1, 1865.
June 8, 1865.
June 15, 1865.
June 22, 1865.
June 29, 1865.
July 6, 1865.

Spalding, H. H. History of Indian affairs among the Nez Perces.

September 14, 1865. Early missionary labors among the Indians of Oregon.

September 28, 1865. Two missionary ladies saved this Coast to the United States of America. Dr. Whitman's services in the emigrant route.

October 19, 1865. Dr. Whitman's winter journey.

November 9, 1865. Dr. Whitman's successful mission at Washington. The codfishery story.

Spalding's original version of the Saved Oregon story. Has been often cited as the first printed account of the "Whitman legend."

Note. Seven out of these eleven articles are scrapped in the Whitman College Library. Verbatim copies are given in Marshall's Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 108-118. Type-written copies are also in the Marshall Collection owned by Mr. C. B. Bagley of Seattle.

60:17-18 (September 7, 1905). Himes, George H. Oregon letter.

Refers to the Historical Congress in Portland at which both Bourne and Marshall were present. Expresses the hope that all of the Oregon correspondence of the American Board may soon be published.

58:10-11 (July 30, 1908). Himes, George H. Letter in regard to the death of Alanson Hinman, July 20, 1908. Gives some account of his connection with the Oregon Mission and estimates the value of his recollections.

Pacific Advance (Seattle, Wash.). 1, No. 10 (December, 1895). Ellis, Marcus. Who saved Oregon?

Long article scoring H. K. Hines and defending his own position in regard to Whitman.

Pacific Christian Advocate. December 13, 1883.

Cited by Mrs. Pringle in the Willamette Farmer of February 1, 1884, as containing a review of Barrow's Oregon by Mr. Hines in which the services of the Methodist missionaries are overestimated while the Congregationalists do not get their share of credit.

October 24, 1885. Hines, H. K. An extended review of the Whitman romance.

Copied in the Oregonian of October 27, 1895. Criticised by Geo. H. Himes in the Oregonian of November 21, 1895.

Pacific Monthly and Official Gazette (Portland, Ore.), No. 2, p. 8-10 (December, 1859). Scraps of Oregon history.

Mr. William T. Newby, a pioneer of 1845, says the impelling cause of that immigration was the introduction in Congress the previous year of Senator Linn's Donation bill. States that Senator Linn had widely distributed the Lewis and Clark journals. Whitman, tho a good man, Mr. Newby considers has been overestimated.

No. 3, p. 97-100 (January, 1860). Story of the adventures of 36 pioneers sent by Governor Abernathy in January, 1848, to California to secure aid to fight the Indians—as a result of the Whitman massacre which is here mentioned.

Pacific Wave (Published by the Students of the University of Wash.) May 19, 1905. Whitworth, George F. Lecture to the students of the University of Washington on the Early history of Oregon territory.

Purpose of the ride was to save Oregon.

Pearson's Magazine. 0:523. Raine, William Macleod. Story of the states: Oregon.

Avoids the controversy.

Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon. Proceedings.

1895, p. 13-15. Gray, W. H. Report on the Whitman monument fund. States the attempt of Elwood Evans to have the territory of Washington erect a monument to Whitman.

p. 21-24. Atkinson's address on Whitman.

Gives Walla Walla dinner story.

1876, p. 5-12. Atkinson's "American Colonist in Oregon," address at Astoria, February 22, 1876.

Saved Oregon. Walla Walla dinner.

p. 13-15. Lovejoy, A. Lawrence. Narrative of the winter trip of Dr. Marcus Whitman, across the Rocky Mountains, 1842. (Letter to Dr. Atkinson, dated Oregon City, February 14, 1876.

An important Whitman source which has been often copied.

1877, p. 5-12. Gray, W. H. President's address.

Much about Whitman. Attacks the Catholics. States that Whitman's ride to Washington was the cause of his death later on.

Portland Oregonian, see Oregonian.

Portland Weekly News. May 17, 1883. Hill, Almoran. Estimate of Whitman cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 468-470.

Prattsburg (New York) Advertiser. March 26, 1869. Story of Whitman's interview with Webster in which he says that Simpson is then at Washington and that they are planning to trade Oregon for a codfishery.

Clipping of this article is in the Spalding Scrapbook at Whitman College Library.

Puyallup (Wash.) Valley Tribune. February 20, 1904, to January 7, 1905. Montgomery, Robert. History of the Puyallup.

Contains much material relating to Whitman, upon the negative side. Complete file has not been examined.

Recorder (Boston). May 4, 1843. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 450, as containing a short statement to the effect that Dr. Whitman of the Oregon Mission had lately been in Boston and had returned to the field of his labors.

Revue des Deux Mondes. Mai 15, 1843, p. 538. Cited by Bourne. Essays in historical criticism, p. 79, as showing that even the French writers realized the importance which the United States placed upon the Oregon territory.

Sacramento Union. November 16, 1864. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 106, as containing the third printed version of the saved Oregon story, written by S. A. Clarke.

July 10, 1869. In regard to "Protestantism in Oregon." In the Spalding scrapbook.

Salem (Ore.) Statesman. August 28, 1895. Victor, Mrs. F. F. "Revival of the Whitman Romance."

San Francisco Call. July 14, 1901. Review of Mowry.

September 1, 1895. Nixon replies to Mrs. Victor's criticism of his book.

September 8, 1895. Mrs. Victor replies.

San Francisco Chronicle. August 30, 1896. "Claiming too much."

A review of Mowry.

July 14, 1901. A review of Nixon.

San Francisco Daily Herald. June 1, 1850. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, p. 667, in regard to the Whitman massacre.

Sandwich Island News. 2:54-55. Said to have contained an account of the massacre.

Seattle Daily Times. January 4, 1901.

April 12, 1903. I Bagley, C. B. Beginning and growth April 19, 1903. § of organized government in the Northwest. Contains a list of references prepared by Myron Eells. Mr. Bagley has high praise for Whitman, the missionary, but does not credit him with having political aspirations.

September 12, 1905. An account of the naming of the Seward School in Seattle. This school had been unofficially called the "Whitman School," but objection was made to the name on account of the Whitman controversy.

June 21, 1908, Magazine section, p. 3. A full page article with lurid illustrations of the mission and the massacre. Announces a movement towards placing statues of Whitman and Stevens in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building in Washington.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer. April 14, 1882. Letter from M. Eells in regard to Whitman's family.

February 26, 1885 (Weekly). Article by M. Eells.

October 22, 1897. Account of the disinterment of bones on Oct. 21 from the grave of the victims of the Whitman massacre. Gold in the tooth of Whitman's skull.

November 21, 1897. Article by Professor Edmond S. Meany on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Whitman massacre. Written to arouse interest in the Whitman monument fund.

December 8, 1897. "Did Whitman save Oregon?" Report of Father Flohr's lecture at Walla Walla in which he took a negative view.

December 12, 1897. Twyman O. Abbott suggests that Mt. Rainier be rechristened in honor of Dr. Marcus Whitman. Submits an act for presentation to Congress providing for such change.

February 10, 1898. Eells, M. "Justice to the memory of the worty dead." Says Spalding was so busy fighting the Catholics that he couldn't get the Whitman story published until 1863. States that the Oregon newspapers would not admit it to their columns.

March 29, 1899. Sherwood, Laveine. "The ride that saved Oregon." A poem.

December 29, 1899. Cox, H. R. Address on the history of Washington.

Saved Oregon story.

March 19, 1905. Diary of Mrs. H. H. Spalding.

November 28, 1907. Account of the 60th anniversary of the Whitman massacre.

August 27, 1908, Section 1, p. 8. Turner, George. Address before the American Bar Association in Seattle, August 26, 1908, on "The acquisition of the Pacific Northwest."

Saved Oregon Story. , Walla Walla dinner with the start for Washington next day. States that Whitman met Webster, Tyler, Calhoun and Benton at the National Capitol.

Seattle Public Library Bulletin. 5:67-68 (September, 1905). Banks, Mary. Reading list on "Dr. Marcus Whitman."

Spokesman-Review (Spokane, Wash.). November 26, 1905. "John A.Stoughton of Cheney, Wash., declares Whitman told him facts."

Mr. Stoughton was an emigrant of 1843. At the age of 73, he tells the saved Oregon story with some variations to Harrison. States that Whitman saw Webster and President Polk; and got a delay of the treaty then pending with England.

Sunday School Times. August 2, 1902. Controversy opened.

August 9, 1902. Griffis, W. E. "Marcus Whitman and his wagon wheel."

August 23, 1902. Weed, G. L. "My memories of Marcus Whitman."

Sunday School Times—*Continued*.

"Three W's—Whitman, woman, wagon—helped to save Oregon. That wagon may be compared without irreverance to the ark—Noel fancy he restrained if Women's Missionary Boards find in the two cherubim of the ark symbols of the two women in the wagon—Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding."

September 27, 1902. Professor Lamberton questions whether Whitman really went East to save Oregon. The editor of the Times calls for evidence.

November 1, 1902. Bourne's article based largely on the records of the A. B. C. F. M.

November 15, 1902. Mowry and Jonathan Edwards take part.

November 22, 1902. Letter from Eells.
November 29, 1902. Controversy continued.
December 13, 1902. Controversy continued.
December 20, 1902. Controversy continued.
January 10, 1903. Controversy continued.
January 24, 1903. Catroversy continued.

Tacoma Ledger. November 12, 1899. Mrs. Prentiss Whitman.

Union Central Advocate (Cincinnati, Ohio). June-July, 1905. Saved Oregon story.

Upto the Times (Walla Walla, Wash.). 1:109-202 (February, 1907). "The great day of 43." Saved Oregon story.

Walla Walla Statesman. February 9, 1866. Spalding, H. H. In this number begins a series of articles about the Oregon mission. They are interesting but must be read with caution.

February 16, 1866. Spalding, continued.
February 23, 1866. Spalding, continued.
March 2, 1866. Spalding, continued.
March 9, 1866. Spalding, continued. Massacre.
March 16, 1866. Wm. McBean under date of March 12, 1866, writes to correct "palpable misrepresentations" of Mr. Spalding in regard to Mr. McBean's defends himself.
March 23, 1866. Spalding, continued. Escape of Mr. Osborne and family.
March 30, 1866. Spalding continues the massacre. Deposition of Miss Bewley. Charges against Brouillet.

Letter from McBean in which he says: "It is passing strange that he [Spalding] should make it his study and ambition to abuse and insult the very persons who were his best friends in the hour of danger; I shall do him the justice to believe that he is either mad or crazy."

April 6, 1866. Spalding continues the massacre.
April 13, 1866. Brouillet on the Whitman massacre. Copy of a letter to Col. Gilliam, dated Fort Vancouver, March 24, 1848.

Walla Walla Statesman—*Continued.*

Note. A complete bound file of the Walla Walla Statesman covering the above dates is contained in the private library of Mr. C. B. Bagley of Seattle.

April 15, 1901. Allen, D. C. Whitman was not the prime mover in the emigration of 1843.

May 17, 1905. Account of the address of Rev. George A. Whitworth before the students of the University of Washington, Seattle, May 16, 1905. Mr. Whitworth's subject was the "Early missionary history of the state," and he took the traditional view of Whitman.

Walla Walla Union. September 9, 1893. Nixon defends his position on the Whitman question.

September 30, 1893. Call for material for Whitman Historical Society.

December 1, 1897. Memorial edition. Addresses by Dr. James R. Wilson, Rev. W. H. Scudder and others. Reminiscences, etc.

December 7, 1897. Address of Father Florr. Negative.

November 3, 1904. Interview with President Penrose in which he announces new evidence from the H. B. Co's Archives.

November 30, 1904. Anniversary address on Whitman.

January 19, 1905. Unimportant.

May 12, 1905. Honoring Nixon at Whitman College.

Walla Walla (Daily) Union-Journal. August 10, 1897. (Cited by Lyman, History of Walla Walla Co., p. 42, as August 15). Contains copy of Whitman's letter to the Secretary of War enclosing synopsis of a proposed bill.

Washington Catholic. May 28, 1853. Review of Myron Eells' History of Indian missions on the Pacific Coast. 'Roasts his treatment of Catholics in connection with the Whitman massacre.

Washington Historian (Tacoma, Wash.). 65-70 (January, 1901). 134-138 (April, 1901). Two articles by Myron Eells upon the life of Asa Bowen Smith. Refers to Smith's work at the Whitman mission. Catholic controversy brought up.

138-141 (April, 1901). An unsigned sketch of Perrin B. Whitman in which he is made to say that Dr. Whitman said at his father's house that he took the great risk of the mid-winter ride across the continent "to stay the completion of the Ashburton treaty then pending."

Washington Historical Quarterly. 1:39-41 (October, 1906). Bagley, Clarence B. Our first Indian war.

Exonerates H. B. Co. from any responsibility for the Whitman massacre. Gives a list of those killed.

1:49 (January, 1907). Wickett, W. T. The pathfinder.

Allusin to Whitman's ride implying that its object was political.

Washington Historical Quarterly—*Continued.*

1:151 (April, 1907). Howell, John Ewing. Diary of an emigrant of 1845.

Under date of September 17, 1845, Mr. Howell has this entry: "Trav. and camped on the Umatallow river....Dr. Whitman and lady visited our camp this morning and travelled with us and camped with us. He had a wagon-load of flour along not bolted 88 pr. 100 lbs."

1:209-216 (July, 1907). Johnson, C. T. Daniel Webster, Lord Ashburton and Old Oregon.

Codishery story discussed. Writer contends that altho Webster was an inveterate fisherman, he had no serious thought of bartering Oregon for any purpose whatever.

2:24-37 (October, 1907). Eells, Edwin. The Whitman monument.

Gives a history of the monument with a plea for funds to pay off the indebtedness.

2:132-145 (January, 1908). Eells, Edwin. Heroes and heroines of long ago.

Says it was the Macedonian cry that saved Oregon.

2:195-208 (April, 1908). Johnson, C. T. Evolution of a lament.

A critical discussion of the various versions of the Macedonian cry.

2:236 (April, 1908). Letter of Archibald McDonald dated Colville, 25th Jan'y, 1837.

Alludes to the Mission settlements of Whitman and Spalding.

2:260 (April, 1908). Letter from Peter Skeen Ogden to John McLeod, dated Western Caledonia, Feb'y 25th, 1837.

This interesting letter shows that in spite of the uniform courtesy extended to missionaries and other settlers from United States, they were sometimes bored by their presence. "We had an assortment of Am. Missionarys the Rev. Mr. Spalding & Lady two Mr. Lees & Mr. Shepard surely clergymen enough when the Indian population is now so reduced but this is not all there are also five more Gent. as follows 2 in quest of flowers 2 killing all the birds in the Columbia & 1 in quest of rocks and stones all these bucks came with letters from the President of the U. States and you know it would not be good policy not to treat them politely they are a perfect nuisance."

Washington Pioneer Association. Proceedings, 1903-1904. Seattle. 1904. p. 35-40.

Eells, Myron. The trials and heroisms of the pioneer women.

Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding with mention of the ride.

Well Spring. August 30, 1902. Brain, Belle M. Marcus Whitman, the patriot.

Saved Oregon story.

Westshore (Portland, Ore.). 14:78 (February, 1888). Anderson, A. Jay. Whitman's ride.

A poem in nine stanzas with the theme of "Saved the states their Oregon."

15:22-25 (January, 1889). Wells, Harry L. The geneology of Oregon.

Says that Whitman did not originate the emigration of 1843.

Whitman College Pioneer, 7: No. 4:30 (October, 1902). States that Prof. Lyman has been asked to write the Whitman story for the American Antiquarian.

Whitman College Quarterly. 1:1-18 (January, 1897). "A new chapter in the acts of the apostles."

An unsigned article giving the full saved Oregon story, with details of the Macedonian cry, the flag raising, the attempt of the H. B. Co. to stop Whitman's wagon and the Walla Walla dinner.

1:18-20 (January, 1897). The Whitman family. Claims that Abraham Lincoln and ex-Governor Russell of Mass. were scions of the Whitman family.

1, No. 2:17-28 (April, 1897). Wilson, Mrs. E. M. The last day at Waiilatpu.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Elizabeth Sager Helm.

1, No. 3:17-20 (October, 1897). An interview with Mr. B. F. Nichols, September 29, 1897.

Recollections of the Whitman mission. (See also vol. 2, No. 1 (March, 1898), p. 33-35.

2, No. 1:21-24 (October, 1898). Parker, Samuel J. Rev. Samuel Parker and the Oregon Mission.

Tells of Whitman's stopping at Ithaca on his way to Washington.

1, No. 4:1-51 (December, 1897). Whitman Anniversary. Eulogistic addresses.

1, No. 4:52-53 (December, 1897). Hauerbach, O? A. Poem on Whitman "Written for the Whitman memorial celebration by a distinguished author who wishes his name withheld."

2, No. 1:1-32 (March, 1898). Eells, M. The foundations of the Whitman "myth."

Enlarged from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of January 6, 1898.

2, No. 2:20-28 (June, 1898). Lowell, Stephen A. The Indians of the Whitman massacre.

2, No. 2:29-32 (June, 1898). "Statement of Edward H. Lenox.

2, No. 2:33-37 (June, 1898). Interview with Perrin B. Whitman at Lewiston, Idaho, April 27, 1898. (Continued in the October number, p. 35-37).

2, No. 2:38 (June, 1898). Chapman, Katherine E. "At Whitman's grave." A poem.

Whitman College Quarterly—*Continued.*

2, No. 4:11-17 (December, 1898). Eells, Myron. Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding. (First paper).
Contains Whitman material.

2, No. 4:21-26 (December, 1898). "Massacre at Whitman mission," by Helen M. Church—a survivor.

2, No. 4:26-29 (December, 1898). Copy of a letter of Marcus Whitman written to H. F. Wiswell, Naples, Ontario Co., New York, dated Fort Vancouver, Oregon, June 29, 1845.

3, No. 1:3-18 (March, 1899). Eells, Myron. Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding. continued.
Intimates that Spalding, as opposed to Whitman, believed in getting the Indians to settle down and cease their migratory habits.

3, No. 2:3-18 (June, 1899). Eells, Myron. The Spalding article continued.

3, No. 2:19-24 (June, 1899). Letters of Marcus Whitman to Rev. S. Parker.
The first of these letters is dated at Vancouver, September 18, 1838, and tells of the trip out to the mission.
The second letter is dated at Walla Walla, under dates of October 8 and October 15, 1836, and tells of the locating of the mission. Speaks of the cooperation of the H. B. Co.

3, No. 3:22 (October, 1898). Eells, Myron. The Spalding article concluded.
Tells of the preparation of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37. Says that Spalding read the proof sheets in the Government Printing Office and that half or more of the pamphlets were carried off or destroyed. Gives list of Spalding's writings.

4, No. 3:30 (October, 1899). Eigler, Mary L. Marcus Whitman.
A poem.

Willamette Farmer, February 1, 1884. Pringle, Mrs. C. S. "An old pioneer."
Insists on giving Whitman and the Congregationalists fair credit and not to overestimate the Methodists as did Mr. Hines in reviewing Barrow's Oregon in the Pacific Christian Advocate. December 13, 1883.

Yale Alumni Weekly. 17:642 (March 25, 1908). Hart, Albert Bushnell. The literary career of Edward G. Bourne.
"Though not the first to question the preposterous claims made by some people for Whitman as the savior of Oregon, he was the first to criticise the documents seriatim, and to show by undeniable testimony that a myth had been formed in the midst of the most recent history."

DR. JOHN M'LOUGHLIN AND HIS GUESTS.*

According to biblical verse three score years and ten are counted as the span of a man's natural life. In the year 1838, seventy years ago, a trading post on the north bank of the Columbia river, about one hundred miles above its mouth, constituted the commercial, the educational, and the social center of the Oregon Country, as well as the seat of its administrative authority. This trading post, or Fort so-called, then comprised a community of, one (Holman) says about seven hundred and another (Wilson) says about five hundred inhabitants. It had its school, its hospital, its regular church services both Protestant and Catholic, and even its library (Travels of Samuel Parker, p. 171), and the conduct of its citizens was more orderly than in most towns of the same size today. There was no community of equal importance on the Pacific Coast, and none of similar size except perhaps three in California; and even the San Francisco settlement, then Yerba Buena, contributed to its commercial activity. Vancouver, of the State of Washington, U. S. A., ranks historically as the first community of any size in the Pacific Northwest. Its founder and builder, and administrator for a period of twenty-two years was Dr. John McLoughlin, the grandest character to be found in the History of the Oregon Country, but whose real worth and worth are even yet little known by the people of the present generation. It would be presumptious to attempt to sketch his entire career within the limits necessarily assigned to this paper, but we may with interest glean from the journals and letters of some of those who visited Vancouver during that period and present a passing but somewhat familiar view of Dr. McLoughlin and of the times in which he lived there, and a few facts of the early history of this region in which we live.

To the first forty years of the life of Dr. John McLoughlin, before his coming to the Pacific Slope, but brief reference will be made; in fact until the closed archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company are opened to research a satisfactory statement is not possible. He was born in 1784, either on a small estate or in a small village about one hundred

* A paper read on Oct. 6th, 1908, at Spokane, Wash., before the Washington Literary Association, by Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, President of the Association.

miles below Quebec on the South side of the St. Lawrence river; his father died during his youth and he was brought up, in all probability, in the family of the maternal grandfather, who was a retired officer of the British army, named Malcolm Fraser; together with an only brother, he was educated for the medical profession, and studied in Canada and Scotland, and perhaps in France; the brother remained in the Old Country to practice, but he returned to Canada and soon connected himself with the fur trade, at first in professional practice but afterward as a man of affairs rather than a physician; he became a partner as well as one of the officials of the Northwest Company, that bitter rival of the Hudson's Bay Co. up to the year 1821, when the two companies coalesced; along with other leading men of the fur trade he necessarily became more or less involved in the armed conflicts that arose between the two rival interests, and was with others in 1818 actually tried before a jury for the alleged murder of certain individuals but was acquitted after a deliberation of forty-five minutes; he was then and afterward the chief factor at Fort William, on Lake Superior, the most important trading post, or Factory so called, of the Northwest Co.; he was selected in 1824 as the one man best fitted to be put in charge of the business of the two companies (under one name) west of the Rocky Mountains. By the first route of regular travel across the American continent, as laid out by that intrepid explorer and surveyor David Thompson, he arrived at Fort George (Astoria) in the early fall of 1824, but at once selected the better location at Vancouver and began the erection of the stockade and buildings for the post there.

Forty years of age and in the prime of manhood, schooled in years of active experience and vested with supreme authority within the limit of the large powers granted to the powerful Hudson's Bay Co., physically standing six feet four inches high and of perfect proportions, with a clean shaven, ruddy face and hair already white allowed to grow long and fall over his neck and shoulders, he became the central figure of the Oregon country, feared and respected by the Indians, then numbering perhaps one hundred thousand, loved and respected by the officers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and honored and revered by the pioneers to Oregon as they came to know him.

The first guest at Vancouver we will mention is David Douglas the botanist, sent by the Horticultural Society of London in 1824 to gather the flora of this section of the world. The name of Douglas has become permanently attached to our commerce,

through the famous Douglas Fir, as some of our best lumber is commercially known. David Douglas arrived off the river Columbia in the Hudson's Bay Ship William & Anne, on Feb. 12, 1825, but it was April 7th before she could enter the river; a rather dismal conclusion to a long voyage. Conditions on the Columbia river bar have improved some since then, but are yet subject to newspaper comment. The journals of Douglas, written while he wandered, often alone with an Indian guide, through the coast and interior regions of old Oregon afford very interesting reading. The original Ft. Vancouver was being erected that year but the Chief Factor was down the river to Ft. George as soon as informed that the ship had arrived; and Douglas thus records his welcome: "All my paper and trunks were sent ashore on the 16th and on the 19th I embarked in a small boat with Mr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor, who received me with demonstrations of the most kindly feeling and showed me every civility which it was in his power to bestow." After the summer and fall of botanizing, he was back at Vancouver and thus again writes: "Owing to rainy weather and leaking hut, Mr. McLoughlin kindly invited me to his half finished house, whither I moved all my little articles on the morning of Xmas day, and after morning service the gentlemen of the fort took an airing on horseback." Would the time would permit of telling more of the usual Christmas festivities at Vancouver! In May, 1826, Douglas was in the Spokane country and at Fort Colville, which had been partly built in 1825, and Dr. McLoughlin was there to look over the improvements and give instructions. The journal says, "Friday, the 26th of (May) started at daylight for a trip to the hills south of Kettle Falls. The weather was warm, the thermometer 86 degrees, and sitting down to rest awhile..... I fell asleep and never woke until late in the afternoon, when being twenty miles from home, I would have gladly taken up my quarters there for the night, but that I feared Mr. McLoughlin, who expected me back, would be uneasy. I therefore returned with all speed over a mountainous and rugged way, and arrived near midnight, and found him on the point of sending two Indians to seek for me; his anxiety however lest any accident should have befallen me was changed into hearty laughter when he heard of the manner in which I had been spending my time." Mr. McLoughlin gave the Indians to understand that Douglas was the "Grass Man" with power over flowers and shrubs. Returning down the river alone with his Indian guide in August, he (Douglas) found six or seven

hundred Indians camped at the Falls (Celilo) fishing, and had an experience. He hung his jacket up to dry and discovered that his tobacco box had been stolen. "As soon as I discovered my loss, I perched myself on a rock and in their own tongue gave the Indians a furious reprimand, applying to them all the epithets of abuse which I had often heard them bestow on one another; and reminding them that though they saw me only a blanket man, I was more than that, I was the "Grass Man," and therefore not at all afraid of them. I could not recover my box but slept unmolested after all the bustle." How was it safe for a lone botanist to wander up and down the Columbia, Spokane and Walla Walla rivers in 1826? Because the Indians already knew that Dr. McLoughlin, the Great White Chief or the White Eagle Chief, as they called him, would punish those who should do him harm as certainly as he would reward any who did a service. Under his wise authority the control of the Indians, morally rather than physically, by the traders and trappers was so perfect that we can only wonder at it.

In August, 1828, Jedediah S. Smith unexpectedly became a guest at Fort Vancouver. Jedediah Smith was an American Fur Trapper and Trader (a partner of Jackson and Sublette, whose field of operations was the headwaters of the Missouri and Snake and Green rivers) and a very interesting character. He was brave and resourceful and a very loyal American; and was also an ardent Methodist, and quite contrary to general practice among the Mountain Men, is said to have engaged in daily prayer and invoked the divine favor at his meals, although in this habit quite alone. In the summer of 1828, in the mountains of Southern Oregon, his party of eighteen men was attacked by Indians and almost wiped out of existence; but four of them escaped northward and finally reached Vancouver. As a competitive trader, he might have been received without ceremony and sent on his way with only sufficient aid to enable him to reach his partners again; and this without criticism. But Dr. McLoughlin welcomed him cordially and provided for the wants of himself and his companions, and kept him as a guest for seven months. In March, 1828, Smith journeyed with the regular Hudson's Bay Co. Express as far as the Spokane country and then proceeded East through the Flathead country to join his associates, and in 1830 joined in a letter to the Secretary of War which was afterward printed as Senate Doc. No. 39, 21st Congress (1831), from the latter part of which, the following is quoted:

"One of the undersigned, to-wit: Jedediah S. Smith, in his excursions west of the Mountains arrived at the post of the Hudson's Bay Co., called Ft. Vancouver, near the mouth of the Multonomah River. He arrived there in August, 1828, and left the 24th of March, 1829, and made observations which he deems it material to communicate to the Government:.....'The crop of 1828 was 700 bu. of wheat. The grain full and plump and making good flour; fourteen acres of corn, the same number of acres of peas, 8 acres of oats, 4 or 5 acres of barley and fine garden, some small apple trees, and grape vines. The ensuing spring 80 bu. of seed wheat were sown and they had about 200 head of cattle, 52 horses and breeding mares, 300 head of hogs, 14 goats, the usual domestic fowls. They have mechanics, viz: coopers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, tinner and baker. A good saw mill on the bank of the river 5 miles above, a grist mill worked by hand, but intended to work by water'.....Their (i. e. the Hudson's Bay Co's.) influence over the Indians is now decisive. Of this the Americans have constant and daily proofs, in the preference which they give to the British in every particular.

"In saying this, it is an act of justice to say also, that the treatment received by Mr. Smith at Fort Vancouver was kind and hospitable, that personally he owes thanks to Gov. Simpson (McLoughlin) and the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co. for the hospitable entertainment he received from them, and for the efficient and successful aid which they gave him in recovering from the Umpquah Indians a quantity of fur and many horses of which these Indians had robbed him in 1828. As to the injury which must happen to the United States from the British getting control of all the Indians beyond the Mountains, building and repairing ships in the tidewaters of the Columbia and having a station there for Privateers and vessels of war, is too obvious to need a recapitulation.

"The object of this communication being to state facts to the Government, and to show the facility of crossing the Continent to the Great Falls of the Columbia with wagons, the ease of supporting any number of men by driving cattle to supply them where there was no buffalo, and also to show the true nature of the British establishments on the Columbia and the unequal operation of the convention of 1818."

This visit of Jedediah Smith is mentioned somewhat in detail because it is quite evident to the writer that from him Dr. McLoughlin obtained some opinions as to the future settlement

of the Columbia River country by the Americans and from that time anticipated such settlment and began to prepare for it; for this was the year that the Doctor made the first improvement on the land claim at the Falls of the Willamette and initiated rights there.

It would have been very natural that these two individuals should discuss together the future of the country, especially as the Convention of 1818 had just been renewed between England and the United States. This letter also shows that as early as 1831, the Departments at Washington had reliable information as to a wagon route to the Falls of the Columbia.

In 1828 the new Fort Vancouver (Stockade and Buildings) was built about a quarter of a mile west of the first fort and 200 yards from the bank of the river. And during 1828, while Mr. Smith was there, Gov. Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Co. visited the Fort upon a tour of inspection.

In the years 1832 to 1836 inclusive, Nathaniel J. Wyeth from Boston, a very energetic and persistent Yankee and with the instincts and habits of a gentleman, although neither a Methodist or a total abstainer (at least not while in the Oregon country), established and attempted to carry on business enterprises in the Columbia river basin in competition with the Hudson's Bay Co., but found himself unable to do so against the stronger rivals and in the end sold out to them upon terms agreeable to both. Of the kind and generous treatment by Dr. McLoughlin his journal speaks in many places as does also the following letter written in 1850 (see Pg. 258, "Dr. John McLoughlin" by Holman):

Cambridge, Nov. 28, 1850.

Hon Robert C. Winthrop:

Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Sam'l R. Thurston of which the following is a portion:

"I desire you to give me as correct a description as you can at this late period, of the manner in which you and your party, and your enterprise in Oregon, were treated by the Hudson's Bay Co. west of the Rocky Mountains, and particularly by Dr. John McLoughlin, then its Chief Factor. This Dr. McLoughlin has since you left the country, rendered his name odious among the people of Oregon, by his endeavors to prevent the settlement of the country and cripple its growth. Now that he wants a few favors of our Government, he pretends that he has been the long-tried friend of Americans and American enterprise west of the mountains."

"I have written Mr. Thurston, in reply to the above extract, that myself and parties were kindly received, and were treated well in all respects by John McLoughlin, Esq., and the officers

of the Hudson's Bay Co., but from the tenor of his letter, I have no confidence that my testimony will be presented before any committee to whom may be referred any subjects touching the interests of said John McLoughlin, Esq.

"The very honorable treatment received by me from Mr. McLoughlin during the years inclusive from 1842 to 1846, during which time there were no other Americans on the Lower Columbia, except myself and parties, calls on me to state the facts.

"The purpose of this letter is to ask the favor of you to inform me what matter is pending, in which Mr. McLoughlin's interests are involved, and before whom, and if you will present a memorial from me on the matters stated in Mr. Thurston's letter as above.

"Respectfully and truly your obedient servant,

"Nath. J. Wyeth."

This was written when Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon Delegate to Congress and after whom Thurston County, Washington, was named, was endeavoring to discredit Dr. McLoughlin's record and take away his land claim. Robert C. Winthrop was then Speaker of the National House of Representatives. Thus did Dr. McLoughlin deal with his competitors in the fur trade.

In 1834, the missionaries began to arrive on the Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Co. was not in the business of saving souls or civilizing Indians, but the cordial reception given to the American missionaries, who nearly all in turn became guests at Vancouver, is clearly shown by their journals and letters.

The first we will mention is Rev. Samuel Parker, the Presbyterian, who came in the early fall of 1835. He was escorted all the way from the rendezvous on Green River to Fort Walla Walla by a band of Nez Percés. His route was by the mountain trails of the Salmon River and Clearwater countries and through where Lewiston stands now; and some have designated him as the plug hat missionary, because the Indians said he wore a high hat all the way through. He was a sincere and devout man and continually anxious about the salvation of the people he met, whether Indians or whites. But his sincerity seems to have made a good impression, for Mrs. Whitman wrote that he had been a favorite at Fort Vancouver and had taught the children there some religious hymns. He explored the interior country and with the aid of Dr. McLoughlin selected the sites for the Spalding and Whitman missions. Of his arrival at Fort Vancouver he himself wrote:

"Here, by the kind invitation of Dr. McLoughlin, and welcomed by the other gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co., I took

on my residence for the winter.....I am agreeably situated in this place. Rooms in a new house are assigned to me, well furnished, and all the attendance which I can wish, with access to as many valuable books as I have time to read; and opportunities to ride out for exercise, and to see the adjoining country; and in addition to all these, the society of gentlemen, enlightened, polished and sociable.....In the year 1835, at this post, there were 450 head cattle, 100 horses, 200 sheep, 40 goats, and 300 hogs. They had raised the same year 5,000 bu. of wheat, of the best quality I ever saw; 1,500 bushels of potatoes, 100 bu. of barley, 1,000 bu. of oats, 2,000 of peas, and a large quantity of garden vegetables."

And when about to leave Vancouver for the Sandwich Islands on the regular Hudson's Bay Co's. vessel, he wrote as follows:

"Monday, April 11th (1836). Having made arrangements to leave this place on the 14th, I called upon the chief clerk for my bill. He said the company had made no bill against me, but felt a pleasure in gratuitously conferring all they had done for the benefit of the object in which I was engaged.....In addition to the civilities I had received as a guest, I had drawn upon their store for clothing, for goods to pay my Indians, whom I had employed to convey me in canoes on various journeyings hundreds of miles; to pay my guides and interpreters; and have drawn upon their provisions store for the support of these men while in my employ."

In 1836, Sept. 12th, at evening, the Whitman-Spalding party arrived at Vancouver, in company with McLeod & McKay—returning from their annual rendezvous at Green River; Mr. Parker had given notice of their coming that year and Dr. McLoughlin had given instructions to his traders to escort them through, which they did with some inconvenience to themselves of course, but with unusual civility. They remained at the post for more than a month before returning to their mission locations in the interior. Of the many interesting items in the letters of Mrs. Whitman to her mother and others, we can quote only a few:

"We are now at Vancouver, the New York of the Pacific Ocean. Our first sight as we approach the fort, was two ships lying in the harbor, one of which, the Neriade, Capt. Royal, had just arrived from London; the other, the Columbia, Capt. Dandy, came last May and has since been to the Sandwich Islands and returned." Describing the garden back of the fort, she says: "What a delightful place is this.....Here we find fruit of every

description, apples, peaches, grapes, pears, plums and figs in abundance; also cucumbers, melons, beans, peas, beets, cabbage, tomatoes and every kind of vegetable too numerous to mention."

She speaks of the unexpected pleasure of the society of two English ladies then resident there. She visited the barns and the stock, and the dairy, and the store room, where were "the cargo of the two ships, all in unbroken bales: chiefly Indian goods; every article for comfort and frugality that we need." Of the mill, she says it was run by horse power and had a wire bolt and that "the company has one at Colville that goes by water, five days' ride from Walla Walla from whence we expect to obtain our flour, potatoes and pork. They have three hundred hogs." In regard to supplies for their mission, she says: "Dr. McLoughlin promises to loan us enough to make a beginning and all the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. He appears desirous to afford us every facility for living, in his power. No person could have received a more hearty welcome, or be treated with greater kindness than we have been since our arrival."

The Methodist missionaries had begun to arrive in 1834, Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, being the first, and began the extensive operations in the Willamette Valley. Of the many acts of kindness to them we will not make mention, but will record the arrival of the "great reinforcement" to that mission that came in 1840 on the ship Lausanne from New York, as a result of the visit of Jason Lee to the States in 1838-9. We quote from what Capt. Spaulding of that vessel wrote in his log book, beginning after their arrival at Astoria: "The next morning after getting under way, I was hailed by a canoe, which I found had been dispatched by Dr. McLoughlin, who, hearing of my arrival, immediately sent on board the best pilot at the fort, to assist me, sending also a large tub of fresh butter, and a bag of fresh bread.——Upon my arrival abreast Fort Vancouver about six o'clock in the evening, I found the Doctor on the bank, ready to receive us. He immediately came on board and invited all the ship's company, 54 in number, to take tea with him at the fort.——The next day all the ship's company were provided with comfortable quarters and an abundant table at the fort; and this hospitality was continued until they were all sent to their several destinations. One of the peculiar traits of the Doctor's character is that he never tires in his benevolent acts. This I was told by those who have been intimate with him for years; and as far as my experience goes, I can truly confirm all

that was told me; for, while at Vancouver, I received from him every civility, and his kind offices followed me all the way down the river, and even out over the bar."

No one can read the records of these missions of the different sects and come to any other conclusion than that but for the friendliness of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Co., they could not have been begun or maintained; but under another personality the conditions would have been far different even then, for Dr. McLoughlin was broad minded, and out of his town site at Oregon City he gave lots free of charge to Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, as well as Catholics for religious use; and himself headed a voluntary subscription of money to assist Jason Lee, in 1836, in the work on the Willamette.

Dr. McLoughlin, when a child was baptized in the Catholic church, but it was not until Christmas morning of 1842 that he partook of the holy communion and entered into the membership of that church. Up to about 1839 or '40, he affiliated more especially with the Church of England (Episcopalian). A great many of the traders and clerks were French Canadians, and French was the common language at Vancouver; but a few used English regularly. So the services were read on Sundays and feast days by Dr. McLoughlin in French. But the great majority of the artisans, servants and laborers were Catholics, and a regular meeting place and time was provided for them also. The first Catholic clergymen arrived from Montreal in 1838, Rev. F. N. Blanchet and Rev. A. Demers, of the Oblate Fathers. In 1836 there had arrived from England by sea, a Church of England clergyman to act as chaplain, Rev. Herbert Beaver, accompanied by his wife. It is probable that Dr. McLoughlin at once asked for a resident priest of the Catholic faith; at any rate these came and were paid a regular salary by the Hudson's Bay Co. for some years. Rev. Herbert Beaver did not remain long; he does not seem to have acclimated well. And some of those who had come as clergymen and laymen of the Presbyterian and Methodist missions developed a fondness for material things in preference to the spiritual, and began to trouble Dr. McLoughlin for employment and about the land claim at Oregon City. These circumstances and a book entitled "The End of Controversy" are said to have influenced him toward the religion of his own parents, although his fellow officers, Jas. Douglas, Dr. Tolmie, and others, remained Protestants.

We next come to the reception of the American Immigrants

on the Columbia. The high mark in the fur business of the Hudson's Bay Co. west of the Rocky Mts. seems to have been reached in 1830 or '32; after that the extra dividends of the Company began to fall off, although always large enough to keep the Company out of bankruptcy. So in the early thirties, if not sooner, Dr. McLoughlin was compelled to consider the future of the Company during the gradual diminution of its most profitable line of trade. The situation was complicated by the fact that the boundary question was receiving no active attention, and the American people had just as much right in the country as the British, and were likely to have. And as early as 1824 Dr. McLoughlin had been informed by the officers of the Company in London "that on no event could the British Government claim extend south of the Columbia river." It has been the popular belief that the policy of the Hudson's Bay Co. was to keep the Oregon country for its own use and to discourage the settlement of it by the Americans and others. This, however, is not in accord with recent research and opinion. It is safe and proper to say that the Hudson's Bay Co. did not discourage settlement, but at a very early date expected it and prepared to accept it as inevitable and to profit by it in lines of trade. To say otherwise is to discredit the loyalty of Dr. McLoughlin and his associates to their Company and their country; and documents recently copied in the British archives at London seem to prove this. This policy was probably recommended to the Company by Dr. McLoughlin and accepted by them. But had there been another man than he at the head of the affairs on the Columbia, a man lacking his breadth of view and his wonderful humanity, the story of the administration of that policy would be much less pleasant and delightful to relate.

Dr. McLoughlin has been often referred to as the autocrat of the Oregon country. We more often think of an autocrat as of despotic or aristocratic men; but his was a truly catholic autocracy and he loved to be on common ground with the common people. Nothing reveals this better than his treatment of the American immigrants.

These immigrants began to come in force in 1842, and in 1843, '44 and '45 and later years came in large numbers. The immigration of 1843 contained nearly one thousand people, men, women and children, and that of 1845 some 2,500 people. These immigrants arrived at The Dalles in the Fall after a five or six months' journey across the plains in wagons, in conditions of exhaustion and uncertainty, and in many instances of distress

and need. Of the migration of 1843 this was particularly true. From Ft. Boise on Snake river, those pioneers practically found and made their own wagon route across the Blue Mountain range, with only an Indian to guide them; and beyond the Whitman Mission no one could tell them a way, for Dr. Whitman said he had traveled down the river only by boat. So they struggled along alone. But for the timely and unstinted aid given to these immigrants, there would have been such loss of life from exposure and destitution as would have caused fighting on the Columbia and a declaration of war between United States and England as soon as the news of such a condition reached the States. Of how they were sent for with boats and many of them sheltered and fed at Fort Vancouver, and supplied with food and clothing and seed and grain and stock, the story has been often told. But Mr. Joseph Watt, of the migration of 1844, has reduced to a very familiar narrative his own experiences, as follows:

Trans. Oregon Pioneer Association, 1886, Pg. 24-27.

"On the 13th of November, 1844, a company of immigrants landed at Fort Vancouver, beyond there on a batteau commanded by Joseph Hess, an immigrant of 1843. The boat belonged to the Hudson's Bay Co. Mr. Hess was entrusted with the boat for the purpose of bringing immigrants down the river. We had eaten the last of our provisions at our last camp, and were told by Hess that we could get plenty at the Fort, with or without money: that the old Doctor never turned people away hungry. This made us feel quite comfortable, for there was not a dollar among us. As near as I can remember the company consisted of sixteen men, five women and four children. As soon as we landed at the Fort the men all started to find Mr. Loughlin, the women and children walking about the shore for exercise. We soon found the Doctor in a small room he called his office. He was a tall, broad shouldered, portly and dignified old gentleman; his hair long and white as snow; face clearly shaven, ruddy and full, and of rather a nervous temperament. He met us pleasantly, made us welcome, enquired as to our journey down the river, and particularly of those we left behind. We were the first to arrive, with the exception of a few packers. He told us that he had furnished the boats free of charge to certain parties to bring immigrants down the river, limiting their charges to keep them from taking advantage of necessity. He spoke of our being so late, and feared there would be considerable suffering before they could all be taken down the river, but should do all in his power until they reached their destination.

"We then made known to him our wants; we were all out of provisions. There was a small table in one corner of the room, on which he took a seat, and directed us to stand in line,—(there-

being so many of us the line reached nearly around the room'—and then told us the year before and previous years he had furnished the people with all the provisions and clothing they wanted, but lately had established a trading house at Oregon City where we could get supplies; but for immediate necessity he would supply provisions at the fort. Several of our party broke in, saying, 'Doctor, I have no money to pay you, and I don't know when or how I can pay you.'

"'Tut, tut, never mind that; you cannot suffer,' said the Doctor. He then commenced at the head man, saying, 'Your name, if you please; how many in the family and what do you desire?'

"Upon receiving an answer, the Doctor wrote an order, directing him where to go to have it filled, then called the next man, and so on until all were supplied. He told us the account of each man would be sent to Oregon City, and when we took a claim and raised wheat, we must settle the account by delivering wheat at that place. Some few who came after us got clothing. Such was the case with Mr. Hall and self and others who came by land down the trail. If he had said 'We have these supplies to sell for cash down,' I think we would have suffered. After we had our orders filled, we went on board the boat which was to take us to Linnton, . . . We found the Doctor in a towering rage; he was giving it to Hess right and left. It appeared that the Doctor had come to the river to see the boat. He found it, as he supposed, full of wagons, and as he had given strict orders that only bedding, clothing and farming equipment, etc., should be brought with the immigrants, and that none should be left. He believed that Hess was using an extra fee by bringing wagons. We commenced getting into the boat and climbing on top of the wagons. When all were in there was not an inch of spare room left. The Doctor stood looking on, until we were out in the river; he evidently expected to see the boat sink. Soon we heard him call out: 'Mr. Hess, all right, sir.'"

There were more distinguished visitors at Vancouver of whom we cannot speak; Lieut. Slacum in 1837; the Wilkes Exploring Squadron in 1841, and John C. Fremont in 1843; neither can we tell of the individual trappers and traders from the many other forts that were maintained in remote parts of Old Oregon, or of the large commerce carried on from Vancouver under the direction of Dr. McLoughlin, when the only means of communication were the Indian runner, the Canadian Courier du Bois and the sailing vessel; nor of the visits of Sir George Simpson, the colonial governor of the Hudson's Bay Co., whose veracity at certain times seems to have been about equal to that of some oily politician of the present day, and whose personal jealousy of Dr. McLoughlin seems to be at the bottom of the later troubles over the land claim. Those troubles are not yet capable of satisfactory explanation.

In the fall of 1842 Lord Aberdeen, of the British Foreign Office, seems to have wakened up to the fact that the Oregon country was slipping from England's grasp. Daniel Webster had not been easy game in the negotiation with Lord Ashburton, and was no more easy during the rest of his term in the cabinet of President Tyler. The policy of quietly assisting in the colonization that was suggested to President Jackson and begun under Van Buren's administration, was continued by President Tyler and Secretary Webster. It was too late when the British ministry wakened to this situation and made its final bluff to retain all the country lying north and west of the Columbia. A squadron was sent to the Pacific and an armed vessel was kept in Puget Sound and another in the Columbia; and fortifications were planned at four or five different points on the Columbia, and one even at the Falls of the Willamette. British officers appeared at Vancouver; Capt. Park and Lieut. Peel from off the British ship America, and Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour of the engineering corps, direct from London by way of Montreal, in August, 1845. The former of these two drew sketches of various localities, really for use in case of war, and these have come down to us in a folio of prints to be found in some few libraries and private collections. These officers, the last two especially, sent in colored reports as to the loyalty of Dr. McLoughlin and he was criticized by jingoes who did not understand his true motives or his high character, and as a result he voluntarily (?) tendered his resignation from the service of the Hudson Bay Co. and left Vancouver in the fall of the very year the boundary was finally fixed as the Forty-ninth degree, north latitude. He passed the remainder of his days at Oregon City, where he had established property rights and built a flouring mill, receiving, of course, the regular salary paid to a retired officer of the Company. As soon as it became possible to do so, he declared his intentions and became an American citizen. He passed from this life on September 3rd, 1857, at the age of seventy-three years, and the graves of himself and wife, next to the Catholic Church at Oregon City, is the most revered spot in that community, of which he was the founder.

Of the eleven years of Dr. McLoughlin's residence at Oregon City, our limitations permit of only passing mention. There was a touch of real martyrdom to these last years of his life. While loved and respected by the great majority of the older settlers, a larger number had arrived who did not personally know him; and by some whom he had befriended his kindness was forgot-

ten, and the finger of scorn and tongue of vilification was even turned upon him. This was primarily because of his land claim. The first opposition to his possession of this claim may have been honest, under the assumption that he held it really for the Hudson's Bay Co. and not for himself. There may have been ground for this suspicion; it may have been even so, in the very broad sense that the Hudson's Bay Co. were to have first use of the water power for milling. But with his retirement from the Company and the settlement of the boundary question this suspicion should have been laid aside. Instead it was intensified by religious bigotry and selfishness. Of his unhappy state of mind at the end, Mr. L. F. Grover, twice Governor of Oregon and once its Senator, has given us this glimpse. Mr. Grover was summoned to the house of Mr. McLoughlin:

"I found him extremely ill. . . . . He said he was dying by inches. He said: 'I shall live but a little while longer; and this is the reason I sent for you. I am an old man and just dying, and you are a young man and will live many years in this country, and will have something to do with affairs here. As for me, I had better been shot'—and he brought it out harshly—'I might better have been shot forty years ago!' After a silence, for I did not say anything, he concluded: 'Than to have lived here and tried to build up a family and an estate in this government. I became a citizen of the United States in good faith. I planted all I had here, and the government has confiscated my property. Now what I want to ask of you is that you will give your influence after I am dead to have this property go to my children. I have earned it as other settlers have earned theirs, and it ought to be mine and my heirs.' I told him I would favor his request, and did." (Holman, Dr. J. McL., page 58.)

Thus died Dr. John McLoughlin, the Savior of Oregon Pioneers, the true Father of Oregon and Washington. "The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

T. C. ELLIOTT.

FORT COLVILLE 1859 TO 1869.

The attempted settlement of the Indian difficulties by Governor I. I. Stevens, by treaty or otherwise, resulted in the sending of United States troops to Walla Walla in the fall of 1856, and in locating of the present post where it now stands, in the spring of 1857, but the continued unfriendliness of the Indians; the killing of miners, stealing from settlers, and the petitioning of the citizens of Colville Valley for protection, induced Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe in May, 1858, to start for Colville Valley with about one hundred and sixty men on what was intended as a peaceful mission, for they left the sabres and ammunition of his command in Walla Walla.

On the 16th day of May, the Indians met Colonel Steptoe and his command near Rock Lake, and told him they must go back. The next day on account of the numbers and hostile actions of the Indians, they started to return, and at or near Pine Creek the Indians attacked them, and there was a running fight for several hours, during which two officers and several soldiers were killed, and they were forced to halt and camp, from which they fled during the night under the guidance of a friendly Nez Percé Indian to Snake River, and thence to Walla Walla, leaving all their camp outfit, pack train, howitzers, medical stores, etc.

During the next two months Colonel George Wright organized a force at Walla Walla to punish the Indians for their attack on Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe. About the same time, a party of one hundred and sixty-seven miners, traders and packers, knowing of the defeat of Colonel Steptoe by the Spokanes, and of Major Haller by the Yakimas, heedless of the danger, under the guidance of David McLoughlin, son of Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson Bay Company, started from Walla Walla July 21st, 1858, for the newly discovered gold fields of Fraser River, crossed Snake River, journeyed over the plains of the Big Bend to the Columbia River, opposite the mouth of the Okanogan, without very serious trouble, losing only one man, who lagged behind. Here the Indians told them, if they crossed the River, they would have to fight. This did not deter them, for after a parley and a talk with Francois Desotel, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, they crossed the Columbia, organized an advance guard under Francis Wolff, and went three days journey up the Okanogan River, without seeing an Indian, but on nearing the McLoughlin Canyon, a narrow pass, with almost perpendicular walls, the trail indicated the presence of Indians, and the com-

mand closed up. The advance guard started into the Canyon, but soon discovered an ambuscade and lost three killed and as many wounded. All but the advance guard retreated to the river. While the advance men were holding the Indians, the others made rafts, crossed the river, followed by the men who had been fighting, and then they went around the Indians, north into British Columbia, and on the Fraser River. Shortly after this, Sept. 1, 1858, Colonel Wright met the allied tribes that had defeated Colonel Steptoe on the Spokane plains, and beat them, without loss to his command, after which the Indians asked for peace. During the rest of this same year, Major Garnett was hunting and fighting Indians in the Yakima Valley, who in June before had attacked a party of miners, killing and robbing them. He was fairly successful in either killing, capturing or driving the guilty ones out of the country, some of whom fell into Colonel Wright's hands to be executed on the Spokane. In addition to this, it was reported that the Hudson Bay Company was and had been furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition. Under these conditions, as existing in 1858, it was deemed wise to carry out Colonel Steptoe's idea, by establishing a post between the Spokanes and Okanogans. To this end, in the Spring of 1859, several companies of the 9th United States Infantry were sent into the country, two companies going to Colville Valley under Major Pinkney Lougenbeel. The military settled on the flat, near Hill Creek, about three miles from the Colville River, and commenced at once to build a four-Company post out of hewn logs. Hiram Fields was superintendent of the building and John Day the boss carpenter. R. H. Douglass and John Nelson had built a saw mill in 1857-8 at the Falls on the Creek, about three miles below where the Fort was located. Major Longenbeel endeavored to make a contract with them for lumber, offering $20 per thousand feet, or for the rental of the mill, he to furnish logs and labor. Douglass & Co., thinking their opportunity had arrived, asked $40. The result was the Major built a dam about a half mile above the Fort, put in a saw mill, ran what lumber the Post required, and afterwards leased the mill, and the settlers were thus able to buy lumber at $10 per thousand. At the time Major Longenbeel went to Colville, J. J. Archer, commanding Company C, and Captain Frazier, commanding Company I, went to Okanogan Valley to protect Captain John G. Parke, of the American Boundary Commission, and they scouted over that section all summer, then in the fall went to Fort Colville to find the post practically built, and as one

of the men wrote me, "Winter was drawing nigh and the men needed quarters, and we pitched in and helped build them." These four Companies wintered at the post, as did the Engineers headed by Captain Parke of the American Boundary Commission, who had charge of locating the 49th parallel, the international line.

Captain Parke attained the rank of Major General during the war of the Rebellion. That same year, 1859, the British Boundary Surveyors, under Colonel Hawkins, located their quarters on the south side of the Columbia River, about fifteen miles from the American Post, and built comfortable log houses to shelter his command of sappers and miners. The place is now occupied by the town of Marcus, and only one of the original houses is still standing. The American and British Engineers worked conjointly in locating the Boundary line.

On August 6th, 1861, Captain Parke sold such supplies as he had belonging to the American Boundary expedition, and started for the States, and on April 4, 1862, Colonel Hawkins did the same for the British, abandoning his buildings, and started for England via Walla Walla.

The four Companies of the 9th United States Infantry occupied the Post of Fort Colville until the Spring of 1861, when two companies, those of Captain Frazier, Company C, and of Captain Archer, Company I, were ordered East to take part in the war of the Rebellion. Both these Captains, with Captain Fletcher and Lieutenants Harvey and Wickliff, resigned, and joined the Confederate forces.

November 17, 1861, Major James F. Curtis, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers, with Companies C and D, commanded by Captains Hull and O'Brien, relieved Major Longebeel, and he and his command went at once to Walla Walla. About the first order Major Curtis made was the dismissal of the Post Sutler. Charles R. Allen, on November 22nd, 1861, which read, "Sir: You are dismissed as Sutler from this post for your unqualified secession principles." Major Curtis was on May 9, 1864, promoted to Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry of California Volunteers.

Some of Major Curtis' Command were a bad lot. They were reported to be the jail birds of San Francisco. Besides getting drunk, they would fight and steal and kill. Within four days of their arrival they ran off the Chinamen from the only wash house in town, stole the clothes, leaving most of the citizens with only what clothing was on their persons. February 8, 1862, Lieuten-

ant John M. Henry came to the town and killed John Burke in cold blood with a common butcher knife. The coroner's inquest found Henry guilty of murder. Major Curtis confined Henry to his quarters for about twenty days, and then on account of some criticism by citizens turned him over to the Sheriff, Francis Wolff. The nearest jail being four hundred and seventy miles at Vancouver, he took him to his house on his farm, and kept him until Spring, when Henry demanded a hearing before a Justice of the Peace. At the examination, on account of the intimidation of the soldiers, no one appeared to prosecute, and he was discharged, and left the place. It was reported some months later that he was killed in a row in California.

February 22, 1862, was the time of a great event—the ball given by the California Volunteers. Everybody in the Valley was invited, including the officers and men of the British Boundary Commission. Over four hundred were present, of whom about one hundred and fifty were the women of the Valley, native and mixed bloods and half a dozen white women, being all of the town and country and fort. Major Curtis and his officers were in full dress uniform, very hospitable, saw that all had attention, a good supper and an enjoyable time. The ball room was one of the Company quarters, a log building about 25x100 feet. It was artistically decorated. At each end over the fireplaces were rosettes of sabers and guns flanked by the American and English flags. The sides were covered with flags and bunting, and the room was lighted by immense chandeliers made of bayonets fastened to hoops forming cones and pyramids, with a candle in the socket of each bayonet.

March 26, 1862, Lieutenant Wing, of the California Volunteers, committed suicide by shooting himself, placing the muzzle of the pistol in his mouth, the ball coming out the back of his head.

The first use made of the beautiful marble of which the Valley has such a great variety and abundance, was a slab marking his grave.

April 21st, 1862, Major Curtis came with his command to the town, went to John Shaw's distillery, took the worm of the still out and up to the Fort, knocked all the barrels of whiskey in the head, and ordered every one in town not to sell liquors to any one, which order was obeyed. The character of some of the men in his command was such that life and property were not safe when they were drinking. The order was obeyed, not only because it was an order, but for self protection.

July 11, 1862, Major C. H. Rumrill, with two Companies of the Washington Territory Volunteers, Company C, commanded by Captain C. A. Glasure, and Company B, commanded by Captain S. W. Shuleck, relieved Major Curtis, who with his command went to Fort Vancouver.

November 3, 1862, the order of Major Curtis of April 21st, 1862, stopping the sale of liquors was suspended by order of Major Rumrill, and whiskey selling was again permitted. It may be apropos to say that during the prohibition the sellers expended about the same amount of money, but it was noticeable that their families were more comfortably housed and better clothed.

May 26, 1863, Lieutenant Charles P. Eagan came from Fort Lapwai to be Acting Assistant Quartermaster.

November 5, 1863, Lieutenant Eagan was married to Miss Emma Johnson at the commanding officer's quarters. A splendid dinner followed the ceremony. This officer, as Commisary General, attained considerable notoriety in canned beef contracts during the Spanish War.

December 24, 1863, occurred a Military Ball at the Fort. All the people of the Valley were there, the Washington Volunteers trying to excel the California Volunteers' entertainment of the year before.

May 26, 1865, Captain F. O. McCown, with one company of Oregon Volunteers, relieved Major Rumrill and his command of two Companies of Washington Territory Volunteers, they going to Walla Walla.

November 9, 1865, Captain John S. Wharton, with one Company of sixty-two men, 14th United States Infantry, Regulars, arrived and relieved Captain McCown and his command, who went to Vancouver to be mustered out of service.

From this date until the abandonment of the Fort in September, 1882, it was garrisoned by Regular troops from different regiments with different officers, as follows:

October 17, 1867, Captain Geo. L. Browning, of the 7th United States Infantry, arrived and assumed command; then Lieutenant W. C. Manning of the 23rd United States Infantry.

September, 1869, Major John Eagan, 23rd United States Infantry, was commanding officer, followed by Captain Evan Miles, 21st United States Infantry.

Following these, I have no record in my journal of the officers commanding Fort Colville.

W. P. WINANS.

DOCUMENTS.

[The editor would be pleased to receive manuscript documents bearing on the history of the Pacific Northwest for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Transfer of Alaska to the United States.

As the preparations for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition are being hurried forward, and as the plans for the unveiling of Richard E. Brooks's statue of Seward by which the people of Seattle seek to honor the statesman who brought about the purchase of Alaska are likewise nearing completion, new interest is being aroused in matters pertaining to the purchase and the final transfer of the Territory to the United States. The following official documents are found in House of Representatives, Executive Document, Number 125, Fortieth Congress, second session, pages 1 to 8. (Public Documents, Serial Nuber 1337). Copies were made for publication here by Ashmun N. Brown. The first one embodies the instructions from Secretary of State Seward to General Rousseau:

Department of State, Washington, Aug. 7, 1867.

General: You will herewith receive the warrant of the president, under the great seal of the United States, appointing you commissioner on behalf of this government, to receive from a similar officer appointed on behalf of the imperial government of Russia, the territory ceded by that government to the United States, pursuant to the treaty of the 30th of March last. You will consequently enter into communication with Captain Pestchouroff, the Russian commissioner, now here, and arrange with him in regard to proceeding, as soon as may be convenient, to the territory referred to, in order that your commission may be fulfilled.

On arriving at Sitka, the principl town in the ceded territory, you will receive from the Russian commissioner the formal transfer of that territory, under mutual salutes from artillery, in which the United States will take the lead.

Pursuant to the stipulations of the treaty, that transfer will include all forts and military posts, and public buildings, such as the governor's house and those used for government purposes; dockyards, barracks, hospitals and schools; all public lands, and

all ungranted lots of ground at Sitka and Kodiak. Private dwellings and warehouses, blacksmiths', joiners', coopers', tanners', and other similar shops, ice-houses, flour and saw-mills, and any small barracks on the island, are subject to the control of their owners, and are not to be included in the transfer to the United States.

The respective commissioners, after distinguishing between the property to be transferred to the United States and that to be retained by individuals, will draw up and sign full inventories of the same in duplicate. In order, however, that the said individual proprietors may retain their property as aforesaid, or if they should so prefer may dispose of the same, you will, upon the production of the proper documentary or other proof of ownership, furnish the said proprietors with a certificate of their right to hold the same.

In accordance with the stipulations of the treaty, the churches and chapels in the ceded territory will continue to be the property of the members of the Greco-Russian church. Any house and lots which may have been granted to those churches will also remain their property.

As it is understood that the Russian American company possess, in that quarter, large stores of furs, provisions and other goods, now at Sitka, Kodiak and elsewhere on the main land and on the island, it is proper that that company should have a reasonable time to collect, sell or export that property. For that purpose the company may leave in the territory an agent or agents for the purpose of closing their business. No taxes will be levied on the property of the company now in the territory until Congress shall otherwise direct.

It is expected that, in the transaction of the important business hereby entrusted to you, it will be borne in mind that, in making the cession of the territory referred to, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has been actuated by a desire of giving a signal proof of that friendship for the United States which has characterized his own reign and that of his illustrious predecessors. It is hoped, therefore, that all your intercourse with the Russian commissioner will be friendly, courteous and frank.

This department understands from the president that, upon the conclusion of the business with the Russian commissioner, you will have command in the territory, to be exercised under the orders of the war department.

I am, general, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Brigadier General Lovell H. Rousseau.

GENREAL ROUSSEAU'S REPORT.

Headquarters Department of the Columbia.
Portland, Oregon, December 5, 1867.

SIR:—I have the honor to report that, on the receipt from you of my appointment by the President as United States commissioner to receive the formal transfer of the territory of Alaska, and also your instructions touching that transfer, I repaired at once to New York to make the necessary preparation to sail on the 21st of August, but on reaching that city I found it impossible to get off on that day.

I sought and obtained at once an interview with Baron Stoeckl, the Russian minister, and Captain Pestchouroff, of the Russian imperial navy, and Captain Koskul, representing the Russian American company; and it was arranged that we should sail from New York on the 31st of August, and we accordingly sailed on that day, via Panama, reaching San Francsico, California, on the 22d of September. As we entered the harbor of San Francisco, the batteries of the forts fired a salute.

On reaching San Francisco, we found the preparations for taking military possession of the new territory completed by Major General Halleck, who had ships laden with supplies for the troops, and transportation all ready for the troops themselves to Sitka.

Admiral Thatcher, also, had provided transportation for the commissioners on the propeller man-of-war Ossipee, Captain Emmons commanding. Returning the admiral's call, visiting him on board his flagship Pensacola, the commissioners received a salute of her batteries.

Hastening in preparation, we took our departure for Sitka on the morning of the 27th of September.

When we set sail, we intended to go directly by the open sea to New Archangel, but after three or four days, during which the sea was very rough, with little or no wind, and making very slow progress, we concluded to go by way of Victoria and the straits, thus taking the inland passage. The troops and supplies had preceded us a day or two from San Francisco, and as they could not land at Sitka before we reached there, it was thought best to take the inland route in order to insure our arrival at the latter place certainly within a reasonable time. This we could not do in the open sea, as it was quite rough, and what wind we had or expected to have in October and till the middle of November was from the northwest (a head wind for us).

Our ship was very slow, and with a head wind or rough sea made not more than two or three knots an hour. The winds in the Northern Pacific from May to November inclusive, are from the northwest generally, and the balance of the year from the southwest. Besides, I suffered greatly from sea-sickness, followed by what I feared was congestive chills, and sought to avoid this suffering by taking the inland passage.

We reached Esquimalt, Vancouver's Island, on the night of the 4th of October, took in a supply of coal, and steamed for Sitka on the morning of the 6th. After a pleasant passage, taking it altogether, we cast anchor in the harbor of New Archangel on the 18th of October, at eleven o'clock a. m., where we found the troops and supplies had preceded us several days. The day was bright and beautiful. We landed immediately, and fixed the hour of three and a half o'clock that day for the transfer, of which General Jeff C. Davis, commanding the troops there; Captain Emmons, United States ship Ossipee: Captain McDougall, United States ship Jamestown; Captain Bradford, United States ship Resaca, and the officers of their respective commands, as also the governor of the territory, the Prince Maksutoff, were notified and invited to be present.

The command of General Davis, about two hundred and fifty strong, in full uniform, armed and handsomely equipped, were landed about three o'clock, and marched up to the top of the eminence on which stands the governor's house, where the transfer was to be made. At the same time a company of Russian soldiers were marched to the ground, and took their place upon the left of the flag-staff, from which the Russian flag was then floating. The command of General Davis was formed under his direction on the right. The United States flag to be raised on the occasion was in care of a color guard—a lieutenant, a sergeant and ten men of General Davis' command. The officers above named, as well as the officers under their command, the Prince Maksoutoff, and his wife, the Princess Maksoutoff, together with many Russian and American citizens, and some Indians were present. The formation of the ground, however, was such as to preclude any considerable demonstration.

It was arranged by Captain Pestchouroff and myself that, in firing the salutes on the exchange of flags, the United States should lead off, in accordance with your instructions, but that there should be alternate guns from the American and Russian batteries, thus giving the flag of each nation a double national salute; the national salute being thus answered in the moment it was given. The troops being promptly formed, were, at precisely half three o'clock, formally placed in present arms by the signal given to the Ossipee (Lieutenant Crossman, executive officer of the ship, and for the time in command), which was to fire the salute, and the ceremony was begun by lowering the Russian flag. As it began its descent down the flag staff the battery of the Ossipee, with large nine-inch guns, led off in the salute, peal after peal crashing and re-echoing in the gorges of the surrounding mountains, answered by the Russian water battery (a battery on the wharf) firing alternately. But the ceremony was interrupted by the catching of the Russian flag in the ropes attached to the flag staff. The soldier who was lowering it, continuing to pull at it, tore off the border by which it was attached, leaving the flag entwined tightly around the ropes. The flag staff was a native pine, perhaps ninety feet in height. In an instant the

Russian soldiers, taking different shrouds attached to the flag staff, attempted to ascend to the flag, which, having been whipped around the ropes by the wind, remained tight and fast. At first (being sailors as well as soldiers) they made rapid progress, but laboring hard they soon became tired, and when halt way up scarcely moved at all and finally came to a standstill. There was a dilemma, but in a moment a "boatswain's chair," so-called, was made by knotting a rope to make a loop for a man to sit in and be pulled upward, and another Russian soldier was quickly drawn up to the flag. On reaching it he detached it from the ropes, and not hearing the calls from Captain Pestchouroff below to "bring it down," dropped it below, and in its descent it fell on the bayonets of the Russian sentinels.

The United States flag (the one given to me for that purpose, by your direction, at Washington) was then properly attached and began its ascent, hoisted by my private secretary, George Lovell Rousseau, and again the salutes were fired as before, the Russian water battery leading off. The flag was so hoisted that in the instant it reached its place the report of the last big gun of the Ossipee reverberated from the mountains around. The salutes being completed, Captain Pestchouroff stepped up to me and said: "General Rousseau, by authority from his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, I transfer to the United States the territory of Alaska," and in as few words I acknowledged the acceptance of the transfer, and the ceremony was at an end. Three cheers were then spontaneously given for the United States flag by the American citizens present, although this was no part of the programme, and on some accounts I regretted that it occurred.

Captain Pestchouroff, the governor and myself, on the Monday following, went to work to distinguish between the public and private buildings in the town of New Archangel, and giving certificates to private individual owners of property there.

I found that by the charter of the Russian American company it had authority to vest its employes, occupants of land in the territory, the title thereto. This was no condition, however, that the possession of the Indians should not be interfered with. Acting under this charter, the company, from the first caused dwellings to be erected for the use of its employes on lots of ground set apart for that purpose. The title in fee to such premises was often vested in the employe in possession, when he had faithfully served out his term with the company; or having died before it ended, and having a widow or children in the Territory, the title was frequently vested in them. This was one mode adopted by the company of taking care of its employes, when, by old age or other disability, they were unable to maintain themselves, and of their widows or children after their death. So the employe generally occupied such dwelling while he lived, and at his death it passed to his widow or children, if any in the territory; and if none, then it reverted to the company. The term of service of these employes was somewhat

similar to an apprenticeship in our law. It was fixed by the charter at five years; the company paying certain wages, which were small, and furnishing the necessary supplies, and presenting a bonus, named in the contract, to the employe at the end of the term of service. In some instances, not many, the employes brought with them their wives from Russia, but far more frequently they were unmarried men and intermarried with Indian women in the territory.

By a provision of the charter, or by rule of the company, to which it conformed in all cases as to a law, an old and disabled employe, while he lived in the territory, and his widow and children after his death (so long as the children were minors or maintain themselves) were considered the wards of the company, to whom it regularly paid a yearly pension.

Finding in its charter this authority of the company to vest title to land in its employes, and that very many of the dwellings erected by the company were occupied by its employes, or their widows and children, who claimed such property in fee, the commissioners called on the governor, Prince Maksoutoff, to define and certify to the interests of each individual thus occupying such dwellings and lots, in order that we might distinguish between those who owned the property in fee and those who claimed a less interest, and in compliance with your instructions give certificates to the claimants accordingly.

The inventories respectively marked C and D (forming part of the protocol) which are forwarded with this report, will show, in part, the action of the governor in the premises; for the rest he gave a certificate stating the interest of each occupant in the premises occupied, on the back of which the commissioners placed their approval, and it was left to be delivered to the occupant. In order to be accurate, and to prevent disputes hereafter about the title to houses and lots, we made a map of New Archangel (forwarded with this report) on which every house and dwelling in town is located and numbered, and as between the claimant and the United States, the title to it defined and settled in the inventories. This was thought necessary in order to give in accordance with your instructions to each man of property who desired to dispose of it a certificate of title.

The town of New Archangel was built in the main by the Russian American Company, and except the dwellings transferred by them to their employes, and the public buildings transferred to the United States, is owned by that company still; yet it has but a possessory interest in the land, as it only had permission to erect buildings upon it; for although it had authority to vest the title of lands in its employes, it had no power to vest such title in itself. The commissioners left the matter as they found it, and the company in possession of its buildings.

The harbor is not a very secure one, as it is rather exposed, and the bottom is too rocky to allow the anchors to hold well. On that account the Russian American Company has placed in it buoys and chain cables, to which the ships lying at anchor might

he fastened in aid of the anchorage. These cables etc., were the private property of the company, but as the harbor was not at all safe without them, and as we had several ships passing the winter there, I expressed a wish to the Russian commissioner that they might remain as they were for the present, to which he consented. As commissioner I had no authority to purchase the articles, but I requested Captain Pestchouroff and Governor Maksoutoff to name a price for which they might be bought. Ten thousand dollars was accordingly named, as will appear by the note of Captain Pestchouroff, which I forward herewith. I know very little of the value of buoys and chains, but think the price demanded is not unreasonable.

All the buildings in anywise used for public purposes were delivered to the United States commissioner, taken possession of and turned over to General Davis, as were also the public archives of the territory; and in the matter of liberality the wharf and several valuable warehouses belonging to the Russian American company were included in the transfer to the Russian commissioner. Both the wharf and the warehouses were very much needed by our people.

We could not visit Kodiak, or any other point in the new territory, as the season in which we might expect stormy weather was rapidly approaching.

For the further action of the commissioners, in the execution of their commission, your attention is respectfully called to the protocol, map and inventories accompanying this report. With this report and accompanying papers, I return to you the United States flag used on the occasion of the transfer of the territory.

In your instructions, both written and verbal, you were somewhat particular to impress me with your desire that all the intercourse between the Russian and American commissioners should be liberal, frank and courteous; and I am pleased to say that from the meeting of Captain Pestchouroff and myself in your office till we parted, after our work was ended, all our communication and association with each other, personal and official, were of the friendliest character, and just such as I am sure you desired.

I found the Governor, Prince Maksoutoff and Captain Koskul, both representing the Russian American Company, equally kind and courteous with Captain Pestchouroff.

I saw very little of the new territory, and I regret that I could not see more. I cannot, therefore, say much about it which you do not already know. The speech of Mr. Sumner in the United States Senate on the ratification of the treaty ceding the territory of Alaska is very accurate in all its details, so far as I am able to judge. Indeed, I thought its accuracy very remarkable in the description it contained of the climate, the people, resources, etc., of the new territory, as he assumed to know nothing personally about it.

The people of Sitka seemed to be quiet, orderly and law-abiding; of the Russian proper there were about 600 on the island,

If kindly treated by our people, most of them will remain as citizens of the United States. Many of them have already made their election to remain under the stipulations of the treaty by which the territory was ceded to our government. Generally they were satisfied with the transfer of the territory, as were also most of the Indians. The latter received from the Americans since the transfer exorbitant prices for fish and game and whatever they had to sell, and were generally pleased with the change. A Kolloshan chief, however, angrily remarked, "True, we allowed the Russians to possess the island, but we did not intend to any and every fellow that may come along."

At New Archangel the climate is not cold, but it rains a great deal. Mr. Sumner was right when he said the climate was about the same as that of Washington City in temperature.

The valley of New Archangel is almost surrounded by high mountains, is very low and marshy, and does not afford a fair test of the adaptation of the territory to agricultural purposes. But I noticed vegetables growing in the gardens there, such as cabbages, turnips, potatoes, beets, etc., and that the beds or hills upon which they grew were considerably elevated, so that the moisture caused by the constant rains. The potatoes were small, but both they and the beets were of the finest flavor. I was told that the climate of Kodiak and of the Aleutian Islands generally as well as of the main land, was colder and dryer than that of Sitka, and that vegetation of various kinds could be grown there.

I saw fine hogs and sheep at Sitka that were raised on the island. I ate of both, and found them of the finest quality. I saw cows there, also, in good condition, which gave excellent milk.

The fisheries on the coast, as Mr. Sumner asserts, are, as I was informed by those who knew, very fine, and from which any quantity of fish may be taken—salmon, trout, cod and other kinds.

The forests are immense, and the timber, pine, etc., of a fine quality.

We remained a week at Sitka. It required that time to complete the transfer in the manner before stated. We steamed out of the harbor just at night, into the open sea, on Tuesday, the 26th of November, for Cape Decision, seventy-five miles distant, where we could enter the straits, and by the inland passage return by the same route we took in going to Sitka. But before we reached the cape we encountered a storm, the severest known on the coast by any one now there. It lasted about twenty hours, and we very narrowly escaped being lost, nothing but the strength of our ship, and the efficiency of the crew, under Providence, saving us. In the midst of the gale, the tiller or rudder ropes, parted, all of our life-boats were swept away, and all of the fires under the boilers, save two, extinguished, with three feet of water in the wardroom and nearly as much on the main deck. The storm being ended, we put back to Sitka to repair damages. About thirty-five sailors were injured in the storm. In a few

days afterwards, with better luck, we reached Cape Decision, and came on through the straits to Victoria.

A steamer of ordinary size and power can go from Victoria to New Archangel by way fo the straits, except about ten or fifteen miles; this by running up the straits to a point ten or fifteen miles beyond the town, thence entering the open sea and running back into the harbor. The passage is a safe one, and amidst scenery as grand and beautiful as there is in the world. The mountains, covered with forests, rise almost perpendicularly out of the water to a height of one to three thousand feet, and from the very tops of which gush out foaming waterfalls. In grandeur and sublimity there is nothing like it on this continent.

I have no doubt this passage—about 800 miles from Victoria to Sitka—will form a part of the great highway from the United States to the latter place, as it is both safe and delightfully pleasant. The waters are very deep, and anchorages not numerous, but enough. Along the shores are safe land-locked little bays and harbors, formed by notches in the mountain sides, where vessels of any size can anchor in quiet and safety.

Hoping that the president and yourself will be satisfied with my efforts to discharge the duty assigned me, in accordance with instructions given for my guidance, and that the new territory may prove as valuable an acquisition to our country as you would desire it, I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU,
United States Commissioner and Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark. By Kate C. McBeth. New York and Chicago. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908. p. 272.

In adding a new book to the rather scanty literature on the Nez Percés Indians, Miss McBeth has made a contribution to Northwestern history which will be welcomed in many libraries. Some of the pen pictures of early mission days are excellent and a vivid bit here and there brings pioneer days sharply before the reader. In general, however, the book is not nearly so much a history of the tribe as it is the story of her sister's mission work among them. By far the greater part of it is devoted purely to the introduction and development of the Christian religion among these Indians, and "Missions among the Nez Percés since Lewis and Clark" would have been a far more accurate title.

Evidently in preparation for her writing, Miss McBeth studied only histories bearing directly upon the Nez Percés, as indicated in the preface, and this results in some rather surprising historical inaccuracies. On p. 35 she says, "To explore the Oregon country (this whole country from the Bitter Roots to the sea was called Oregon then). . . ." The general concensus of historical opinion is that the Oregon country was bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, not by the Bitter Roots. Again on the much-debated question of the delegation to the east for the "White man's book of Heaven" she remarks, "It is strange that historians have made such careless statements about this delegation—that they were Flatheads, or the Flathead branch of the Nez Percés. . . . I have never heard that the Flatheads claimed the honor." The Naïveté in this statement is charming, but if she were to make that statement on the Flathead reservation she would be very quickly enlightened as to the Flathead claims. This tradition of the three or four delegations to the east for the "Black Robes" is one of the strongest of the tribe and has much evidence in its favor. It is quite possible, of course, that the Nez Percés did make the very first trip, in company with a Flathead, but it is probable that they first heard of this religion through the Flatheads, since their regular route to the buffalo country was through the Lo Lo pass and the Flathead country. That, however, is another story.

Again, commenting on the name Flatheads, which she claims to have been given by Lewis and Clark, and without reason, it may be recalled that the Flathead tribe (who were not flatheaded Indians) were called Ootlashoots by the explorers, and that the old name Tetes Plats goes back far beyond the days of American possession to the time of Jonathan Carver, and he did not by any means invent the name. It was current then.

The name of the tribe is spelled Nez Perces, instead of Nez Percés throughout the entire book—never a French accent.

Take it all in all, the book is somewhat disappointing. It is capable of being so much better. Good descriptions of the places mentioned, such, for instance as the Kamiah valley which is invariably called "beautiful," a keener perception of the artistic possibilities of the subject under discussion, and a more connected narrative would add greatly to the permanent value of the book. The story is so disjointed, especially in touching upon the early missions, as to require very careful reading and a fairly good knowledge beforehand of early history.

If the book could have been written in collaboration with some one who, because less familiar with these missions, could have brought out more clearly the logical sequence of the facts mentioned in the narrative, a better description of places, one who could have emphasized the tribal history of these Indians, its value would have been greatly enhanced.

—KATHARINE BERRY JUDSON.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Smithsonian Institution. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1908, 512 pp.)

All of the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology are of interest and value to historians and this one has an especial attraction for those in Northwestern America. It contains a paper covering more than a hundred generous pages on Alaskan Indians by John R. Swanton. The title of the paper is: "Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians." The object of the researches recorded was to study the language and myths for a comparison with those of the Haida, with which the author was familiar, and "to add as much as possible to our knowledge of Tlingit ethnology generally." The work bears every evidence of having been carefully done and it will undoubtedly prove helpful to all future students of that interesting people. The phonetics used are those employed by Professor Boas and others who worked with the Bureau of Amer-

ican Ethnology and the American Museum of Natural History. No layman can comprehend those phonetics but they have the value of securely and accurately embalming the information until it can be extricated by other workers in the deeply technical phases of the subject. Half-tones, drawings and colored plates enhance the interest of Mr. Swanton's report.

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The United States as a World Power. By Archibald Cary Coolidge. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.)

If one were disposed to be severely critical of this book they would be disarmed at the threshold by these two statements in the preface: "No one can be more conscious than the author of this volume how far it is from carrying out the too ambitious promise of its title;" and "This book was originally prepared in the form of lectures which were delivered at the Sarbonne in the winter of 1906-07 as the Harvard lectures on the Hyde foundation. Since then it has been entirely recast, but it doubtless still retains traces of having been first addressed to a foreign audience, the more so as I have striven to preserve a neutral rather than a specifically American attitude."

The spirit of the book is thus set forth in the introduction: "The United States may be a world in itself, but it is also a part of a larger world. There is no doubt that its power for good and for evil is very great. How that power is to be used is of consequence to all humanity."

The scope of the book may be seen from the titles of the nineteen chapters as follows: "Formation and Growth, Nationality and Immigration, Race Questions, Ideals and Shibboleths, The Monroe Doctrine, The Spanish War, The Acquisition of Colonies, The Philippine Question, Economic Considerations, The United States and France, The United States and Germany, The United States and Russia, The United States and England, The United States and Canada, The Isthmian Canal, The United States and Latin America, The United States in the Pacific, The United States and China, The United States and Japan."

From that table of contents it will readily be seen that there is much here to challenge the attention of readers in this far western portion of the Republic. Two quotations from the chapter on "The United States in the Pacific" will give the reader a hint of what to expect: "In the days when the Americans first assumed their place among nations, neither they nor others foresaw how soon they would turn their attention towards the distant Pacific Ocean, and play for a leading part on its shores."

* * * "But the Pacific is not for any one nation to take exclusively to itself; and American boasts about domination, besides being irritating to others, are premature. Every one of the world powers has territories in this domain, and interests which it will defend to the best of its ability. Not only has imperial Britain widespread possessions in this ocean world, but it has a merchant marine many times larger than that of the United States, and a far stronger navy; and it has also great and growing children, Canada and Australia, who will have to be taken into account by their American kindred. And there are others to be considered. Both China and Japan, if in different ways, have entered into the drama of world politics, which they have already profoundly affected, and on which their further influence is incalculable. With both of these the present relations of the United States exceed in intricacy and in difficulty, when not in actual importance, those with any state in Europe."

The book is timely and well worth while.

The World's Peoples. By A. H. Keane. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. 434 pp.)

This is a popular description of the races of the world by a well known ethnologist who has published many important works within the fields of his special researches. The popular and captivating character of the present volume is revealed by the fact that it has two hundred and seventy illustrations from original photographs, gathered from every quarter of the globe.

The firmness with which the author seeks to deal with his large theme may be seen from this sentence in the preface: "This book therefore deals, not with faint probabilities, but with established facts, while here and there opportunity has still been taken to point out, for instance, the obvious origin of such universal institutions as tabu, or the totem, which have given rise to so much mystification on the part of speculators beginning at the wrong end."

There is no doubt that this book will become highly prized, the more it is known. In commenting on Professor Keane's larger work on Ethnology the London Academy says the author "speaks as a first-hand authority of the highest rank."

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

Educational Congress at Walla Walla.

The programme scheduled for this congress in connection with the expansion of Whitman College, for November 17 and 18, contains much of interest to historians as follows:

Opening Address by Judge Thomas Burke of Seattle, temporary chairman of the Board of Overseers.

"Whitman College, Its Organization and Present Status," by President S. B. L. Penrose.

"The Greater Whitman, its Purpose to Become the Representative Private Institution of the Pacific Northwest." by Dean A. W. Hendrick.

"The Economic Value to the Pacific Northwest if the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Were Transplanted From Boston to Walla Walla," by Alfred E. Burton, Dean of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

"Is a Great Private Institution Located in the Same Territory, a Benefit or a Hindrance to the Institutions Supported by the State?" by Doctor Cyrus Northup, President of the University of Minnesota.

"Forestry Education, Is It Needed?" by E. T. Allen, Chief Inspector of the Forest Service for the North Pacific Coast, representing the United States Department of Agriculture.

"The Education Advantageous to Irrigation," by D. C. Henney, Supervising Engineer of the Reclamation Service, representing the United States Department of the Interior.

"Future Buildings of Whitman College. Architectural Plans with Stereoptican Views," by E. T. Lawrence, of the firm of McNaughton, Raymond & Lawrence, of Portland, Oregon.

"The Importance of Having a Private Christian Institution Sufficiently Endowed that it may Influence in Some Measure the Educational Policy of the Territory in which it is Located," by Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Secretary of the Corporation of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

The evening functions included receptions at the homes of President S. B. L. Penrose, Acting President L. F. Anderson, Mr. J. W. Langdon, and at Reynolds Hall, and a banquet to Doctor D. K. Pearsons, of Chicago, the philanthropist who has aided forty colleges in the United States.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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(Continued from October, 1908)

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE PACIFIC OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.*

The Mediterranean, North and Baltic Seas have always been European seas; and have played their part in the making of a common life about their shores. When in the fourteenth century the Atlantic European coast was first used these two mediterranean lakes were united and the beginning of a new phase of European culture was greatly accelerated. The Atlantic Ocean, one may justly say, has always been and is an European lake. When the Europeans arrived in America no nation was present to contest with them the supremacy of this Ocean, and since that day no rivals have appeared there to endanger the European dominance. The Atlantic at the present day is international only in the European sense of the term; from the world point of view it is still an European sea with European peoples and ideals in control of all its coast. The Indian Ocean, on the other hand, has always been an international sea—where, however, the Asiatics have been paramount. Chinese, Malayans, Hindoos, Arabians, Egyptians and Africans have followed its continental shores from the earliest days. Greeks and Phoenicians have plowed its water; Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English have in turn been in control, but it is still an international sea in the broadest sense of the term, and in its racial aspect it is still Asiatic. With the exception of the Arabians in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean is the only sea where the European and the Asiatic have met in war and peace. The Pacific Ocean is historically the youngest of all the seas, the baby of all the oceans. Until the eighteenth century its eastern peoples held it in much the same respect that the Europeans held the Atlantic before the time of Columbus; and the people that penetrated from island to island into its interior left, as one may judge from their legends, very much as the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast and

*Paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, November 25, 1908.

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islands felt before the days of Henry the Navigator. Its western edges have been given eastern names—China, Eastern, Yellow, Japan and Ochotsk Seas. For a century Russia controlled a part as her own; for two centuries and a half Spain dominated its greater portion; and only in the eighteenth century did its Europeanization begin—the making of it into an European international sea. And it was only with the rise of Japan and China in the late nineteenth century that it began its career as an international sea in the world-sense. The part that the Pacific Northwest played in the birth of this ocean child is the problem of this paper.

The Pacific Northwest in the historical sense, as now generally accepted, comprises the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, a part of Montana, together with British Columbia. In other words, it is the territory between 42° and 54° 40' and west of the Rocky Mountains—that territory drained by the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. It fronts to the Ocean and backs to the continent; in both directions it is uniquely and advantageously located.

On the land side it stands preeminently favored in its geographical and historical connection with the Atlantic from the mouth of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Nelson. Considering it geographically: The transcontinental river system from the Gulf of Mexico is via the Rio Grande and the Mississippi through the Red and Arkansas Rivers, the Missouri and The Platte—all leading into the Colorado valley and meeting the Pacific in the Gulf of California and the southern end of the state of California. From the Atlantic via the Ohio, the St. Lawrence and the Lakes the river connection with the Pacific is up the Missouri and its branches, The Platte and the Yellowstone, and on either to San Francisco Bay in following the Humboldt River or on to the Columbia in following down the Snake, Clearwater or Clarke Rivers. From Hudson Bay the Nelson-Saskatchewan Rivers again connect with the upper Columbia; or from the lower Hudson Bay over the Lakes and through the Athabasca and Peace Rivers the entrance to the Pacific is down the Fraser or the Skeena. The Hudson Bay-Mackenzie route leads to the Arctic; while crossing from the Mackenzie to the Yukon leads to Bering Sea. The Fraser and the Columbia drain the Pacific Northwest; and this territory, it is then noted, is the Pacific entrance from the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic via of the Ohio and the St. Lawrence and from the Hudson Bay—a characteristic noted in no other part of the Pacific Coast.

When considered historically a similar uniqueness is noted. The first crossings from one Ocean to the other were from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea over the Isthmus by Balboa, and through Mexico to Acapulco and to the Gulf of California. The first crossing of the continent north of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi was through the Great Lakes, Saskatchewan, Peace River, across the Fraser to the Ocean within

the territory of the Pacific Northwest. Then came Lewis and Clark down the Columbia; followed in time by the trail-makers over the Humboldt Sink and down the American River; and last of all came the miners from the Mackenzie to the Yukon.

The geographical connection of the Pacific Northwest with the Atlantic coast is not a sufficient explanation of its uniqueness in history; that is due to its own inherent wealth and to the accidents of legend and seamanship. It was India that drew the Spaniards across the Isthmus and Mexico, and European rivalry that helped to draw them northward up the Coast. It was the Northwest Passage that drew Drake towards the waters off the coast of the Pacific Northwest; and the legends of Maldonado, De Fonte, Poche and especially of Juan De Fuca that localized within its borders the western entrance of this long sought for passage; while the accident of Cook's finding of Nootka Sound discovered the existence of the fur-bearing animals and an accessible traders' rendezvous. These two things brought the traders by water, and the Northwest, the Hudson's Bay and the American Fur Companies by land. Gold in 1849 drew the prairie schooners down the Humboldt River; but gold in 1897 drew but very few people up the Mackenzie and down the Yukon.

From the consideration thus far one must conclude that the Pacific Northwest is but one of the five north continental gateways to the Pacific Ocean. Spain crossed the Isthmus from Mexico from what she considered to be one of her lakes to another; this is a Spanish gateway—it belongs to Spanish national and colonial history. Even though Spain laid claim to the rest of the Coast by right of papal arbitration the other nations of Europe ignoringly entered, drawn by one cause or another. From the days of Juan De Fuca the Pacific Northwest was closely associated with the Northwest Passage; the discovery of the fur-bearing animals placed it at once into the vortex of internationality; traders and explorers from different parts of Europe visited there; it drew to itself the transcontinental explorers and trappers; the fur companies headed toward its waters; it received the first settlers on the Coast beyond the Spanish and Russian rule; to its aborigines came the first missionaries not connected with a national enterprise; it was to have been the Pacific terminus of the first transcontinental railroad, and the first railroad survey made to the Coast was to its shores; it was the first part of the Coast to come into European international relations, as well as into European international complications. What far was to this territory gold was later to California and still later to the Yukon. For the northern continent, then, it was geographically and historically the gateway to the Pacific, and north of the Isthmus it was the third place to perform this function.

For the southern continent such a question of gateways could not arise. Balboa on the north and Magellan on the south answered this question nearly three centuries before it was asked. And when it did arise it was either a Spanish colonial or a South American problem and not an European international question.

When the Pacific Northwest is considered as a gateway in relation to the coast stretching from the Magellan to the Bering Straits its unique position is again in evidence. From Patagonia to California the crossings and interests were *Spanish* and national. From California northward the coast, though claimed by Spain, was open to the other powers; yet it is the Pacific Northwest position of it that became *European* and *European international*. Because the finding of its fur resulted in a trade of European peoples with China it became, moreover, international in the world sense. In other words, by the gateways from Acapulco southward Spain was led to a Spanish South Sea; the Pacific Northwest led European nations to an international Pacific.

In turning now to the birth of the Pacific Ocean one notices that it was an unexpected and unwelcome child. The Spice Islands and India were the objects of search by the western way that brought it, as well as America, first into evidence. Balboa saw the South Sea where Magellan later found the Pacific. Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands, the lack of nautical instruments to determine the longitudinal relation of this group to the Spice Islands discovered by the Portuguese in the preceding decade, and the Papal Line of Demarcation and the subsequent treaty of 1529 dividing the unknown lands and waters between Spain and Portugal—these are the facts that threw Spain into the Pacific and kept Portugal out. The pious observance of a papal mandate forced Spain to reach the Philippines through 230° of latitude, while Portugal reached even the Spice Islands through 130°. Saavedra shortened Magellan's way in reaching the Philippines from Acapulco; and a generation later Legazpi made the return voyage and Gali found the North Pacific current. Spanish, then, was the triangular part of the Ocean, whose base reached from Mexico to the Straits and whose apex lay in the Philippines. With the exception of the few sea-rovers hounding the Spanish plate fleets, the Pacific slept in the Spanish solitude till the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bering built his town in Kamchatka and thence discovered the waters bearing his name, the islands and the Alaskan coast to Mt. St. Elias. In this extension of Russia into America a fur trade early arose and slowly within a century found its international limitation in the Pacific Northwest. Like Spain in her part of the Ocean Russia treated the northern waters as her own and upheld her

claim, internationally, to the sea south of a line running from the mouth of the Amour to a point within the Pacific Northwest.

At the end of the eighteenth century Cook discovered Australia and New Zealand on the one side, the Sandwich Islands in the center, and the Pacific Northwest on the opposite side of the Pacific. He completed the rim of the Ocean and brought it to the notice of an Europe ready to receive it. He found the fur-bearing animal on one side of the Pacific and a market for the fur on the other.* Unlike Spain and Russia, England had no national claims to the Pacific, but through her example as a free discoverer and an ardent trader, she reared the child of Spain and Russia to its international majority as an European sea,—and through her introduction of Japan into the world-arena she introduced at the end of the nineteenth century the Pacific to its unique position as an international sea in the world sense.

The gateways to the Pacific have been with one exception on the eastern side. In the wake of Columbus to his India and in obedience to the papal throne, Spain entered the Ocean from the east on her way to the East Indies. In the wake of the Spanish plate-fleets came the English sea-rovers and buccaneers; through the results of the Seven Years' War and the desire for the finding of the Northwest Passage as a short cut to India England again entered it from the eastern side. Following the English came the Americans, French, the Dutch-Austrians and the Germans. Australia and New Zealand were not gateways. The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English entered the East Indies on the Pacific's west; but the loadstar of the Age of Discovery set over these Islands, and those people penetrated no further into its waters. The Land of the Rising Sun only recently has faced about and discovered the Ocean whence came the prodding that waked her from her sleep, while China is even yet viewing it with the dust of centuries in her eyes. Kamchatka alone on the west opened up the Pacific to an expanding power, but like Spain Russia wrote above this gateway "private entrance." Australasia was too new, the Far East was too old, the East Indies were too self-sufficient; so Kamchatka alone was the western gateway—but only to a national ocean. On the other side of the Pacific from the Straits to Acapulco the gateways were considered by Spain, religiously and politically, as entrances to her own waters. This was true also of Russia in Alaska—which, by the way, was not a gateway from Russia to the Pacific, but the limit of her expansion. Between the Spanish and the Russian littorals lay the Pacific Northwest which England used by land and sea to enter into the Pacific.

*I am using the word Cook to cover the whole voyage from the time that it started from England until its return. Cook, of course, was killed in the course of it. Franchere and James commanded the expedition thence to China and Europe.

The England from Elizabeth to George III. outgrew the Spanish and papal claims to national ocean possession; and in spite of these claims entered into the Pacific by the Spanish Straits. The mere entrance of Cook into these waters and the mere discoveries which he made would alone put him on a plane but little above that of Canvendish and raise him but slightly above the historical importance of Drake. Russia knew of the fur-bearing animals of Siberia and Alaska, and also knew of the Chinese market for the fur; but Europe, ready to trade and venture, was still in the dark. Cook, in the same voyage, found both the animals and the market, and unwittingly made them known to the world. The world accepted: Europe, not England alone, now began its entrance into the Pacific through the Pacific Northwest, and the national rule of Spain and Russia began to wane. European internationality succeeded to European nationality.

Another point of interest to be noted is the relation into which Cook threw the opposite shores of the Pacific. Whatever was of value and use on the Pacific shore of Mexico and South America was of value and use in direct relation to Spain. Its gold and its products were transported to the old home or to parts of her possessions; and the Philippines were only outlying Islands off the coast of Spanish America. Russia brought the Alaskan wares to Siberia and thence overland to China and Europe, and also considered her part of the Ocean to be an inland sea and the Alaska lands as lands off the Siberian coast. Australia and England, the East Indies and their respective possessors were also international relations. But Cook's discoveries and the European utilization of them threw the Pacific into relations of its own. The centers of interest were the wares on the one coast and the markets on the other; European and American traders served as mediators.

The Pacific Northwest was the home of the fur-bearing animal; it drew the nations to its shores by water and to its rivers by land; it was the gateway to the Ocean by both land and water. Its wares, marketable in China, brought the shores of the Pacific together internationally as the papal bull had brought the Philippines to Spanish America nationally. The coming of the European nations to the Pacific Northwest by water and land made the Pacific what the Atlantic was—an European Ocean; but the trade between the Pacific Northwest and the Chinese markets made the Pacific what the Atlantic was not—an international ocean in the world sense. The freedom of the European colonies in America made, it is true, the Atlantic an international Ocean even in the relations on its western shores—yet still an European international Ocean.

In conclusion, then the Pacific Northwest seems to stand at the point where the national control passed over to the international interest in the great ocean; through this territory the European powers made its acquaint-

ance; through this territory they entered into its trade and exploration; and through this territory its shores were brought together. Asia and Europe were again brought face to face, and the Pacific itself made, as no other ocean has ever been made, an international and an interracial sea.

J. N. BOWMAN.

Berkeley, Cal.,

November 21, 1908.

SUFFRAGE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Old Oregon and Washington

In 1840, there were three classes of settlements in Oregon Territory: first, the establishments, forts and trading posts of the Hudson Bay Company; second, the missionary establishments under control of religious societies; third, settlements proper by individuals. Willamette Valley was really the American Oregon, while the region north of the Columbia was in control of the Bay Company. No form of government existed except such as was exercised by the company, although the Methodist mission had provided a magistrate and constable for the protection of the rights of Americans in the country. There was opposition to this by the settlers and in a petition to Congress, they asked the protection of the United States and a territorial form of government.[1]

On Feb. 7, 1841, a meeting was held at Champoeg, "for the purpose of consulting upon the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws and the election of officers to execute them." Little was done, but the Americans were beginning to organize, although not united as to form of government, even in the face of opposition which was sure to come from the Hudson Bay people.

At the grave of Ewing Young (Feb. 17, 1841) there was a general meeting of the settlers and the question of organizing a civil government was discused. Nothing was accomplished in the subsequent meetings of that year but the appointing of Dr. Ira L. Babcock as supreme judge, with probate powers. One resolution is of note, however: "Resolved, That all settlers north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws on making application to that effect."[2]

After the emigration of 1842 and 1843, the need of law was more apparent. A few leaders were quietly waiting an opportunity to establish some form of self-government. Among these was W. H. Gray. He found, or made his opportunity, at the "wolf meeting" of Feb. 2, 1843. After the "wolf business" was disposed of, Mr. Gray, in a strong speech, proposed: "That a committee of twelve persons be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."[3]

[1]Senate Document No. 514, Twenty-sixth Congress, First Session; quoted in Gray's "Oregon," pp. 191-194.
[2]Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 8.
[3]Gray, History of Oregon, pp. 266-267.

The resolution was adopted and Oregon had begun her famous Provisional Government. The opposition of the British was soon manifest and at the meeting of May 2, 1843, the entire male population of Oregon was present. When a division and count was called for, the count stood fifty-two for and fifty against the organization of government.

On July 5, 1843, the Organic Law was adopted by the people of the territory and officers were elected. In that first election, the settlers, the disaffected Methodist Mission, and some of the British took part. The Organic Law read: "Be it enacted by the free citizens of Oregon Territory" and the official oath was phrased, "As consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain," so no distinction was made on account of nationality in granting suffrage. By 1845, all classes had become reconciled to the existence of the Provisional Government. The Organic Law was amended and strengthened, and officers were elected from the British as well as from the American element. An attempt was made on Aug. 15, 1845, to shut out the foreign element when Mr. Hall offered the following resolution in the Assembly, "That no person belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, or in their service, shall ever be considered as citizens of the Government of Oregon nor have the right of suffrage or the elective franchise."[6]

When the memorial was sent to Congress in 1845, praying that body to "establish a distinct Territorial Government, and to legalize the acts of the people so far as they are in accordance with the laws of the United States," a copy of the Organic Law containing the provision was sent also. "Every free male descendant of a white man, inhabitant of this Territory, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, who shall have been an inhabitant of this Territory at the time of its organization, shall be entitled to vote at the election of officers, civil or military, and be eligible to any office in the Territory; provided, that all persons of the description, entitled to vote by the provisions of this section, who shall emigrate to this Territory, after organization, shall be entitled to the rights of citizens after having resided six months in the Territory."[7]

On Aug. 14, 1848, the Oregon Act created Oregon Territory and Sec. 5 reads: "Every white male inhabitant of twenty-one years of age, resident of the Territory at passage of this act, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, but all qualifications of voters at all subsequent elections shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly, provided: that the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised by citizens of the United States, provided further: No officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other

6Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 58.
7Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 189.
Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 221.
Thematic Document No. 103, Twenty-ninth Congress, sess. No. 474.

person attached to the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote unless he has been a resident of the Territory for six months." Thus when Oregon came under the laws of the United States, the question of naturalization had to be considered and the Legislature of 1851 granted the right of suffrage to free white male citizens, or foreigners, duly naturalized, but it also provided that foreigners who had resided in the Territory five years previous to the Act, who had filed a declaration of intention to become citizens prior to January, 1850, should be entitled to the rights of citizens. Any question as to qualifications was to be decided by the judges, who were to require oath or affirmation in case of doubt.[5] The law of 1853 made little change and simply classified voters as free white male inhabitants, citizens of the United States.[6]

This ends the first period of suffrage in the Territory, for on October 25, of the previous year, 1852, a convention, which met at Monticello, had sent a memorial to Congress asking that Northern Oregon be organized as a separate Territory under the name of Columbia. On November 4, the Oregon Legislature made the same petition to Congress and on March 2, 1853, the Territory of Washington was created. The Organic Law, with amendments, was the constitution of the Territory until statehood. The qualifications of voters, given in Sec. 5 of the Organic Law, were identically the same as the qualifications of electors in the Oregon Act of 1848.[7] Gov. Isaac I. Stevens in his first proclamation, 1854, gives the number of inhabitants in Washington Territory as 3965, and the number of voters as 1682, and suggests an annual census to ascertain the qualified electors on account of the constantly increasing population.[8] Almost the first thing considered by the new legislature was the question of elections, and the first section of the first statute of the laws of 1854 defines the qualifications of electors. The status of the half-breed seemed to be the paramount issue with our first legislators. Several amendments were offered in the House, such as "No American half-breed shall vote unless naturalized," "American half-breeds, or Indians, now citizens shall have a vote."[9] These amendments were lost in the House, but when the council passed House Bill No. 51, the following proviso was added: "Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed as to prohibit persons of mixed white and Indian blood who have adopted the customs and habits of civilization from voting."[10] The House accepted the amendment April 14, 1854, and in the discussion, Mr. A. A. Denny moved to amend the amendment, as "to allow all white females over the age of eighteen years

[5]Laws of Oregon, 1851, p. 101.
[6]Laws of Oregon, 1853, p. 49.
[7]Laws of Washington Territory, 1854, p. 25.
[8]House Journal, Washington Territory, 1854, p. 10.
[9]House Journal, Wash. Ter., 1854, p. 113.
[10]Council Journal, Wash. Ter., 1854, p. 118.

to vote."[74] This was lost and the right of suffrage was given to "All white male inhabitants of twenty-one years, of three months' residence, provided they were citizens of the United States, or had declared their intentions to become such." The foregoing proviso was incorporated in the bill, and suffrage was denied to "persons under guardianship, insane persons, and persons convicted of treason, felony, or bribery unless restored to civil rights."

Soon after this law was passed, the council received a memorial from the citizens of Lewis County, asking that suffrage be restricted to certain half-breeds, "those who could read and write." Leclaire, a Catholic missionary of Cowlitz Mission, sent a message to the council approving this memorial and stating that the Indian half-breed needed some responsibility for improvement thrown upon him.[75] This memorial called forth a majority report opposed to, and a minority report in favor of the petition. Further legislation failed at this session, but in the second session, the question was again warmly discussed and the law of Jan. 25, 1855, gives the right of suffrage to "white American citizens, or white naturalized citizens having been in the Territory six months, and in the county twenty days preceding the election, with the proviso that no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine in the army or navy of the United States, should be allowed to vote."[76]

An amendment was suggested that residence should commence at time of persons leaving home to settle in the Territory, but this was struck out by the council. An amendment was also offered, "That the people be allowed to decide the question of suffrage at the next election," but was later withdrawn.

The first session gave the right to vote at school elections to "Every inhabitant of twenty-one years, who was a resident in the district three months and who was a taxpayer." This law was amended in 1855 to read, "White American citizen and other white male inhabitant of twenty-one years and none other." In 1858, the school law affecting voters was changed to "Every inhabitant. . . ." and in 1860, another amendment restricted this suffrage to males and in 1863 to white males."[77]

In the 13th legislature, 1866, the question of giving the right of suffrage to half-breeds was again raised, and resulted in a new law by which the "American half-breed who held land under the donation law, and who could read and write and who had adopted the habits of whites," were given the right to vote."[78] The attempt was made to word the law

[74]House Journal, Wash. Ter., 1854, p. 95.
[75]Council Journal, Wash. Ter., p. 128 and following.
[76]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1854-5, p. 7, Second Session.
[77]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1858, p. 11; 1864, 1865.
[78]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1866, p. 3.

"half-breed Indians" and also to include "mulattoes." This failed, but the law excluded "those who had borne arms against the United States of America," thus showing the attitude of the state against the Confederates and the attempt to conform to existing United States conditions. This law was amended Jan. 31, 1867, and reads, "All white American citizens twenty-one years of age, and all half-breeds twenty-one or over, who can read and write and have adopted the habits of whites, and all other white male inhabitants who have declared their intentions to become citizens six months previous to election, and have taken oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Organic Act of the Territory, who have not borne arms against the United States of America or given aid and comfort to enemies, unless pardoned, and who shall have resided six months in the Territory, and thirty days in the county shall be entitled to vote."[19] The same restrictions held against military and naval men unless a resident for six months or a citizen at time of enlistment.

It was stated on the floor of the House by Edward Eldridge that this law included women.[20] The events of the next few years show that many considered that women were entitled to vote under the law of 1867. The whole matter hinged on "What constitutes an American citizen." Some held that the 14th amendment, which was declared in force July 28, 1868, and which reads, "All persons, born or naturalized. . . . shall be citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," included women. In 1869, Mrs. Mary Olney Brown of Olympia offered her vote at the polls and it was refused on the ground that she was not an American citizen. When she quoted the 14th amendment, she was told by one of the judges that the laws of Congress did not extend over Washington Territory. This raised a protest, but the vote was still refused. In 1870, Mrs. Brown again offered her vote, which was again refused, while in Grand Mound precinct, twenty-five miles from Olympia, her sister, Mrs. Charlotte Olney French, and several other women voted. The returns from Black River precinct and other places showed the votes of women.

In 1871, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway and Miss Susan B. Anthony visited all towns of importance in Washington and Oregon in the interests of woman suffrage. On Oct. 20, 1871, Miss Anthony spoke before a joint session of the legislature on their invitation.[21] A convention called for Oct. 28, 1871, at Olympia resulted in the First Territorial Woman Suffrage Organization. The difference of opinion was so de-

19Laws of Wash. Ter., 1867, p. 5.
20Colman, Anthony, Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III., p. 781.
21House Journal, Ter. of Wash., pp. 15, 47.

cided that some legislative action was necessary. A bill to allow women the ballot failed of passage and the following law was passed on Nov. 29, 1871:

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted, that hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot at any poll or election precinct in this Territory until the Congress of the United States of American shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land.

"Sec. II. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage."[55]

Yet this same legislature made the school law to read, "Every inhabitant. . . ." In 1873, the school law was amended to, "Every inhabitant who is a taxpayer. . . ," and in 1877, the right of suffrage at school elections was given explicitly to women.

In 1878, when the question of statehood was being discussed, Mrs. A. S. Dunniway was allowed by the legislature to present a petition that the word "male" be omitted from the new state constitution. The petition was denied by a vote of 8 to 7, but a separate article was submitted which declared, "that no person should be denied the right to vote on account of sex." This was lost by a vote of 5 to 1. In 1881, a bill to allow woman suffrage passed the House by a vote of 13 to 11, but failed in the council by a 7 to 5 vote.

On Nov. 23, 1883, an amendment to Sec. 3050, chap. 238, of the Washington Code, made the law read, "All American citizens of twenty-one years, and all American half-breeds. . . ., and all other inhabitants. . . . Sec. 2. Wherever the word 'his' occurs in the chapter aforesaid, it shall be construed to mean 'his' or 'her,' as the case may be."[56]

This house seemed quite favorable to the question of woman suffrage, for an Oct. 8 a resolution had been passed, "That the speaker send congratulations to the American Female Suffrage Association, now in session in Brooklyn, N. Y."[57] The struggle was in the council, which had been thoroughly canvassed, and the promise of every member obtained that they would not speak against the bill, and stillness reigned in the chamber, broken only by the roll-call, when the final vote was taken. It stood 7 to 5 in favor of the measure.[58]

In 1886, the amended law was again amended and is worded, "All American citizens, male and female; all American half-breeds, male and female, who have adopted the habits of whites, and all other inhabitants, male and female. . . ."[59]

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[55]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1871, p. 175.
[56]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1881, pp. 39-40.
[57]House Journal, Washington Territory, 1883, p. 41.
[58]Stanton, Anthony, Gage, Hist. of Woman Suffrage, V. 3, p. 777.
[59]Laws of Wash. Ter., 1886, p. 112.

Under the law of 1883, women were competent to serve as jurors, but in 1887, in the case of Harland vs. Territory of Washington, Judge Turner of the supreme court ruled "that women had no right to sit on a jury because the law granting rights to women was not given a proper title."[77] Judges Greene and Hoyt held the law valid, but Judge Hoyt was disqualified, as he had been trial judge in the lower court.

The legislature of 1887-88 had been elected by both male and female votes and seemed determined to re-establish the law which the supreme court had overthrown. Numerous bills were introduced in the House. On Jan. 16, 1888, the Committee on Judiciary reported a substitute bill for House Bills Nos. 2, 3, 4, prescribing the qualifications of voters. House Bill No. 23, giving to women the right of voting, and House Bill No. 36, submitting to voters the question of female suffrage. The substitute bill was rejected by the House, and Council Bill No. 44 was passed on Jan. 18, 1888, which again gave to women the ballot.[78]

In this year a convention for framing a new state constitution was to meet, and the opponents of woman suffrage were anxious to have a supreme court ruling on the legality of the new law before the election of delegates to the convention. The vote of Mrs. Nevada Bloomer of Spokane was refused in the spring election, Apr. 3, 1888, suit was brought and the case rushed. On Aug. 14, 1888, Judges Turner and Langford held that the law was invalid and not in accordance with the United States laws, in spite of the fact that the United States in the Organic Act gave to the territorial legislature the right to confer the elective franchise.[79] After a hard fight, the convention agreed to submit to the people an independent clause concerning suffrage of women, but this amendment was lost by a 3 to 1 vote.

The enabling act declared that there should be no distinction in civil or political rights on account of race or color except as to Indians not taxed. The new constitution gave suffrage to all "male persons" and the legislature might provide "that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any school election on account of sex." This franchise was granted by the first state legislature. Incompetents were excluded from the privilege and the same regulations held as to military and naval men, absence from state on business, etc.

Section 6 of Article VI. provided for the Australian ballot, which has proved a great step forward in giving the voter a chance to express his own wishes at the polls. Under the old system, "slip tickets" were printed by the party and contained the names of persons standing for the same

[77]Washington Territorial Report, Vol. III., p. 131.
[78]House Journal, Wash. Ter., 1888, p. 167; Laws of Wash. Ter., 1888, p. 93.
[79]Washington Territorial Reports, Vol. III., p. 599.

interests. These slips or tickets were distributed by party or corporation agents at polling places. The voter could have the privilege of scratching; but the party tendency was stronger, however, when a list was in his hands. The absence of secrecy often led to bribery and intimidation. Expenses were paid by assessments on candidates and this was, in many cases, a virtual selling of nominations. The Australian ballot, providing, as it does, for the official printing of ballots and including the names of all candidates, gives the voter a chance to mark for himself, and secretly, the names of all he wishes to vote for. Elections are, therefore, more orderly and more nearly express the desires of the people than in the days of the "boss" or unscrupulous politician.

The compulsory registration law for general, special, and municipal elections in communities of more than 250 inhabitants, which was passed by the first legislature, tended, not to restrict voting, but to protect each citizen in that right. No foreign or undesirable element could be rushed in to overcome the votes of residents. Stringent laws against false and illegal voting had been passed by the different territorial legislatures. A disqualification for two years' clause for illegal voting had existed upon the statutes since 1862. These were re-enacted and strengthened by the legislature of 1890.

The legislature of 1895 submitted to the people an amendment to the constitution somewhat raising the standard of citizenship. It provided "that voters shall be able to read and speak the English language."

In 1897, the following amendment was offered to amend Article VI. of the constitution by adding Section 9: "The elective franchise shall never be denied any person on account of sex, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the constitution."[22] The amendment was lost at the November, 1898, election, but not so overwhelmingly as in 1889.

In 1901, a slight change was made in the reading of the law, but the qualifications of voters remained unchanged until Nov., 1910, when sections 1 and 2 were stricken from Article VI. of the constitution, and section 1 was made to read: "All persons of the age of twenty-one years or over, possessing the following qualifications shall be entitled to vote: They shall be citizens of the United States; They shall have lived in the state one year, and in the county 90 days and in the city, town, ward, or precinct 30 days immediately preceding the election at which they offer to vote; They shall be able to read and speak the English language; provided, that Indians not taxed shall never be allowed the elective franchise, and provided further, that this amendment shall not affect the rights or franchise of any person who is not a qualified elector of this state. The legislative authority shall

[22]Laws of the State of Washington, 1897, p. 82.

enact laws defining the manner of ascertaining the qualifications of voters as to their ability to read and speak the English language, and providing for punishment of persons voting or registering in violation of the provisions of this section; there shall be no denial of the elective franchise on account of sex."[71] This amendment to the constitution gave to women, for the third time, the right of suffrage.

On March 15, 1907, a direct primary law was passed by the legislature. This put into the hands of the people a great power, a power hitherto held by the party, or by the politician element of the party. In tendency is to do away with the caucus and convention where, too often, the interests of the people are trampled upon to gratify the personal ambition of a party leader. Any citizen may file his intention to run for any office thirty days before the primary, accompanied by a fee in proportion to the emoluments of the office. Then the majority vote of the people determines the candidates.

In the same year, another forward movement was inaugurated. The recall was obtained for Seattle by popular vote and without expense. Under the charter, the citizens have a right to propose amendments by petition, and this was the first case of "initiative" by the people. The Seattle law was drawn as a measure to amend the length of term of city officials.[72]

The last legislature, 1911, proposed an amendment to Article I. of the constitution couched in these words: "Every elective public officer in the State of Washington, except judges of courts of record, is subject to recall and discharge by the legal voters of the state."[73] This is to come before the qualified voters at the next state election, Nov., 1912. Another amendment to Art. II., Sec. 1., is to be decided upon at the same time, that of the "initiative and referendum." Under this law, ten per cent of the people may propose a measure, and the referendum may be ordered on "any act, bill, law, or part thereof, by the legislature, except such as are necessary for immediate preservation of public peace, etc."[74]

These measures are but steps in the right direction and show growth toward a better democracy and a more liberal granting of the right of suffrage.

STELLA E. PEARCE.

71Laws of the State of Washington, 1909, p. 26.
72Talbot, Mrs. M., "How Seattle Got the Recall." Pacific Monthly, April, 1907, Vol. XVII, No. 4.
73Laws of the State of Washington, 1911, p. 844.
74Laws of the State of Washington, 1911, p. 128.

EASTWARD EXPANSION OF POPULATION FROM THE PACIFIC SLOPE

Those who have read Theodore Roosevelt's interesting work on the Winning of the West will remember how graphically he tells the story of the early pioneers of the Alleghery Mountains and their brave fight with the western forests as they by incessant toil and daring hardihood carved homes out of that vast land in the Ohio valley. His history begins with the passing of a few rough frontiersmen like Daniel Boone and his associates from the settlements in the highlands of western Virginia over into Kentucky and Tennessee. The first movers were hunters and trappers whose game haunts had been destroyed by the farmers and villagers; who in turn followed them across the Alleghenies. They were looking for new and untouched grounds where the feet of white men had never trodden. This western movement began as early as 1755, while we were still colonies of England, and it is going on at this day, only very much more rapidly than ever before. It required twenty-five years to fill Kentucky with fifty thousand white people; in the past ten years twenty-four hundred thousand people have settled in the Rocky Mountain States, while Oklahoma's population grew from nothing in 1889 to sixteen hundred thousand twenty-one years later.

Many writers before and since Mr. Roosevelt have pointed out that the spreading out of our people over the *Mississippi Valley* has been by a gradual process of filling up one section and then a few movers drifting over into the adjoining section where the land was unoccupied. From the first English settlement at Jamestown in 1607 the settlement of the country went on steadily by the gradual moving of the frontier farther and farther westward. At no time were the new clearings far from the older villages. The country was populated much as the water creeps up a string or cloth by capillary attraction. Thus the westernmost line of settlement stretched along the Appallachian Mountains in 1790; along the Mississippi River by 1840; along the 100th Meridian by 1890.

The 100th meridian is the line of longitude running north and south, passing through the center of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas and separating Oklahoma from the Panhandle of Texas. West of this line the amount of rainfall in ordinary years is not sufficient for farming purposes by the old methods, and consequently the country is considered best adapted to grazing. East of this meridian and extending to the Atlantic Ocean plenty of rain and fertile soil make the country fairly uniform,

both in the industries pursued and in the density of population. The 100th meridian may, therefore, be considered as a frontier line reached by the flow of people some twenty years ago. Many writers seem to think that since reaching this line dividing the region of plenty of rain from the semi-arid region, the process of settlement has been entirely different. It seems to me, however, to be practically the same, except that not all the country can be settled now; only the fertile valleys where irrigation can be used or where the pasturage can be fenced and water obtained from streams or from wells. Dry farming may, however, make all the land available for agriculture. Political economists have said that Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah can never be so thickly settled as Iowa and Kentucky. But the contrary is being proven year by year as these great states are filling up. Just as in the early days the farmers followed close on the heels of the hunters and trappers, so now are they following close behind the miners and cattle men.

Moreover, the process is going on just as rapidly as it ever did. In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910 Montana gained in population over 200,000, Colorado nearly 400,000, Wyoming 100,000, Utah 200,000, and the territory of New Mexico about 160,000. Besides, during this time people have spread beyond these frontier states on out into Idaho, Nevada and Arizona. In spite, however, of these Rocky Mountain states being filled up, there is still a region of sparse population lying between the 100th Meridian and the Coast Ranges of Mountains called the Great Plateau Region, which comprises all the states of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and Idaho, together with the Eastern part of California, Oregon and Washington.

I wish now to call attention to another process of settlement which was going on at the same time as the gradual spreading westward just described. This other method may be truly called the *colonial* process, as the movers left their former homes and traveled over a vast distance of unpopulated country and founded colonies far removed from older settlements. This colonization reached its high water mark in 1849, when thousands of Americans left the thickly inhabited states of the East, passed over the uninhabited Great Plateau, and settled in the Coastal region of California, there at first to search for gold and minerals, but later to till the soil and build permanent homes. This colony was already quite large and populous back in the time when the frontier line ran along through the center of the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. So far indeed was it from the home states that the people of the East did not see how it could be held in the Union. A large part of the transportation of material and colonists was by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The building of railroads clear through to the Coast afforded an easier and quicker

means of transportation from the East and made it still easier for the Pacific slope to become settled before the intervening space of the Great Plateau.

At about the same time the Willamette Valley and Puget Sound became the seat of a colony of Americans who crossed the Plateau and settled on the Coast. Seattle and Tacoma grew up to be quite respectable cities from the shipping and fishing done on the Pacific. Had nothing unusual happened, or if the Sound slope had not had other resources, it is probable that these cities would have with difficulty recovered from the hard times of the nineties. Nor would they have grown to any considerable extent until the Plateau country should be well filled up and the Panama canal be completed. The building of the Northern Pacific railway to the Sound made it possible for people to come to the Coast, but the agricultural attractions offered would not have brought very great numbers to raise grain so far from a market.

But in the year 1897 the discovery of gold in Alaska did for the Washington coastal region what the gold discoveries of 1848 had done for California. Thousands of prospectors from all parts of our country and Europe flocked to Seattle to take ship for the Klondike. The fitting out took place here, shipping grew up in a few months to large dimensions, successful miners returned to settle here, where they could watch their interests in the North; many men who had intended going to Alaska lost heart on reaching Puget Sound and stayed right here. Many found it more profitable to outfit the miners than to mine themselves. It is probable that Seattle added fifty thousand people to her population between 1897 and 1900. (I make this statement in the face of the fact that it increased only forty thousand between 1890 and 1900. My explanation is that between 1890 and 1897 Seattle had decreased from a population of 40,000 in 1890 to not more than 30,000 in 1897. I believe this from statements of old settlers who lived here during the entire period, and from a careful comparison with decreases in coastal cities and towns not affected by the gold rush to the Klondike.)

Just as the invigorated commerce brought people to Seattle doubling its population, so did Tacoma revive from her lethargy, so did Everett spring into existence like Minerva from the cleft head of Jupiter, and so awoke Bellingham and Ballard. The rush to the coast stimulated another industry which, in turn, attracted its hundreds of thousands. Lumber and shingle mills sprang up along the Coast, on the lakes and rivers, close to the railroads. Spurs were thrown out from the main lines to tap the richly forested districts of the valleys and foothills, until the entire Pacific slope of the Cascades rang with the sound of the ax, the whistle of the donkey engine and the steady singing of the myriad saws of a thousand busy mills.

So Puget Sound trebled its population between 1900 and 1907, and every visitor began to tell us that the country was becoming over-populated.

But already a new movement had begun. Population flows from the densely settled metropolis to the sparsely settled colony, and heretofore the metropolis or mother country had been in the Eastern part of the United States and the movement had been westward. Now, by the settlement described, the Pacific Coastal region had become the comparatively densely settled metropolis, but the ocean prevented a very large movement westward; so the flow of population turned backward toward the East, into that sparsely settled region lying between the Cascades and the Sierra Nevada Mountains on the West and the 100th Meridian on the East. I propose to exclude from discussion the part California has played in the peopling of the states to the East of her and south of the southern boundary of Oregon. I shall deal with the part the Pacific Coast west of the Cascades has played in the peopling of Eastern Washington, principally, but, incidentally, Eastern Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana. While this does not take us eastward as far as the 100th Meridian, it does take us to the crest of the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains. This gives a sufficiently large field to cover in one paper.

There have been two periods in which Eastern Washington has received a large influx of population from the Pacific Coast countries—the first, the early period before 1870; and the second, the period since 1905. Between 1870 and 1905 there seems to have been no particular flow of people eastward in this state, at least not much greater than the westward movement from Eastern Washington.

A few settlers from across the 100th Meridian had settled in Eastern Washington as early as 1836, missionaries, fur traders, and others. With these we have nothing to do here, for the Whitman massacre of 1847 and the Cayuse Indian War killed off a great many of these, and the rest were ordered to leave by the military officer in charge of the region. By 1850 the region was completely depopulated of white people, and remained so until 1858.*

In this last mentioned year General Clarke rescinded General Wool's order excluding settlers from the country east of the Cascades, and the region began to be peopled. The first settlers came from down the Columbia River, from the settlement west of the Cascades, beginning a movement that was to go on for twelve years uninterruptedly. In fact, the seven thousand people found in Eastern Washington by the census of 1870 practically all came from the Pacific Coast. The Civil War was attracting the attention of the people in the Mississippi Valley, and the westward movement did

*Snowden, IV., page 75.

net begin until that struggle ended. In 1858, at the time when the eastward movement began, there were nine thousand settlers in Washington Territory, west of the Cascades, and in Western Oregon fifty-two thousand. There now began a steady movement up the Columbia River into what are now Klickitat, Benton and Walla Walla counties. Farming in the valleys was carried on, and a few small villages were founded, notably Walla Walla and Touchet. Gold was found at this time first in the Nez Perce Indian country of middle Idaho and later in the Kootenai district of Northern Washington and Idaho. A great stream of migrants from the Pacific counties of Washington, Oregon and California went up the Columbia, provisioned at Walla Walla and scattered out through the mountains. By 1860 Walla Walla had a population of 704, of whom 552 were men; Touchet had 158, of whom only 45 were women; Dry Creek had 80 people. These were all in the southwestern part of the territory near the Columbia. There was a mining population of 501 in the Colville Valley, 82 in the Bitter Root Valley, and 91 men scattered through the Pend'oreille Mountains (Pende O'Reille). There were nine white people on the Yakima Indian Reservation.

From 1860 on, the gold rush continued with increased volume, but came almost exclusively from the West, some even from the settlement at the mouth of the Fraser River in Western British Columbia. By 1870 there were nearly seven thousand settlers in Eastern Washington, while in Idaho there were fifteen thousand, of whom over four thousand were Chinese, and in the mountains of Montana about fifteen thousand more. Eastern Oregon had risen from nothing to 13,000. Authorities cited by Snowden in his history of Washington estimate that twenty-five thousand people went up the Columbia River from the West in one year. A good part of these came from California. But when all deductions are made, the Pacific counties of Washington and Oregon contributed a very large share of the settlers in Eastern Washington and Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana.

Beginning with 1870, and gaining in volume rapidly after the Northern Pacific reached Eastern Washington, the flow of people from East of the 100th Meridian must have swamped the early settlers coming on this side of the Cascades. Indeed the next twenty-three years formed a period of great activity in Western Washington, and it is not likely that many people left for east of the mountains. From 1893 to 1897 occurred the period of greatest business depression in our history. Old settlers have informed me that in their opinion thousands of settlers left Western Washington for their old homes in the East. Eastern Washington, having become a farming section, did not suffer so intensely, and consequently did not lose population. I have been able to find no specific evidence that many Pacific

Coast people settled in the Inland Empire country during that period of depression. But the fact that that region gained 58 per cent in population in the decade from 1890 to 1900 without any boom, and that Western Washington gained in the decade only 42 per cent with the Alaska boom and the boom following the building of the Great Northern to the Sound, would tend to indicate that, if there were any intra-state movement at all, it was from the Pacific counties to the inland counties.

From 1897 to 1907 the region West of the Cascades enjoyed an era of exceptional prosperity. During that time the Alaska trade assumed gigantic proportions; the lumber industry attracted thousands from the regions of depleted forests in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota; the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railroad was projected and millions in money were poured into the Puget Sound country for development. These three causes combined to stimulate speculation on a recklessly dangerous scale, which in turn precipitated the boom of 1906. The financial panic of 1907, which was nation-wide, bore down more heavily on us, as it had caught us at the top of a boom.

Taking advantage of the great prosperity and reckless speculation rife in Seattle and other Coast cities, Eastern Washington promoters established agencies here in 1905 and 1906 and did a large business. I have talked with several men who bought irrigated land at that time. At first this was largely speculating on the part of the people, but after the crash of 1907 many found it the part of wisdom to move out onto their fruit lands.

In preparing this paper I was unable to find any published material bearing on the period, 1905-1912. I was, therefore, compelled to get my information by letter or by interview. I sent out two hundred letters to mayors, school superintendents and principals, and private citizens, asking for data on the number of people from Western Washington living in their communities. To most of these inquiries I received no answer whatever. Others answered carelessly and at random. A few gave me reliable information. I supplement these data by inquiries among a great many trustworthy real estate firms in Seattle. I interviewed over a hundred men in Seattle, Wenatchee, Ephrata, Spokane, North Yakima and Pasco. What I have written here should be supplemented by investigators working in each community.

As mining was the attraction which lured Westerners eastward in the early period before 1870, so fruitgrowing has been the lure of the period from 1905 on. There are a large number of these projects. I found that the Wenatchee district was especially full of Westerners. At Columbia River station there are twenty-five families settled in one community. This does not form a majority of the people, however, for there are more people from Wenatchee alone than that. But this is a good exam-

ple of Western Washington settlements. Leavenworth contains an even dozen families from this side, 15 per cent of Cashmere's people hail from this side. Wenatchee itself, according to its Chamber of Commerce, has only 350 people from Western Washington, but I believe this estimate is considerably below the real numbers.

Ellensburg has about a hundred families from Western Washington, and North Yakima has many business men from this side. The Kneb Hill school district, just outside the city limits of North Yakima, received 20 per cent of its people from the Pacific Coast counties. Ahanum, six miles from North Yakima, was founded and is entirely populated by Seattle people.

Another district filled with Westerners is that of which Pasco is the center. Pasco itself has 200 families from Western Washington and Oregon. Prosser has 25 families, and Byron has six families from the Puget Sound country. Burbank is a Seattle settlement, and so also is Hanford. Kennewick has 200 Coast people.

Turning to the north, the Ephrata district is quite largely Western in settlement. One hundred families have gone from Seattle to settle around Adrian in the past three years. The Moses Lake and Moses coulee districts are largely Western owned and will be settled upon in the near future. I personally know eight men who own land in this district and are intending to make it their home as soon as their orchards are bearing. The town of Ephrata, in the center, was settled from Seattle, its lawyers, doctors, bankers, real estate agents and merchants coming from this side of the Cascades.

Arcadia Irrigated Tract, containing 20,000 acres, a few miles north of Spokane, has its quota of Puget Sound people. Thirty-five families from Seattle have elected to make that district their home. A few miles north of the Arcadia Orchard Tract, in the timber belt, several families settled two or three years ago. One Green Lake lumber man with his two sons and families located there last spring.

The Des Chutes river valley in Eastern Oregon has gotten a large number of immigrants from West of the Cascades. Most of these have gone from Portland, but Tacoma has contributed also. The railroad circulars state that a thousand families from West of the Cascades have settled in the valley in the past two years. The Georgetown Gazette News contained a news item to the effect that twenty of her citizens are now at Bend, Oregon. Mrs. M. J. Wall accompanied fourteen families from West Seattle who settled on Carey Act and other irrigated land near Bend.

Though there are other towns with a few Western Washington people in them, I found that these irrigated land communities are by far the most important. I shall pass over the isolated examples of wheat farmers,

the dozen or fewer families in Colfax, Ritzville, Sussaville, Oregon, and Moulton, Wash., and note that some 150 Western families got claims in the opening of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation and many families are living on their claims. According to a letter from Mr. Frank Robertson, who got a desirable claim, there are a hundred of such families in and near Plummer, Idaho.

I think it must appear evident from the above facts and figures gathered from most reliable sources that the past five years have seen at least ten thousand people move eastward from West of the Cascades. My report must be very incomplete, and the census figures do not help out very much. The census figures for 1910 on birthplace are not yet available, and even when they are available they will not show in what part of a state the people of Eastern Washington and Idaho are born. For example, the 1900 census shows 9100 persons in Idaho who were born in Oregon and Washington, but does not indicate whether West of the Cascades or East. The same census showed two thousand in Montana born in Oregon and Washington. This shows a considerable eastward movement, but those born in the West going east must be only a small proportion of those who go east after having *secured* a residence in the West.

The arrivals at the railroad stations in Spokane and Seattle indicate a much larger number coming direct to the Coast from East of the 100th Meridian than to Spokane. This only shows what the other points mentioned have proven, that people come from the East both by rail and by boat intending to locate here, and that using this as a base thousands yearly spread out into Eastern Washington, Eastern Oregon, Idaho and even Montana.

That this movement is only a part of a general movement of the people round about is clearly disproved by the fact that Seattle contains very few people born in Eastern Washington, or even of persons who had established a residence there. Out of 150 pupils, taken at random at the Lincoln High School, Seattle, only three had ever lived in Eastern Washington. I consider this a good proof of the fact that there has been little or no flow of people from Eastern into Western Washington. Lincoln High School gets her pupils from the University, Green Lake and Fremont districts. These have all grown up in the past ten years; that is, they contain a population that is new to the Coast. In fact only twenty of the 150 pupils quizzed had been born here. The great majority—130 out of 150—were immigrants from other parts of the country. Yet only three came from Eastern Washington. The conclusion is indisputable. The movement of population from Eastern to Western Washington is merely that of a readjusting of settlers, the natural come and go common

to American life. The movement eastward, which even in the case of Wenatchee is large enough to give her population ten per cent of Coast people, is a very different migration.

In conclusion, the evidence deduced points to a still further emigration from the Coast in the future. This does not mean that the Coast is to lose in the total of her population. The information I secured concerning the excess of arrivals over departures shows that Seattle gets the bulk of the immigrants to Washington from the Eastern states. The Coast countries receive the immigrants direct from the East, and at the same time constantly give off a steady stream of settlers for Eastern Washington, Eastern Oregon and even Idaho. With the opening of the Panama Canal these movements will, no doubt, increase in intensity.

GUY VERNON BENNETT.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS[1]

Among the contemporary Lennox Papers there exists an early form of Buchanan's "Detectio," called "Probable and Infallyable Conjectures." The title is not inapplicable to the great bulk of Marian literature which has since been produced. Ingenious theories have been propounded only to be overthrown in rapid succession by the emergence of some fresh piece of evidence. It is only with the comparatively recent publication of new documents, since 1889, that opinions and conjectures have begun to be replaced by facts. Bain's Scottish Papers and Hume's Spanish Calendars contain essential information; the Bardon Papers, 1909, summarize the official case of the English government against Mary and throw light upon the ultimate reasons of her unhappy fate; the Lennox Papers, not yet published, have become known through Pollen, Lang and Henderson, and furnish important information on the relations of Mary and Darnley, and the vexed problem of the Casket Letters; while first in merit and importance, filling the greatest gap in the records of Mary's life, is Pollen's "Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots," 1901, based largely upon the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy have now yielded up the bulk of their stores. The most important documentary gap which still exists is Mary's correspondence with the Cardinal of Lorraine, which has defied all search. The principal works of criticism and interpretation which have accompanied these publications and discoveries are the minutely critical biography by Hay Fleming; Hume's "Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots"; the two editions of Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart"; and Henderson's "Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy," 1905, with its examination of the latest documents and theories, and its notable critique of Andrew Lang.

It is in connection with Mary's relations with the Papacy, her religious policy,[2] and the Casket Letters, that research has made the greatest progress.

Father Pollen's documents contain, as a whole, convincing evidence that Mary did not, as Froude asserts, enter Scotland with a purpose "fixed as the stars to undo the Reformation." Randolph, the English ambassa-

[1]This article, in slightly condensed form, was read before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Berkeley, California, on November 28, 1910.

[2]An admirable discussion of Mary's personal religious views and the character of her religious policy will be found in the Quarterly Review, Vol. 196, Apr., 1902, pp. 321-356.

dor, expressed her early attitude with perfect correctness when he wrote at the close of 1562: "She knows the necessite of my sovereigne's friendshipe to be greater than a poste hathinge at an autour; she is not so affectioned to her masse that she wyll leave a kyngdome for yt." The restoration of Scotland to the Roman Obedience was not, in truth, the chief end of her policy. Her primary aim was to secure formal acknowledgment of her rightful claim to the English succession, and she ruled as a Politique rather than as a religious extremist. Papal diplomatists seem never to have been consulted about the assumption of the English arms, and until 1571 Elizabeth was regarded by the Pope as the rightful Queen of England. The Guises and their agents in Rome talk of "concord and unios" between Mary and Elizabeth as a "settled thing." Mary's letter to the Duke of Guise—one of the most important new documents—proves clearly that Mary looked forward to an English alliance and was not oppressed by her duty as a Catholic sovereign. No general Catholic League existed in 1565—at least none such is extant in the archives of any European power—and Mary therefore did not sign it. She usually evinces a much greater desire for Roman subsidies than for Roman rites, and her conduct was not pleasing to the Pope. It was the tortuous policy of Elizabeth which ultimately forced her into the arms of the Catholics and brought about her ruin. The transition begins in January, 1563: the first active measures are taken after Murray's downfall in 1565, and the process culminates in Riccio's murder, 1566. But Riccio was not a papal emissary; his name occurs but once in Pollen's Roman documents, when he is barely mentioned as the "Piedmontese secretary of the queen."

The dispensation for the Darnley marriage affords an important illustration both of Mary's ecclesiastical attitude and personal character. Father Pollen, in his "Papal Negotiations" and a subsequent article of April, 1907, in the Scottish Historical Review, dispels all the mysteries heretofore attached to the transaction. Mary married Darnley July 29; the dispensation was issued in September, but ante-dated to the 25th of May. This date is genuine. Mary, therefore, married Darnley before the dispensation had been granted, and allowed her advisers to believe that a "complimentary exhortation to constancy," which happened to arrive from the Pope, was the indispensable document itself. Mary was not without excuses, yet, after every allowance, the fact remains that her action involved a deliberate violation of the canon law and exhibited both disregard for the church and indifference to personal purity. Her want of principle regarding the sacredness of marriage in this instance augurs ill for her constancy in the time of greater temptation soon to come.

A broader knowledge of facts has produced two fundamental changes in the character of Marian literature. First, the question of personal guilt or innocence is relegated to the background as a comparatively negligible factor; emphasis is laid instead upon those political and religious conditions throughout Europe which so largely predetermined her career. Second, her case has been shifted from a legal to a historical basis of treatment.

The late Major Hume regards Mary as representing "in her own person the principle which, if she had succeeded, would have destroyed the Reformation and established the supremacy of Spanish Catholicism in Europe." Personal wickedness would not have altered the result, if her marriage policies had been successful. These, therefore, are the key to her career. The "main source of her fascination was her power of sensuous allurement"; her ruin resulted primarily from the "irresistible rush of purely sexual passion" combined with an unquenchable ambition derived from the House of Guise. The crucial point of her career was her first meeting with Darnley, when for the first time amorous passion overrode her judgment and brought about a union, unnecessary and unwise.—It is a pity that the author of the "Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots" did not employ the new material produced by Father Pollen.

Henderson's fundamental theory as to Mary's failure is diametrically opposed to Hume's and is essentially the same as Lang's, with personal reasons minimized and with greater rigidity. Discounting the love-element, he considers that policy (i. e., ambition) was not superseded by passion as a motive-force until after Riccio's murder, when political exigencies, combined with an irresistible reaction from hopes irretrievably ruined, threw her into Bothwell's arms. Mary was really the predestined victim of a bitter religious quarrel. The difficulty of her task—in itself all but impossible—was so aggravated by accidental circumstances that hardly a chance was left of escape from signal calamity. "The processes which determined her life towards its tragic close seemed ever to go on with the regularity of clock-work." "Her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate." Her early connection with Catholic France, founded and dissolved by circumstances beyond her control; the religious revolution in Scotland, consummated in her absence with English help, which established first a religious, and later a political severance between Mary and her subjects; Elizabeth's inflexible determination never to recognize as heir; the evolving hostility of Knox and the extreme Protestants; the divergence of the French and Guisard interests from Mary's, which in 1563 deprived her both of French and Spanish aid, embittered her relations with England and compelled her to turn to Darnley and a Catholic restoration; the fac-

tional intrigues of the Scotch nobility; the colossal folly of her husband—such were some of the inexorable forces which ruined her ecclesiastical policies, disappointed her political ambitions, destroyed her domestic happiness—and left her a prey to recklessness, personal passion and dishonor. It was the permanence given Bothwell's power, rather than any complicity in Darnley's murder, which caused her political ruin.

The sharp distinction which writers are now drawing between the legal and historical case against Mary is thoroughly scientific and tells heavily against her. Her accusers at Westminster, most of whom were themselves guilty, dared not present the entire truth; their case is, therefore, full of inconsistencies and technical deficiencies. Their chronology is impossible; they deliberately suppressed evidence. It was easy for Mary's defenders to answer the legal case; the historical case stands upon a different footing. At Fotheringhay, also, the sweeping character of her denials tends to prove her guilt. Morgan, the central agent of the Babington conspiracy, was no pensioner of hers, she said; yet her private correspondence with Mendoza reveals her activity in his behalf. She hinted that Nau, her secretary, had confessed, through fear, untruths; yet, as we know, though the commissioners did not, she wrote to Mendoza not that he confessed falsely, but that he "had confessed everything."[1]

Mary's love affairs were mainly political. She was not a Messalina. As to the poet Chastelard, she showed an imprudent fondness for his society—nothing more. There is no serious reason to believe that her relations with Riccio were other than official and social—never guilty. Accusation against him date from a time when Darnley and Riccio's enemies were seeking to destroy him. As to Darnley, Lang and Hume believe she loved him; Father Pollen rejects the idea of love at first sight; Henderson rejects it entirely. As to Bothwell, apart from the Casket Letters, there seems no convincing proof that Mary was guilty with him during Darnley's life: sheer hatred of Darnley would account for his murder. As to the Bothwell marriage, Mary is to be condemned with no recommendation to mercy. The best Catholic opinion rejects the validity of his divorce, and the Pope breaks off all negotiations with Mary for two years.

Apart from the direct evidence of the long letter alleged to have been written to Bothwell by Mary at Glasgow—a letter which, if authentic, is final—there may be said to exist a general consensus of opinion that Mary brought Darnley to Edinburgh to facilitate the plans of Bothwell against him. The circumstantial evidence against her is overwhelmingly strong. "It is from Mary's relations to the various parties," writes Hume Brown, the royal historiographer of Scotland, "and from her conduct

[1]Henderson, II., 440-450.

before and after the deed that we are justified in concluding her guilty." The main question seems to be the degree of culpability.

The Casket Letters,* with their cry of illicit passion, their instigations to Darnley's murder and Mary's own abduction, were the only direct evidence which the queen's accusers could bring against her. If genuine, no further proofs were needed. In the solution of the vexed question of their authenticity a new era was reached when there appeared, in 1889, Mr. Henderson's "Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots." This work proved, beyond a peradventure, that the original French versions of the Letters—authentic, forged, or garbled—were produced at the English conferences of 1568. The following canons of criticism, based mainly on Mr. Henderson's demonstration, are accepted by recent investigators and may be regarded as scientifically established. First, certain copies of Letters III., IV., V., VI. and IX. (the Sonnets) may be called the original French of those letters and treated as such for purposes of discussion. All arguments for forgery, based upon the supposed non-existence of French originals, are therefore obsolete. Second, orthographic tests are not admissible. Father Pullen has demonstrated that copyists of that era made no attempt to preserve accurately the spelling of originals. Third, no arguments *against* forgery can be based on imitations of peculiarities of phrase which an hypothetical forger would be sure to know and reproduce. Many of the phrases of the Letters and Sonnets are literary and conventional. Fourth, with respect to Letters I. and II. (the all-important Glasgow Letter) no valid arguments can be based upon discrepancies between the Scotch and English versions. All discussions based on such discrepancies are obsolete. The English version, defective through extreme haste, omits and mistranslates; the Scotch version can be proved to omit, through sheer inadvertence, unimportant passages and, therefore, no valid argument can be drawn from the absence of passages of greater importance. This is Mr. Lang's contribution to the subject in his "Mystery of Mary Stuart." Cardauns and Philippson had already shown that the English translator possessed both the French and Scotch versions. The best texts are printed by Mr. Lang in his Appendix.

Of late years the appearance of fresh material has rendered wholly untenable the old positions of forgery theorists and immensely strengthened the case for the authenticity of the Letters—particularly of the fatal Glasgow Letter. The chief discoveries are five in number.† First, the proof, delivered by Mr. Henderson, in 1889, that the original language of

*The name is derived from a silver casket which fell into the hands of the Regent Morton after the murder of Mary's secretary at Chatterey Hill and which contained a letter, a sonnet and a sonnet-sequence alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell.

†Compare Henderson, II., 434.

the Letters was French, and that the originals were produced at Westminster and Hampton Court. Second, the publication, also by Mr. Henderson in 1889, of the full text of Morton's sworn Declaration as to the discovery and inspection of the Casket. Its evidential value is two-fold; it names the witnesses, both Catholic and Protestant, Marian and anti-Marian, who were present at the Casket's opening; it limits to the almost impossible period of five days the operations of a potential forger. Most critics, I believe, accept the Declaration as furnishing conclusive proof of the nature of the documents within the Casket. Mr. Lang, declaring that the list of witnesses adds nothing to the credibility of the account per se, dissents. Third, the publication by Major Hume in 1892 in the Spanish Calendar of a dispatch which proved that du Croc, the French ambassador, was given copies of the Letters within a fortnight of the Casket's opening. This overthrew all arguments against their authenticity founded upon the long delay in their production. Fourth, the publication by Major Hume, in the same Calendar, of de Silva's dispatch, showing that Moray, on his return to Scotland, gave him an account of a long letter which was presumably the Glasgow Letter. The cumulative effect of these four discoveries, wrote Mr. Henderson in 1905, was "so to supplement the evidence previously available that they seemed to prove beyond a doubt that the Glasgow Letter was in existence before the Casket was opened on the 21st of June." Except upon the score of one possible interpolation—the notable Crawford Declaration—its authenticity seemed unassailable. At this point Mr. Lang received Father Pollen's transcripts of the Lennox Papers, discovered in them—as he thought—reason for the repudiation of the Casket Letters, and gave to the world in 1901 his "Mystery of Mary Stuart." Into the intricacies of his argument as there produced I cannot enter, nor into the equally complex—but much more cogent—arguments of Mr. Henderson's rejoinder in the Appendix of his "Mary Stuart," 1905. The conclusion of their warfare is to be found in Mr. Lang's articles in the Scottish Historical Review of October, 1907, and Mr. Henderson's reply of January, 1908. Mr. Lang maintained in his "Mary Stuart," and still maintains, on the conjoined evidence of the de Silva-Moray report and a certain document in the Lennox Papers, that there existed a forged letter, antecedent to the Glasgow Letter, but never produced. Resenting his position, however, on the Glasgow Letter itself, he accepts its complete authenticity. It would be rash to assert that this surrender of Mary's most ingenious champion terminates the Casket controversy. Mr. Henderson receives from Mr. Lang only indirect credit for his change of mind and heart. Both accept the genuineness of the Letter, but on different grounds. Mr. Lang, by his continued belief in the forgery which was never produced and by his acceptance of the authenticity of the Glasgow Letter

merely on the score of old evidence maturely considered, may logically reopen the question at a later date. Mr. Henderson, by his recognition of the evidential value of a Lennox Paper which he is the first to print—the *draft* of Crawford's Declaration—may have closed the controversy forever. The existence of the draft in the Lennox Papers, together with the character of erasures and certain alterations, prove, he with apparent justice maintains, that Crawford's Declaration could not have been in existence as early as the Glasgow Letter and that Crawford made use of the Scotch version of this Letter in preparing his draft. There was therefore no interpolation. The production of this fifth and final document in the series of discoveries to date has therefore transformed an old objection into one of the strongest proofs of complete authenticity, and shifted the controversy from the realm of opinion to that of fact.

Mr. Lang in his preface to the revised version of his "Mystery" does not profess to establish the innocence of Queen Mary, but rather "to show that the methods of her accusers were so clumsy and so manifestly perfidious that they all but defeated the object of the prosecution." His book was conceived in a spirit of boundless suspicion and the characters of the principal Scotch noblemen, Lethington especially, were indiscriminately blackened. The forgery of the Casket Letters was vital to his case. He has now been constrained to admit the authenticity of the fatal Glasgow Letter. The ultimate effect of his work tends therefore to turn the immediate investigations of historians away from Mary and towards her *entourage*. Moray must receive his first biography. The life of Lethington must be rewritten. The Lennox Papers should be published by Father Pollen *in extenso*. These three are the greatest needs of present historical writing concerning Mary Queen of Scots.

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON.

DOCUMENTS

[Though the editor now has a wealth of materials for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly, he always welcomes suggestions or copies of unprinted manuscript documents.]

Secret Mission of Warre and Vavasour

New light is here thrown upon the phase of American history so long epitomized in the phrase: "Fifty-four, Forty or Fight!" Heretofore we have not had access of the British side of that controversy. James K. Polk, on assuming his duties as President, said he was willing to carry out his campaign pledges, but he found negotiations pending on the acceptance of the 49th parallel as a compromise boundary. When the British minister, Richard Pakenham, declined that offer, President Polk asked Congress for men and money to back up the American claims to the original boundary of "Fifty-four, Forty." Then the British, in turn, offered to compromise on the 49th parallel and the offer was accepted in the Treaty of 1846.

Nearly twenty years later, a retired officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie, wrote a letter to the Oregon Pioneer Association,[1] in which he revealed one reason for the apparent retreat of the British, as follows: "It must be remembered that, between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom had—besides several fighting and other troubles in various parts of the world—great embarrassment in regard to Canada, during 1837-38 in a state of open rebellion. What seems more natural in such a case than that apathy as to further acquisition of territory in North America should have prevailed in British councils?" He further says that the incessant nudging of the Hudson's Bay Company aroused the British government from its apathy on this question. The letters and documents here printed show that secret preparations were being planned by the British for a possible war, a calamity that was happily averted.

These documents are printed from copies obtained through the Provincial Library of British Columbia from the Public Records Office, London, where the originals are filed as "America Domestic Various," Volumes 440, 442, and 457.

[1]Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the Twelfth Annual Reunion, 1884, pp. 30-31.

Simpson to Pelly

[Hudson's Bay House, 19th March, 1845.]

* * *

Should the recent proceedings in the Congress of the United States on the Oregon question result in hostilities between the two countries, I think it would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the Company's interests in Hudson's Bay that a small military force should be stationed at Red River. Besides this force, I think it would be very desirable that a company of riflemen should be embodied in the country from our native half-caste population, who are admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, being exceedingly active, and by the constant use of the gun from childhood, good marksmen. It would be necessary, however, to forward from Canada along with the troops a sufficient number of officers to command and discipline this corps.

The officers and men should be forwarded from Canada, proceeding by steam to the Sault de Ste. Marie and I would provide craft to convey them from thence to Fort William, where they should arrive in the course of the month of August. From Fort William they would be forwarded in light canoes to Red River, each canoe taking ten men, who would have to work their passage, experienced bowsmen and sternsmen being provided in the country.

The Company's agent at Red River could conduct the commissariat department better than strangers.

For the protection of British interests on the Columbia and N. W. Coast I would moreover suggest that two sailing ships of war and two steamers should be stationed there. It would be highly important to get possession of Cape Disappointment, and to erect thereon a strong battery, which would effectually command the mouth of the Columbia River, as unless the southern channel may have been found practicable since I was there, ships entering the River must pass so close under the Cape that shells might be dropped almost with certainty upon their decks from the battery.

The Columbia River, owing to the difficulty of ingress and egress, cannot be depended upon as a harbour; and to the southward there is no good harbour nearer than the Bay of San Francisco in about 40° N. Lat., but in the Straits of de Fuca, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, and the Gulf of Georgia there are many excellent harbours at easy access. Although it might be unsafe for sailing ships of war to enter the Columbia River, steamers would find frequent opportunities of going in and out, even in winter, and in summer the weather is so uniformly fine they could make certain of crossing the Bar at almost any time.

There should be a large body of marines attached to the ships of war for boating and land service, and a force of about 2000 men, half-breeds and Indians, might be collected on both sides of the mountain that could on a short notice be rendered disposable for active service in any part of the Oregon territory. It would be necessary, however, that sufficient officers should be at hand to command and discipline these people.

The country is so productive in grain and cattle, and fish are so abundant that such a force as I have pointed out could, with a little preparatory arrangement, be provisioned for twelve months certain.

Should the recent negotiations happily result in a partition of the country, the branch of the Columbia called Lewis River would be a satisfactory boundary as regards British interests. But if that cannot be obtained, the parallel of 49° might be continued as a boundary line from the mountains until it strikes the north branch of the Columbia, which from that point should be the boundary to the sea. If the 49° parallel be adopted as the boundary line the whole way from the mountains to the sea, then it would be indispensable to have Vancouver's Island and the free navigation of the Straits of Fuca secured to us; as in consequence of the prodigious isthmus in Johnston's Straits, it would be impossible for trading vessels to reach Frazier's River by the northern channel.

In such partition of the country it would, as a matter of course, be necessary that the Company and British settlers should be secured in their present possessions by a provision in the Treaty; and the free navigation of the Columbia River, as the only practicable communication to the east side of the mountains,—as well as right of way by land (should a practicable route be found) from the Gulf of George to the Columbia should be secured to us. The provision in the Treaty should also secure to us the undisturbed possession of the country now occupied by the Puget Sound Company, the farms on the Cowlitz, in the neighborhood of Vancouver on Multnomah's Island, our water privileges on the Willamette River, our posts on the Columbia and Umpqua Rivers, and all other establishments now occupied by the Company.

It is very desirable that Lord Aberdeen should instruct Mr. Pakenham to communicate with me confidentially on the state of the negotiations respecting the Oregon boundary, in order that I might be prepared to act according to circumstances, without loss of time necessary for communicating with England.

G. SIMPSON.

Hudson's Bay House,

19th (March, 1845.

To Sir Hy. Pelly, Bart.,

Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[Endorsed] Copy: Memoranda with reference to the *Oregon Question*, March 29, 1845. Communicated by Sir Geo. Simpson.

Simpson to Ogden

Confidential Encampment, Lac La Pluie, 30 May, 1845.

[To Peter Skeen Ogden]

Dear Sir:

Having submitted, for your private information, a confidential letter, I have under this date addressed to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, two British officers now accompanying us from Canada on their way to the shores of the Pacific at the outlet of the Columbia river, which fully explains the object of their journey. I have now to request the favor of

your conducting these Gentlemen from Red River to their destination by the Saskatchewan, crossing the Rocky Mountains at the Ben Rover Pass, and touching en route at the Posts of Fort Ellis, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt, Edmonton, and Colville, and the other establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River.

Your party will consist of six servants of the Company, besides Messrs. Warre and Vavasour and yourself, and Mr. Lane, as one of the Company's clerk, who you will consider as specially attached to your party, and who is to be employed as I shall hereafter point out. Messrs. Warre and Vavasour are to be provided at Red River with two saddle horses each, and a horse each for the conveyance of their personal luggage, which are to be relieved by fresh horses at each post you may visit: and the necessary number of horses for the remainder of the party will, in like manner, be provided from station to station.

It is desirable that you should take your departure from Red River not later than the 15th proc. so as to reach the Pacific as early as possible, with a view of anticipating Lieut. Fremont of the United States Army, who, I understand, was to have left St. Louis on the 29th of April for the same destination; and by a steady prosecution of the journey, I am in hopes you may reach the Pacific by 12th August.

The first object to be attended to on arrival there is to take possession, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of Cape Disappointment, ostensibly with a view to the forming of a trading post and pilot lookout (should it not have been previously occupied on behalf of the United States Gov't, or any of its citizens). In that case you will be pleased to employ Mr. Lane and the servants who accompany you, in the building of a house on the Cape, taking possession by a rough fence, of the headland and the isthmus connecting it with the back country, running a slight fence along the shore of Baker's Bay and across the point to the shore of the ocean, so as to enclose an area of the interior as may be desirable for the exclusion of strangers; likewise enclosing for the same object any high ground in the rear, within common range, which may command the Cape. After the necessary enclosures and buildings shall have been erected, I have to beg that Mr. Lane and two men be left in charge of the Post, to give their attention to the Indian trade being furnished with such provisions and supplies from the depot of Fort Vancouver as may be necessary for the maintenance of the Post.

I have further to beg that you will point out to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour the ship channel from the mouth of the Columbia up to Fort Vancouver, directing their attention to such points on the north shore as may command the channel, likewise to Tongue Point on the south side, and if those gentlemen be of opinion that the occupation thereof might become of importance in a military point of view, you will be pleased to take possession of the headland in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and erect a house on such position as those Gentlemen may select as the best site for a Battery, forming a rough fence across the neck of land connecting the promotory with the back country and along the edge of the woods around the promotory, leaving two men there for a few weeks, the more formally to establish our occupancy.

You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place is to be taken possession of by the Hudson's Bay Company if already possessed and occupied on behalf of the United States Govt. or its citizens; but after possession has once been taken by you of any of those points, I have to request that such may not be relinquished unless compelled to abandon it by superior force and overt acts of violence on the part of the United States Govt. or its citizens, and in that case either yourself or the Officer for the time being superintending the Company's affairs at Vancouver will be pleased to report the same in writing to the Commander of any of her Majesty's ships with whom you may have an opportunity of communicating, calling upon such Officer for support and protection and handing him the best proofs you can address of the nature and extent of the violence that may have been exercised in dispossessing the Company of the occupied posts, transmitting to the Governor and Commitee of the Hudson's Bay Company a detailed report of all proceedings connected with this subject.

Should Messrs. Warre and Vavasour wish to visit the Willamette Settlement or any other point of the Oregon Territory where we can afford them protection, you will grant the necessary facilities to do so; meeting all their demands in writing on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores and removers, providing them with a passage to the Mountains in spring, with a view to their accompanying the Express to Red River, so as to arrive there early in June, 1848, securing for them the kindest hospitalities and attentions at our different establishments, and considering their pleasure, comfort, and convenience, in so far as circumstances may permit. I have further to beg that all expenses connected with the conveyance of these Gentlemen to and from the Pacific, and all other outlay that may be incurred connected with their expedition, likewise the wages and provisions of the officer and servants who may be employed in taking possession by occupation of Cape Disappointment, or of any other points that may be determined upon, in accordance with the spirit of the letter referred to, be charged to an account to be in the meantime headed, "Supreme account."

I have to request that this letter be considered strictly confidential, and that the object of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour's journey be not disclosed, but that it be given out that they are known to us only as private travellers for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits.

Herewith I hand you an order on the Company's stores and resources at the different establishments you may visit, in furtherance of the objects of this expedition.

I remain, etc.,
GEORGE SIMPSON.

Peter Skeen Ogden, Esq.,
Chief Factor,
Hudson's Bay Company.

[Endorsed] Lac la Pluie, May 30/45. Sir George Simpson to Mr. Ogden. *Confidential.*

Inclosures in Ld. Metcalfe's Letter to Lord Stanley of July 16th, 1845.

Simpson to Warre and Vavasour

Confidential Encampment Lac la Pluie, May 30th, 1845.

Gentlemen:

Having been confidentially informed by H. M.'s Gov't. that the object of your present journey is to acquire a knowledge of the character and resources of the country situated between the Sault de Ste. Marie and the shores of the Pacific, and of the practicability of forming military stations therein and conveying troops thither, with a view, should it hereafter be necessary, to the occupation thereof for military purposes; and having been requested to afford you every facility for acquiring such knowledge and to furnish you with such information as my experience might suggest, I beg to invite your attention to the following particulars which I think may be useful in enabling you to frame your report on the important objects of yours missions.

You are aware that the United States are forming a cordon of military posts along their northern frontier at Michilimackinac, the Sault de Ste. Marie, La Pointe on the western shore of Lake Superior, Prairie de Chien, Lake St. Peters, and Council Bluffs; and others, I understand, are in progress on the Missouri from that point to the Rocky Mountains, showing the importance they attached to their Indian frontier and acquiring for them an influence among the surrounding Native Tribes, which would be highly important in the event of war; while the trade and settlements along the British frontier are altogether unprotected in that way.

Should H. M.'s Gov't. be desirous of affording a similar protection to the British settlements and interests, and of securing a similar influence over the Indian population in their neighborhood, I would consider that Point Muron, on the Kaministaquoiah River (falling into Lake Superior) above 9 miles above the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post of Fort William, situated in about 48° 30' N. Lat: and 89° W. Long. and Red River Settlement at the outlet of Red River into Lake Winnipeg in 50° N. Lat. and 97° W. Long. are the only two points where such protection appears, at present, necessary or desirable; and at these places military posts of the Indian Country East of the Rocky Mountains.

As regards the means of transport, the troops, ordnance, military stores, etc., could be conveyed to the Kaministaquoiah River from Canada in steam or sailing vessels. The intercourse with the Sault is now so great that for many years past there has been a constant communication during the season of open water, by steam and sailing vessels to that point; and the Hudson's Bay Company have a sufficient number of decked and open craft on Lake Superior for any amount of transport that might be required as far as Kaministaquoiah River.

The soil and climate of the banks of the Kaministaquoiah are favorable for the production of various descriptions of grain, potatoes, and garden stuffs, with pasturage for any quantity of cattle and an inexhaustible supply of very fine fish in its immediate vicinity. There is water communication by rivers and lakes of about 700 [to] 800 miles from the Kaministaquoiah to Red River Settlement, through which you are now passing; but owing to the obstructions arising from rapids and falls it is practicable only by

that craft that can be carried over such obstructions, usually known as "portages." Bark canoes, capable of conveying 15 soldiers and about 30 cwt. of luggage and provisions which can be navigated across the portages by 4 men, are the most suitable craft for half that distance, say from the mouth of the Kaministaquoia to Lac de Plue; and boats capable of carrying 30 men with their provisions and luggage can be employed from thence to Red River. If the troops were to render the question of assistance in working these craft which has frequently been afforded by women in the Hudson's Bay Company's civic the journey from Lake Superior to Red River might be performed in about 20 days; but if they traveled merely as passengers, the work being performed by the bare number of experienced hands absolutely required in each craft, the journey would occupy 5 or 6 weeks.

With the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have always large Depots of provisions and craft on hand, a regiment might thus be conveyed to Red River Settlement in the course of one summer. The best mode, however, of transporting this transport would be through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company who, I have no doubt, would contract for maintenance and conveyance of the troops with their luggage from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement, after the rate of about 40 shillings pr. man if they were to assist in the transport or about 60 shillings pr. man if conveyed as passengers.

Point Murou, the site I would recommend for a military post on the Kaministaquoiah is high ground, overlooking the River, and is not commanded by any other point within reach. The Indian population in that neighborhood is very thin, not exceeding 100 to 150 families, of the Chippeway tribe, mild and docile in their character, and entirely under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose posts they frequent and from whom they receive all their supplies of British manufactures.

The Hudson's Bay Company have four establishments on the route from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement, namely, Fort William, Lac a la Pluie, Rat Portage, and Fort Alexander, where craft and all necessary supplies or allotment for the troops could be provided.

At Red River the Hudson's Bay Company have an Agricultural Settlement containing about 5000 inhabitants, consisting principally of their retired Officers and servants and their half-caste families, and a few Indians. The country is beautiful, salubrious, and very productive at wheat, barley, peas, etc., Cattle, sheep, swine, and horses are very abundant, and the fisheries so productive that they would alone afford the inhabitants the means of living if all other resources failed. Salt is procured in the settlement from numerous saline springs in the neighborhood, and maple is so plentiful as to afford large supplies for maple sugar.

The distance from the settlement to York Factory, the Company's principal Depot on the shores of Hudson's Bay in communication with England, is about 700 miles. Lake Winnipeg which is navigable by decked vessels, forms nearly half the distance. From thence to the coast, the navigation by a chain of rivers and lakes is practicable by boats of 35/ to 4 tons burden. The downward navigation which is usually performed in about 16 days; and the upward voyage is from 5 to 6 weeks. By that route, such articles of British produce and manufacture as might be

required in the country can be conveyed at a charge of about 15 per cent on English invoice prices.

The Company have at Red River Settlement two establishments or Forts, walled in and protected by bastions, of sufficient extent to quarter a regiment and from the facility of obtaining labour, and stone, lime, brick, timber and other materials, extensive buildings might be erected there at a very short notice.

Red River Settlement is the most favourable situation in the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains for a military depot, and large levies of troops might be there raised from the half-caste population of the settlement and the neighbouring Indian tribes, who, when properly disciplined, would form such a force as would overcome many, and greatly harass all the United States Settlements on the Missouri. A detachment of about 200 regular troops, however, I should consider sufficient to form the nucleus of a force of several thousand natives, who, from their activity and habits of life, are admirably adapted for Guerilla warfare. The result of your own observations on the spot will, I have no doubt, confirm all I have said on this subject; and in order that you may be the better enabled to prepare estimates of the expenses that might be incurred in the formation of the establishment I have suggested, and in the maintenance of troops, I beg to annex a tariff of prices current list of labour and supplies of every description.

From Red River Settlement whither I have now the pleasure of conducting you, a party will be despatched under the charge of Mr. Ogden, an influential officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, to conduct you from thence across land to the Saskatchewan River, and from thence across the Rocky Mountains to Fort Colvile on the Columbia River. Horse traveling is the best and most expeditious mode of conveyance by that route, and the journey may occupy 40 to 50 days, having been performed by me in the year 1841 in 47 days. Mr. Ogden's knowledge and experience will guard against privation, inconvenience, or danger along that route. From Fort Colvile, you will be able to reach the Pacific in boats in 5 or 6 days, so that, leaving Red River about the 12 June, you ought, according to the ordinary rate of travelling, to arrive at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon Territory about the 12th August. From Red River you will find a fine open prairie country, which has been traversed by wheel carriages to the base of the Rocky Mountains in a defile or pass situated in about 51° N. Lat. which, although impracticable for wheel carriages, is by no means difficult on horseback, having been lately passed by a large body of emigrant families from Red River Settlement. The Country through which you will have to travel abounds with buffalo, deer, and game, enabling the Hudson's Bay Company to collect depot of jerked meat, pemmican, and other provisions to any extent at their trading stations of Forts Ellis, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt, and Edmonton, so that troops either cavalry or infantry might by that route be forwarded from Red River to the mouth of the Columbia River.

While in Oregon Territory, I have to suggest your close examination of Cape Disappointment, a headland on the North bank of the Columbia River at its outlet to the Pacific, overlooking the Ship Channel, and commanding as far as I was able to judge when upon the spot from super-

ficial observation, the navigation of the River, the occupation of which as a fortification would, in my opinion, be of much importance in the event of hostilities between England and the United States. Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that headland on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, ostensibly with a view of forming a trading post and "Pilot's Lookout" thereon; and if, after you have made an accurate survey, it be found that any part of the back country overlooks the Cape, Mr. Ogden has been further instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also. I have therefore to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it desirable should be taken, with a view to the prior occupation of all important positions by the Company in order to be afterwards available by H. M.'s Govt. should such be deemed necessary or expedient.

While in the Oregon country I beg to suggest your visiting the Willamette Settlement, where there is a large population, consisting of citizens of the United States and British subjects, the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company,—that you examine into the resources of the country as regards the means of subsistence, and that you notice any situations on the River which may appear to you well adapted for military stations, more especially on the North bank of the Columbia between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment, contiguous to the Ship Channel, which Mr. Ogden will point out to you. It might be well to examine Tongue Point, commanding the Ship Channel on the south side, the occupation of which from its commanding situation might, I think, become an object of importance; and if, after examination you be of the same opinion, Mr. Ogden has been instructed to take formal possession thereof for the Hudson's Bay Company.

You will see from the extent of the Company's agricultural operations and from the large quantities of cattle and sheep at their establishments of Fort Vancouver, the Cowlitz and Puget Sound, that they could provide the means of subsistence for any naval or military force that is likely to be required in that quarter, and other parts West of the Mountains, while the sturgeon, salmon, and other fisheries are inexhaustible.

Mr. Ogden has been instructed to meet all your demands on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, depots, and resources in furtherance of the objects in view, and to afford you safe escort and means of conveyance back to Red River, where I shall expect to have the pleasure of meeting you in the month of June, 1846, whence a passage will be provided for you to Canada.

In conclusion I beg to suggest that you report from Red River Settlement for the information of H. M.'s Gov't. the result of your observations up to the time of your departure from thence for Oregon; and from Vancouver by one of the Company's vessels that will sail for England in October, you will have an opportunity of communicating such further information as you may have collected up to that period.

Wishing you a safe and prosperous journey,

I have, etc.,
GEORGE SIMPSON.

H. J. Warre
M. Vavasour, Esqre.

Ogden to Warre

Private Fort Vancouver, October 2nd, 1845.

My dear Sir:

Only yesterday I returned from Oregon City, and leave this again for the interior. If nothing unforeseen should happen, trust to have the pleasure of seeing you here by the first week in November.

I regret to say that my purchase of the Cape is now null and void. The man I purchased it from had no right to dispose of it. Two men, Americans, viz: Wheeler and McDaniell, had a prior claim. They, however, proposed to part with it for $900.00, which I refused, having no authority vested in me to negotiate.

At all events, in my opinion, by not appearing over-anxious to obtain it, we can before spring secure it at a lower rate. On this subject more when we meet.

Believe me, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

H. I. Warre, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

[Endorsed] Received on our return to Fort Vancouver from Puget Sound and the Straits of Juan de Fuca on the 17th October, 1845.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, November 17th [15?], 1845.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,

Chief Factor H. B. Company.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated this morning.

I have consulted with Lieut. Vavasour on its purport, and beg to call your attention to the following extract from Sir G. Simpson's letter to us, viz.:

"Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that Headland, on behalf of *the Hudson's Bay Company*, ostensibly with a view of forming a "Trading Post or Pilot's Lookout" thereon; and, if, after you have made an accurate survey, it be found that any part of the back country overlooks the Cape, Mr. Ogden has been further instructed to take possession of such commanding portions also.

"I have therefore, to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it desirable should be taken, with a view to the prior occupancy of all important positions by the Company, in order to be afterwards available by Her Majesty's Government should such be deemed necessary or expedient."

In consequence of the foregoing extract I have to request that we may be informed whether it is the intention of *The Hudson's Bay Company* to occupy Cape Disappointment according to the orders of Sir G. Simpson, as conveyed in his confidential letters to us.

HENRY I. WARRE.

Ogden to Warre

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 16, 1845.

Dear Sir:

In reply to yours of yesterday, having attentively perused and duly considered the remarks you make, as also the extract from Sir G. Simpson's letter to you, still, I cannot consider myself authorized to purchase the claim on Cape Disappointment, altho most anxious to meet your wishes, and from the following extract from Sir G. Simpson marked "Private and Confidential":

"You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place, is to be taken possession of by the Hon'ble H. B. Company, it already possessed or occupied on behalf of the United States Government or its citizens."

The above paragraph binds me down and deprives me of all power or authority, under existing circumstances to act; and should you not consider it of sufficient importance to authorize me to purchase the claims, I cannot, situated as I am, take the responsibility on myself.

I remain, &c.,

P. S. OGDEN.

Henry I. Warre, Esq.,
&c., &c.

[Endorsement] Mr. Ogden thus declining to take possession of Cape Disappointment on behalf of the H. B. Company, we requested he favour us with his reasons for entering into any arrangements in the first instance, with also an American.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 19, 1845.

My dear Sir:

Having duly received your confidential letter of yesterday's date, declining to take upon yourself the responsibility of purchasing Cape Disappointment on behalf of the Hon'ble H. B. Company, in consequence of the confidential instructions received by you from Sir G. Simpson, may I beg that you will favour me with a statement of the late transaction regarding the purchase of that headland from Mr. Saules, which I have reported to the higher authorities as in progress.

The necessity and object of my thus troubling you will be apparent under existing circumstances.

I shall also feel obliged if you can inform me, whether in the event of Wheeler and McDaniel not having registered their claim to that headland, according to the laws of Oregon, now in force, your purchase with the man Saules will not hold good.

I consider it very probable that Wheeler or McDaniell may have claims in some other part of the Territory, or even that they may have

"jumped" Mr. Saules' claim. In either of which cases, as far as I understand the laws of Oregon, he (Mr. Saules) would be at liberty to dispose of his own property.

Believe me, &c.,
HENRY I. WARRE.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.

Ogden to Warre

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 19, 1845.

Dear Sir:

I have to acknowledge receipt of yours of this date, and shall briefly afford you the statement you require. The purchase from James Saules was not considered by the laws of Oregon valid; he, not having any claim or authority to dispose of it, being merely employed in the service of Wheeler and McDaniell as a guardian to their claim on Cape Disappointment.

They had also taken the precaution, at their expense, to erect a building on their claim, thereby rendering their right to it still more valid.

On application to the recorder's office in Oregon City, I was informed that six months were allowed by the Organic Laws to register; and two years if buildings were erected on the claim. This both Wheeler and McDaniell had in part availed themselves of, consequently, my claim, by purchase from J. Saules, was by the authorities declared null and void.

As my duty requires me shortly to absent myself from this place, it would be desirable you decide on the measures you intend to take in regard to the purchase of Cape Disappointment.

I remain, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

H. I. Warre, Esq.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, November 19, 1845.

Dear Sir:

As Sir G. Simpson's letter to Mr. Vavasour and myself is rendered nugatory by your interpretation of his instructions to you; and my private instructions not anticipating such an occurrence, I cannot consider myself justified in authorizing you *individually* to purchase Cape Disappointment.

Very truly,
HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,
H. B. Company.

Ogden to Warre

[Endorsement] On the 14th of February, 1846, we received the following letter from Mr. Ogden:

Private and confidential Fort Vancouver, 14th Feb., 1846.

Sir:

Since our late correspondence having mutually reflected that the principal object of your journey to this country had been frustrated by the prior claim of Wheeler and McDonell to Cape Disappointment; and our respective instructions, not authorizing us to purchase the Cape, and being fully aware of the importance of securing the Cape, for the services of the British Government, I, this day made a purchase of the same for one thousand dollars; surveyor's fees two hundred dollars, forming a total of twelve hundred dollars; and the same has been duly registered in the Oregon Register Office in my name and on my own responsibility.

May I trust the above information meets with your approbation, and that you will on your return to Canada report the same to the High Authorities.

I have, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

Henry I. Warre, Esq.

Warre to Ogden

Private Fort Vancouver, Feb. 15th, 1846.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge your note of yesterday's date, informing Mr. Vavasour and myself of your having completed the purchase of Cape Disappointment on your own responsibility, in consequence of your instructions not authorizing you to make the purchase on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.

I will not fail to report your proceedings on my return to Canada, and I have no doubt from the tenor of Sir G. Simpson's letter to us he will approve of the measure you have taken for the occupation of the Cape by a British subject, which is evidently so desirable.

I have, &c.,
HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,
Chief Factor

Note From Warre

Hon'ble Hudson's Bay Company.

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Sir G. Simpson, on our return to Red River last June, approved of the purchase of Cape Disappointment, and gave orders for the Post formerly at Fort George on the south bank of the River to be removed to that headland. The expense of the purchase of which would be defrayed in the accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company for the current year.

HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

Red River, June 16th, 1846.

Report of Lieutenant Vavasour

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, Oregon Territory.

1st March, 1846.

Sir:

In continuation of my report dated Red River Settlement, 10 June, 1845, I have the honour to inform you that I left that settlement in company with Lieut. Warre and party on 16th June and after passing through a swampy country on the left bank of the Assiniboine, crossing several small streams, all of which are fordable during the summer months with the exception of the Assiniboine, which we crossed in a boat, swimming the horses. Arrived at Fort Ellice on the 22nd June. Fort Ellice, or Beaver Creek, is situated on an elevated plain overlooking the Assiniboine Valley, and consists of a square of poplar pickets of 60 yards width, with 4 square towers, also of poplar. The buildings are of the same material having the intervals between the logs filled with clay. This Post is in a state of decay, and will soon require renewing.

Having procured fresh horses at this Post, passing over an open undulating country studded with small lakes, many of which are salt, and crossing the south branch of the Saskatchewan River (about 300 yards wide) in a batteau, and swimming the horses, we arrived at Fort Carlton (on the 1st of July) situated on the right bank of the north branch of the Saskatchewan River, and about 300 yards from it, on a level plain backed by high ground, within arrow shot of the Fort, which is an irregular hexagon of about 100 feet side, having two small, square towers flanking the gateway toward the River. The houses are similar to those at Fort Ellice as also the pickets, which are 15 feet in height, having new wall pieces mounted on them, and a gallery running round the interior.

On the 3rd of July crossed the north branch of the Saskatchewan River in a batteau, swimming the horses, the river at this point being about 400 yards in width. Passed over a dry, undulating country to Fort Pitt on the left bank of the Saskatchewan River, where we arrived on the 6th July.

Fort Pitt is situated on the left bank of and 350 yards from the River. It consists of a picket enclosure of 150 feet square, with 3 square towers of 14 feet facing the River, each containing a 2 pd. iron gun, and a lookout in rear. The pickets are about 15 feet high with a gallery in the interior to enable the men to fire over them.

Leaving Fort Pitt on the 8th July, crossing the Saskatchewan River in boats and swimming the horses, we proceeded up its right bank through a level, swampy country covered with small poplars, willow and dogwood, to Fort Edmonton, where we arrived on the 12th July, reconnoitring the river to the left bank where the Fort is placed, on the top of a high hill, but is commanded by a rising ground about 50 yards to the rear. The buildings are of wood, and enclosed by 15 foot pickets in a pentagonal form with 4 small square towers, containing 21 pd. Iron guns.

This is the largest post in the Saskatchewan District, and the last fort we visited on the East side of the Mountains.

The nature and construction of these forts are not calculated to make any defence except against Indians. Fort Carlton and Edmonton

are both commanded in the rear, within market range, and from the dryness at the climate and nature of the materials they could be easily set on fire, nor have the inhabitants the means of extinguishing it their sole dependence for water being the river in the vicinity. For this last reason, if blockaded by Indians for any length of time, they would be reduced, there being no wells, and from all the information I can obtain and the appearance of the country, the execution would be very great before water could be procured. Their positions have been chosen for the convenience of obtaining firewood and to trade with the Indians, who generally visit these parts of the country with skins, etc., during the hunting season and not with a view to defence. They have all been removed several times since their first establishment as the fuel in the vicinity grew scarce.

The Indians seldom attack a fort now, having become acustomed to trade, and finding their utility for this purpose they do not wish to destroy them. Leaving Fort Edmonton on the 17th July we crossed the Rocky Mountains about 51° N. Lat. and arrived at Fort Colville on the Columbia river on the 16th August with the loss of 34 horses. From the nature of this journey, the steep and rocky mountain passes, the deep swamps and almost impenetrable forests, it could not be made available for the passage of troops to the Oregon Territory.

Fort Colville is similar in construction to those on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, surrounded by a picket fence of 60 yards wide and having one blockhouse or tower. At the time of my visit the pickets were nearly all blown down. It is on the left bank of the Columbia river, on a rising ground, on a sandy plain surrounded by sand hills, 400 yards from the River bank at the head of an impassable rapid called the Chaudiere Falls, around which it is necessary to carry the boats, baggage, &c., making what is usually termed a portage. This Portage is usually made on the left bank but there is no reason why the right should not be equally available. I left Fort Colville on the 19th August, embarked below the Falls in a boat belonging to the H. B. Company expressly adapted to this dangerous river navigation, and descended the rapids.

These boats are built of cedar, after the model of a bark canoe, the planks being riveted to the ribs, having no knees, and the seams filled with pitch and gum. They are propelled with oars by 5 men and steered with a paddle. From Colville we descended with the rapid current of the river, the banks of which are bold, and covered with fir trees, which gradually diminished in number as we proceeded downwards, having crossed several rapids, at one of which we found it necessary to carry the baggage, and the boat being let down by a line, we reached Okanogan, a small post on the right bank of the river 138 miles from Colville. This post is used as a provision station for the Brigade crossing the Mountains in the spring. It is situated on a salient bend in the river; contains 3 wooden buildings, and is surrounded by a picket fence of 50 feet side.

Below Okanogan all appearance of timber ceases, the country is wild and desolate in the extreme, presenting a boundless extent of barren rocks and sand hills, many of which are crested with Basaltic Rock. About 60 miles below Okanogan, the Piscous River enters the Columbia from the West, taking its rise in the dividing range of mountains, between this point

and Puget's Sound. Across these mountains a route is said to exist, practicable in the summer and autumn seasons by which Puget's Sound may be reached in 7 days.

Between Okanogan and the South branch or Snake River, the Columbia is very rapid, and it is necessary to make several portages, none of which exceed ½ mile in length, and present few difficulties in the accomplishment. The Lyakama Riger joins the Columnia form the westward near its junction with the Snake River, by which another route to Puget's Sound is said to exist.

Fort Nez Percés or Walla Walla is 9 miles below the junction of the Snake River 205 miles from Okanogan. on the south bank of the Columbia, and near the Walla Walla, a small fordable river, beyond which there are high perpendicular scarps. The Fort itself is situated on a sandy plain, built of mud formed into bricks and baked in the sun. It is 45 yards square, having a square tower at the N. E. and S. W. angles of two stories and loop-holed; the walls are bullet proof, as also the houses which are also made of mud.

Below this Fort the channel of the Columbia is contracted between nearly perpendicular Basaltic scarps; after which the current continues with varied force to the Dalles where the bed of the river is contracted into a narrow gorge about 39 yards wide, rendering it impassable. Here it is necessary to make a portage of 1 mile. The distance between Walla Walla and the Dalles is 125 miles, the River being occasionally broken by rapids, but having generally a smooth, swift current. The Indians between Okanogan and the Dalles have large bands of horses and herds of cattle. From the Dalles, the river is uninterrupted by rapids to the Cascades (48 miles) where it is necessary to make a portage of nearly 3 miles, the river having apparently forced itself through a range of high mountains running parallel to the sea coast and extending from Lat. 49 N. into California. From the Cascades to the Pacific Ocean the river is navigable, although numerous sand bars exist, rendering its navigation rather intricate. Ships of 300 tons are in the habit of navigating its waters to Fort Vancouver, 32 miles from the Cascades and 100 miles from the sea.

Before continuing my report, and with reference to the 3rd paragraph of your orders, I beg to insert an extract of a letter from Sir George Simpson to Lieut. Warre and myself (Sir George Simpson having remained at Red River) which contains all the information or advice I have received from that gentleman.

"While in the Oregon Territory I have to suggest your close examination of Cape Disappointment, a headland on the north bank of the Columbia River at its outlet to the Pacific; overlooking the ship channel and commanding as far as I was able to judge, while on the spot from superficial observation, the navigation of the river, the occupation of which as a fortification would in my opinion be of much importance, in the event of hostilities between England and the United States.

"Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that headland, on behalf of the H. B. Co. ostensibly with a view of making a trading post and pilot's lookout thereupon, and, if you have made an accurate survey it be found that any part of the back country overlooks

the Cape, Mr. Ogden has also been instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also. I have therefore to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it advisable to be taken with a view to the prior occupation of all important positions by the company in order to be afterwards available by Her Majesty's Government should such be deemed necessary or expedient.

"While in the Oregon country, I beg to suggest your visiting the Willamette valley, where there is a large population consisting of the citizens of the United States and British subjects, the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; that you examine into the resources of the country as regards the means of subsistence and that you notice any situations on the River which may appear to you well adapted for military stations, more especially as regards the bank of the Columbia River, between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment contiguous to the ship channel, which Mr. Ogden will point out to you.

"It might be well to examine Tongue Point commanding the ship channel on the south side, the occupation of which from its commanding situation might, I think become an object of importance, and if, after examination, you be of the same opinion, Mr. Ogden has been instructed to take formal possession thereof for the Hudson's Bay Company."

By the foregoing extract you will perceive that the points to which Sir George Simpson has drawn my attention are Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point. The former has been purchased by one of the Hudson's Bay Company for the disposal of Her Majesty's Government; the latter is in the possession of an American citizen.

The banks of the Willamette River, between the Columbia and the Falls are also for the most part occupied by British subjects and American citizens. Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia River in 45° 36' N. Lat., and 122° 39' West Long., 100 miles from the Pacific ocean, at the head of ship navigation, is the principal Post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the west of the Rocky Mountains.

The present fort is placed near the end of a small plain on the bank of the Columbia River, which is nearly inundated by the spring freshets; a ridge of high land on which the old fort was situated confines the plain on the north, in the rear of the present site, over which it has a command.

The establishment contains several large store houses, made of squared timber, small stone powder magazine, and several framed dwelling houses: these are surrounded by a picket fence 15 feet high and 226 yards by 100 yards; at the N. W. angle there is a 3 storied blockhouse, 20 feet square; the two lower stories are loop-holed; the upper is an octagonal cap containing eight 3 pd. iron guns.

The establishment was removed from the rising ground before mentioned in consequence of the inconvenient distance from the River side, for the conveyance of goods and procuring water. The latter defect has been remedied by sinking 2 wells in the present fort, which are supplied by the river, the water filtering through the soil, which is composed of gravel and sand a few feet below the surface. These wells rise and fall with the variations of the river.

The plain is inundated in the same manner, the water rising through the earth and forming a lake before the banks are overflowed.

The simplest method of strengthening this post against sudden attack would be to dig a ditch around it, throwing the earth against the pickets, which should be loop-holed, and a banquette formed in the interior, erecting another small blockhouse at the S. E. angle to flank the south and east sides, and placing small traverses behind the gates.

But in the event of Vancouver being occupied by Troops, I would recommend the position marked on the plan, which is not commanded by any ground in the immediate vicinity, is contiguous to the ship channel, and presents the advantage of never being liable to inundation. It is at present covered with fine pine trees, which could be made available in the construction of barracks, etc., all of which must be built of wood, there being no limestone found on the Columbia nearer than Fort Colville or Vancouver Island in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The lime used by the Hudson's Bay Company in building their chimnies being made from coral brought from the Sandwich Islands.

For this position I would recommend a picket enclosure, ditched and flanked by two small block houses having a battery facing the river, made of logs, in which 2 18 pd. might be placed to advantage to command the ship channel, the H. B. Co. having two at their establishment: the barracks to be built of logs or squared timber, which can be procured of any dimensions in the immediate vicinity.

The H. B. Co. have a saw and grist mill on a small stream 6 miles from Vancouver, a large farm attached, with large bands of horses, herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep.

The Columbia river is about 1 mile wide at Vancouver and runs in a N. W. direction toward the sea; 6 miles below Vancouver the north branch of the Willamette River from the south enters the Columbia; and the south branch, 12 miles farther down, forming a large island which is nearly all inundated at the periods of high water.

The Cowlitz river joins the Columbia from the north about 35 miles from Vancouver. These are the most important tributaries, but there are innumerable small streams running into it from either side. About 90 miles from Vancouver on the south side of the river, is Fort George, formerly called Astoria, which was given up to the American Government at the close of the late war.

At this point there are a few old wooden buildings, but not even surrounded by a picket fence. This establishment is about being abandoned and a new one formed on Cape Disappointment. A range of hills runs on either side of the river, following its general course; receding at some places for 3 or 4 miles from its immediate banks, at others abutting immediately on them, forming perpendicular scarps; where the hills recede from the river the intervening ground is low and marshy and covered with water for two months in the year. There is no road from Vancouver to the sea and all communication is carried on by boats and canoes navigating the river.

The most important points on the Columbia River are Cape Disappointment, Point Adams, and Tongue Point. Cape Disappointment being the extremity of its north and Point Adams that of its south bank.

These two points completely command the entrance of the river which is about 5 miles wide.

Cape Disappointment is a high, bold headland, consisting of two bluffs having perpendicular scarps towards the sea, connected by a narrow ridge running nearly N. and S. of about 30 feet in width on the top, the face being nearly perpendicular, and about 320 feet in height, sloping more gradually to rear, where it is connected with the main land by a neck of 300 yards in width. The sea coast for about ½ a mile presents a scarp of about the same height as the Cape, but is only a narrow ridge with two spurs running at right angles towards Baker's Bay. Those spurs are also narrow and steep; that to the N. W. falling into a deep marsh of about ½ mile in length and ¼ of a mile in width, near the extremity of which there are two headlands jutting into the sea and rising abruptly from it.

The Cape and adjacent country is densely covered with pine trees.

Point Adams on the south shore is a low, sandy point, densely covered with timber, having some small plots in its rear on which there are several families settled.

The entrance to the Columbia river is obstructed by a very dangerous bar, 2 lines of breakers, called the North and South spits, running respectively from Cape Disappointment and Pt. Adams, and also a middle road between these two points on either side of which run the north and south channels.

The North and one in general use passes close under North Bluff of the Cape, which completely commands it, and also the anchorage in Baker's Bay. The south channel runs along the Clatsop shore, is straight but narrow, and has seldom been attempted. These channels are constantly changing, the difficulties of the Northern have been greatly increased by the formation of a new pit in the channel during the past year, altering all the former bearings and marks for entrance.

Tongue Point on the south shore of the Columbia and 15 miles from its mouth, is a narrow peninsula, ½ a mile in length, containing about 70 acres of land.

The highest point is about 300 feet above the river, from whence it descends in a succession of steps towards the main land and its extremity. The western side is steep in all, and quite perpendicular in many places. On the east side it slopes more gradually, but is very steep, having a small space of open level ground on the summit. The remainder is covered with magnificent fir trees, having a thick underbrush on the east side.

The ship channel at present known passes round this point, whether the river is entered by the north or south channel, for which reason the occupation of the point is evidently to advantageous.

For the occupation of Cape Disappointment, I would recommend 3 batteries of heavy guns, one of 4 guns on the center of the Cape, one of 4 guns on the north bluff towards the middle sand, with a two-storied blockhouse placed near a small run of water, ditched, with the earth thrown up to form parapet around it, overlooking the landing place in Baker's Bay. The block house to be made of wood, being the only material on the spot, and which can be procured of any dimensions, many of the trees on the Cape measuring 20 feet in circumference.

On Point Adams I would place a battery of 5 guns, having its gorge defended by a blockhouse, similar to that for Cape Disappointment. These points being covered with immense timber, which would require a length of time to remove, open works could not easily be formed, more particularly at the Cape, from the nature of the ground. From the nature of the coast and the continual line of breakers, boats could not land for several miles to the north and south of these points, and boats entering the river by the ships channel on a calm day would be exposed from every part of the Cape, and a few men well disposed could prevent their effecting a landing in Baker's Bay, the only available spot for the purpose near the Cape.

The nearest place on the sea coast, north of Cape Disappointment, for a safe landing in boats is 18 miles distant, in Shoalwater Bay, and the nearest harbour in Chehalis, commonly called Gray's Harbour, which will only admit vessels of light draught, having only 9 feet of water on the bar, is 40 miles distant.

For the occupation of Tongue Point, I would recommend a battery of heavy guns on the West side, commanding the ship channel, with a blockhouse or defensible barrack near its gorge. Tongue Point might easily be cut off from the main shore by a ditch across the narrow neck of land connecting it, which is only 80 yards across.

There are some other points on the north shore apparently offering good positions, such as Chinook point and Point Ellis.

The whole of the north shore from Cape Disappointment is covered with an impenetrable forest, with the exception of Chinook point, which is low and sandy, having a high, bare hill in its rear, at the foot of which there is a small marsh; Point Ellis is steep and rocky. These points might be made available for temporary purposes, but with the occupation of Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point would not, I think, be required. The south shore of the Columbia is also high and covered with forest.

The navigation of the Columbia River is obstructed by numerous sand banks, which are constantly shifting, and vessels are often detained a long time in ascending and descending it, as also in Baker's Bay, waiting for a favourable opportunity of crossing the bar. The Hudson's Bay Company's barque "Vancouver" was one month from Vancouver to Baker's Bay, and 45 days lay in the bay, before an opportunity offered for leaving the River. An American merchant vessel the "Talon" was also detained for the same period.

The two ships cleared the bar in company during my last visit to Cape Disappointment.

The other posts belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company which I have visited are: the Cowlitz, Nisqually, on Puget's Sound; and Fort Victoria, on Vancouver Island, in the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

Descended the Columbia River for 35 miles (from Vancouver) to the mouth of the Cowlitz, ascending it for 45 miles to the Cowlitz Farm. The Cowlitz is very rapid and shallow, but like all the rivers in this country, subject to sudden rises of the water, caused by the melting of the snow or rain in the mountains. During these floods the river is difficult of ascent the boats being pulled up by the branches, the banks being too thickly wooded to admit of tracking with a line. It, however, is navigable at all seasons for flat-bottomed boats, in which the Hudson's Bay Company transport the produce of the Cowlitz Farm to Fort Vancouver.

The farm establishment is situated on a large plain about 500 yards from the river, and about one mile from the landing place. There is a small settlement of about 19 families, and a Roman Catholic church in the immediate neighborhood. There are large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and bands of horses at this post.

At the Cowlitz we procured horses and rode to Nisqually, a distance of about 60 miles. This route, or portage, as it is usually called, passes through small plains traversing the intervening points of woods, crossing the Quinze, Sous, Vassels, Chute and Nisqually Rivers, all of which are fordable in the summer, but become deep and rapid in the winter and spring.

Nisqually is also an agricultural and sheep farm, the buildings are of wood, situated at the end of a large plain, close to a fine stream of fresh water, and about one mile from the shores of Puget's Sound.

This appears the best place for landing troops in this country, the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Puget's Sound being accessible to vessels of any tonnage and at all seasons, with safe and commodious harbours.

There being large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep at Nisqually Establishment, provisions could easily be procured and forwarded from Puget's Sound to the Columbia by the portage and Cowlitz River.

Light baggage, etc., can be forwarded from the head of Puget's Sound, making a portage of 5 miles through a thickly wooded country to the head of the Satchat or Black river, which can be descended in flat-bottomed boats or rafts for 30 miles, from whence there is a portage of 15 miles to the Cowlitz farm. This latter portage can be traveled by carts, the road having been opened by the few settlers on the plains. The Satchat and Chehalis rivers are rapid, and the latter is obstructed in one or two places by driftwood.

From the Cowlitz farm the troops, etc., can descend the river in boats to the Columbia, and proceed to any required position on it by the same means.

At Nisqually I would recommend a blockhouse or defensible guard-house overlooking the Sound, and commanding the road from the landing place, the banks on the shore being too steep to be easily ascended excepting at this point. Any description of work can be thrown up (such as a bastion or redoubt) on the large plain near the Nesqually stream, with barracks, etc., for the accommodation of 3 troops.

Fort Victoria is situated on the southern end of Vancouver Island in the small harbor of Cummusan, the entrance to which is rather intricate. The Fort is a square enclosure of 100 yards, surrounded by cedar pickets, having 2 octagonal bastions, containing each 6 six-pd. iron guns at the N. E. and S. W. angles. The buildings are made of squared timber, 8 in number, forming three sides of an oblong. This Fort has lately been established. It is badly situated with regard to water and position, which latter has been chosen for its agricultural position only.

About 3 miles distant and nearly connected by a small inlet is the Squimal harbour, which is very commodious and accessible at all times, offering a much better position, and having also the advantage of a supply of water in the vicinity.

This is the best built of the Company's Forts. It requires loop-holing and a platform or gallery to enable men to fire over the pickets, a ditch might be dug around it, but the rock appears on the surface in many places.

There is plenty of timber of every description on Vancouver's Island, as also limestone, which could be transported to Nisqually, or other places in the territory where it may be Afterwards deemed necessary to form permanent works, barracketts, etc.

Oregon City is situated on the right bank of the Willamette River, about 21 miles above its junction with the Columbia, and immediately below the Falls, which are about 35 feet in height.

It contains 300 inhabitants, 2 churches of wood; 2 grist mills and 3 saw mills, and about 80 houses, with one exception built of wood; there are two ferries across the River communicating with the Tuality Plains. The country in the immediate vicinity is very high and rocky, forming two scarps, one immediately below the town, the other about 500 yards from the River.

These scarps are very high. The first being of about 100 feet and the second of still greater elevation. The ground falls away toward the Clackamas River, below the junction of which, with the Willamette River, there is a small rapid which is difficult to ascend during high water. The ground on the left bank of the River immediately opposite to Oregon City is very much broken, steep and rocky, and both the banks are covered with a thick forest.

The settlement extends about 60 miles up the River on either bank and contains about 5000 inhabitants, composed of Canadians and Americans. 25 miles from Oregon City there is a Roman Catholic Mission, with several large wooden buildings, 2 churches, dwelling houses, and a nunnery. There is an American Methodist Mission 25 miles higher up the settlement. At both of these Missions ferries are established across the river.

At Oregon City I would recommend 3 block houses, one at the upper end of the town near the Falls, one near the lower and overlooking the road the Champoviac and the upper settlements to be placed on the first scarp, and a third on the higher scarp behind to prevent its being occupied and a command obtained from over the ground below. The mills of Dr. McLoughlin might be loopholed and made defensive, being built of square timber.

I have recommended block houses for the defense of those points of the country at which I think defensive works are being required, as the country is nearly all covered with dense forests at these points. They are easy of construction and the materials are on the spot.

All defensive works must be thrown up by the Troops, there being no available labour in the country. Everything there has a nominal value and there is no circulating medium, wheat being taken as the standard. For these reasons I have not been able to form any estimates of expense.

As all subjects of general information are embodied in the general report of Lieut. Warre and myself addressed to His Lordship, the Secretary of the Colonies, I have not referred to them further than as they are

connected with the descriptions of the Establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company in the country.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

M. VAVASOUR,

Lieut. Royal Engineers.

Col. Holloway,

Com'r Royal Engineers.

Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS

MARCUS WHITMAN, PATHFINDER AND PATRIOT. By Myron Eells. (Seattle, Harriman, 1909, pp. 349, $2.50.)

ACQUISITION OF OREGON AND THE LONG SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE ABOUT MARCUS WHITMAN. By William I. Marshall. (Seattle, Lowman & Hanford, 1911, pp. 450, 263. $10.00.)

WHY OUR FLAG FLOATS OVER OREGON. By Leavitt H. Hallock. (Portland, Me., Smith & Sale, 1911, pp. 77, $1.00.)

WINNING THE OREGON COUNTRY. By John T. Faris. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1911, pp. 241, $.50.)

No other topic hrelating to the history of the Pacific Northwest has produced so extensive a literature as the question, "Did Marcus Whitman save Oregon?" A bibliography published in this magazine for October, 1908, listed over 500 books and periodical articles dealing with various phases of the Whitman controversy. Since that time two books of first importance have been added to the number, both of them posthumously published in Seattle by the subscriptions of individuals wishing to hear the last word upon the subject. Eells' "Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot" sums up the case for the affirmative and gives by all odds the strongest presentation ever made for this side. Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon" recapitulates the whole controversy, adds new evidence and closes the case for the negative.

Myron Eells approaches the subject from the biographical standpoint. A son of the Reverend Cushing Eells, who was an associate of Whitman in the Oregon Mission, he writes sympathetically as of a family friend. For many years a contestant in the controversy, Mr. Eells collected a large amount of testimony to prove that Whitman rendered important political services. While not entirely overlooking contemporaneous sources, it is upon the testimony thus acquired that the author mainly depends. It is to be noted that out of seventeen witnesses cited to prove that Whitman went East with a national purpose in view, thirteen gave their testimony after 1880, or more than thirty-five years after the event and more than fifteen years after the publication of the story that Whitman saved Oregon.[1]

[1]Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 164-175.

As a partisan upon the negative side, Marshall undertakes the more thankless task of removing a popular hero from his pedestal. He early became interested in Whitman when a lecturer upon topics relating to the West he heard and believed the saved-Oregon story. In 1887, he made a careful examination of the extensive correspondence between Whitman and his associates and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He here found in the archives of the American Board, evidence which convinced him that Whitman's journey to the states in 1842-43 was purely on missionary business and that as a man Whitman lived been greatly overrated. As a schoolprincipal, Mr. Marshall made an active campaign to secure a revision of those text books on American history that had made incorrect and misleading statements in regard to Whitman. The antagonism which he met in this work from parties personally interested in the glorification of Whitman led him to make a most exhaustive search for all possible evidence tending to refute their claims. The present work, completed shortly before his death in 1906, is the result of this persistent and thorough investigation. Taking the history of Oregon as a starting point, he traces the events leading to its acquisition by the United States. He discusses with great fulness the action of the United States Government relating to Oregon and amasses a surprisingly large amount of evidence to show that there had been no thought of abandoning Oregon to the British and that Whitman could have given no essential information in 1843 not already in the hands of the Government at Washington.

In contrast to the able contributions of Eells and Marshall are two books bearing the imprint of 1911, each lauding Whitman without regard to facts. Mr. Faris, in his absurd "Winning of the Oregon Country," cites the arrival of one hundred and fifty British emigrants as the inciting cause of Whitman's ride, which he alleges to have been made for the sole purpose of saving Oregon to the United States.

Mr. L. H. Hallock's book raises the question, "Why does our flag float over Oregon?" and states in reply: "There is but one answer: Because of Marcus Whitman." One may overlook the panegyrics of former years written when Spalding, Gray and Barrows were still regarded by many as writers of authentic history, but what excuse can be offered, in the light of recent years, for such perversions as these of Hallock and Faris evidently written to find a market among the biased and uninformed?

The publication of the works of Marshall and Eells should go a long way toward finally disposing of the Whitman dispute. It is now possible, at least, to discard much controversial rubbish. Marshall on behalf of the negative admits Whitman's visit to Washington. Eells on the

other hand admits the following mistakes made by Spalding and Gray and repeated by many advocates on the affirmative side[14]:

1. That the taunts and boasts at Fort Walla Walla were the prime cause of Whitman's going East.

2. That these boasts were made because of the announcement of the Red River Immigration.

3. That an express from Canada arrived at that time, for witness the statement of Archibald McKinley, a friend of Whitman, then in charge of Fort Walla Walla, "No taunt, no toast, no York Factory Express, no New Caledonia boats, no factors, no traders, no clerks, no bishops, no priests, no political discussion, no fishery negotiation, ever heard of at Walla Walla October 2, 1842"[15].

4. That Mr. Webster stated to Dr. Whitman that he had about traded off Oregon for the New Foundland fisheries to go into the Ashburton treaty.

5. That Messrs. Applegate and others who had once intended to come to Oregon had given up the idea because of the representations of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, but that through Dr. Whitman they were induced to come.

6. That Whitman originated the immigration of 1843.

The admission of these mistakes is the admission of a Whitman legend. Eliminate these fictions from the account of Whitman's ride and little remains of the dramatic story once so widely copied.

We have left unquestioned the fact that Whitman was an enthusiastic and self-denying missionary to the Oregon Indians, that he visited the Atlantic States in the Spring of 1843, "being called thither by the business of the mission,"[16] and that he fell a victim of Indian superstition and treachery in the massacre of November, 1847. While in the East Whitman visited Washington and called upon the Secretary of War. The encouragement of Protestant emigration to Oregon was clearly a part of his missionary program and he endeavored to secure governmental aid in safeguarding the emigrant route. It is contended that the object of the Washington visit was, in part at least, to prevent the government from compromising the American claim to Oregon. This contention it is probably impossible either to prove or disprove. It has been shown, moreover, that Oregon was not in danger, and that whatever might have been its object this visit could not have affected the diplomacy of the Oregon question. A revised estimate of Whitman must rest his title to fame not upon any political services ren-

[14]Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 231-33.
[15]Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 227.
[16]Missionary Herald, 41:233, July, 1845.

dered, but upon his work as a pioneer and a missionary. In the history of the Westward Movement, Marcus Whitman deserves an honored place among the sturdy pioneers who advanced the frontier of American civilization across the Rocky Mountains.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS. By Herbert Joseph Spinden. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Volume 2, Part 3, (Lancaster, Pa., New Era Publishing Co., 1908, pp. 165-272, price $.95.)

Mr. Herbert J. Spinden's paper upon the Nez Percé Indians is based upon field work in the Nez Percé region conducted by the author during the summer of 1907 under the direction of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and continued in 1908 under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. The work seems to have been prosecuted in accordance with the most approved scientific methods and the results are written up in plain, straight-forward fashion. The arrangement is logical and the treatment at once full and condensed. The important topics covered are, habitat and history, archeology, mythology and material culture. Under the latter head is included data upon weaving, houses, furniture, food and its preparation, fishing and hunting, clothing, ornaments, travel and transportation, musical instruments, art, population, sociology, games, medicine and religion. The author has limited himself in the main to brief presentation of facts and has devoted but little space to comparative discussion or conclusions. The principal conclusion drawn is that the culture exhibited by the Nez Percé tribe is purely a transitional culture, and that it has been derived in about equal proportions from the Plains and from the Pacific Coast. Students familiar with the Indian tribes of the North Pacific Coast will question if the author has not overestimated the influence of the Plains Indians.

While the subject has been approached from the archeological and ethnological side, the information should prove of great value to the student of history. But little reliable material relating to the Nez Percés has been hitherto obtainable and the present contribution is an important one. The value of the paper is enhanced by illustrations, foot-notes and a bibliography of sources.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

THE CONKLING-PROSCH FAMILY. By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle, Privately printed, 1909, Pp. 141.)

In writing the history of the Conkling-Prosch family, Mr. Thomas W. Prosch has traced the lineage of his father and mother, following the records back to Revolutionary and Colonial days. Although the work is

of a private character and not offered for sale to the public, its appearance should not be overlooked by students of Puget Sound history. It is more than a genealogy, as incidents and facts are narrated having an interest quite apart from their setting in a family history. The volume has been supplied, moreover, to the principal libraries of the region, so that persons wishing to consult it will find it accessible.

The principal service of this book to the student of local history is to be found in the information furnished upon the life of Charles Prosch, the author's father. Mr. Charles Prosch came to the Pacific Coast in 1853. Moving to Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, in 1858, he established the Puget Sound Herald, a pioneer weekly, of which he was editor and owner until 1864. In 1867, he purchased the Pacific Tribune in Olympia, which paper he moved to Tacoma in 1873 and on to Seattle in 1875. After its sale in 1875, Mr. Prosch continued newspaper work until 1889. During much of this time he was connected with the Intelligencer and its successor, the Post-Intelligencer. Mr. Prosch has been intimately associated with the development of the Pacific Northwest and the present volume is a welcome contribution to its history. It contains valuable illustrations, including a view of Steilacoom in 1861, and is well indexed.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST; ESPECIALLY OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON. By Katherine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910, pp. 145.)

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF ALASKA. By Katherine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911, pp. 149.)

Miss Judson has collected these myths and legends from many printed sources. She declaims originality, but she has rendered a service that will be appreciated by the many who have sought in vain for legends of the far western Indians. There is an agreeable surprise in store for any lover of folk-lore who will read these little books. Both of them are well illustrated and beautifully printed.

UNITED STATES HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS. By Edmond S. Meany. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 587. $1.00.)

The author is Professor of History in the University of Washington. His book is the first one of its field and scope to emanate from the Pacific Northwest. The text aims at a proper perspective in which the West is not neglected, as has been too often the case in the past. Following the Report of the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association, the author has kept the European background constantly in mind, as well as the awakening of Latin America and the Orient, and the develop-

ment of the Dominion of Canada. An effort is made to show American history as a part of world history. The spirit of fairness that pervades the book is meeting with approval. The book is abundantly equipped with illustrations, maps, chronological tables, documents and other aids for the use of teachers, pupils, and readers.

CONQUEST OF THE COEUR D'ALENE, SPOKANE AND PALOUSE INDIANS. By B. F. Manring. Colfax, Washington, Privately printed, 1912. Pp. 281.)

The author has lived in the Palouse country for more than thirty years. He has rendered a real service in collecting incidents of persons, places, and events relating to the campaigns of Colonels Steptoe and Wright. The greatest value of the book is found in these collected local incidents. As a complete record of the war, the book is at fault in that it does not account for the events leading up to it. The author has not used such works as the Official Correspondence published by the Territory of Washington, Hazard Stevens' Life of Isaac I. Stevens, or Edmond S. Meany's History of the State of Washington.

THE LAST AMERICAN FRONTIER. By Frederic Logan Paxson. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 402. $1.50 net.)

Since writing this book the author has been promoted from Junior Professor of American History in the University of Michigan to Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin, the place left vacant by the resignation of Professor Frederic Jackson Turner. The book takes into account the development of the West along the various trails, the building of railroads, Indian policies, the last chapter being entitled: Letting in the Population. Several of the chapters deal with matters relating to the Pacific Northwest.

OREGON GEOLOGY. By Thomas Condon. (Portland, The J. K. Gill Company, 1910. Pp. 190+xvii.)

This is a revision of the author's earlier The Two Islands. It is edited by Ellen Condon McCormack. Every lover of the Pacific Northwest should have this book in his library. The story is beautifully and accurately told by Oregon's Grand Old Man of Science after half a century of painstaking studies. The book is well made and sumptuously illustrated. In addition to the revised text of the former work, this edition contains a number of appreciations of the loved author.

THE PATHBREAKERS FROM RIVER TO OCEAN. By Grace Raymond Hebard. (Chicago, The Lakeside Press, 1911. Pp. 263.)

Doctor Hebard is Professor of Political Economy in the State University of Wyoming. She has here told the story of the great, expanding West for children of the sixth and seventh grades of the American schools.

She evidently knows her audience, for she has kept the interest at keen edge and has collected eighty apt illustrations. The book deserves success in its field.

WAR OR PEACE. By Brigadier General Hiram M. Chittenden, U. S. A. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911. Pp: 273, $1.00 net.)

General Chittenden is well known throughout the West as a capable member of the Engineering Corps of the United States Army. He is at present chairman of the Port Commission of Seattle. He is also well and favorably known as an author through his History of the American Fur Trade and other valuable works. This present work is an essay to which he has brought ripe experience and scholarship. He shows that the world is approaching an end of war. Here is one sentence near the end of the book: "Last in universal law the earth will indeed be, but the liberty assured by this very fact will release forces now pent up by fear, distrust, and repressive laws, and the spirit of humanity will come forth into freer and larger expression."

HANDBOOK OF ALASKA. By Major General A. W. Greely, U. S. A. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Pp. 280. $2.00 net.)

This well known soldier, explorer, and author has here collected a large amount of useful information about Alaska. There is every evidence that he approached the work with deep appreciation of Alaska's need of such a reliable book at the hands of one competent to speak without prejudice or personal bias.

ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS AT SEATTLE, WN., FEBRUARY 8TH, 1886. By George Kinnear. Seattle, Privately printed, 1911, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the riots. Pp. 17.)

The author was Captain of the Home Guards, hastily organized at the time to maintain law and order. He has done well to put in permanent form this all too brief record of that exciting episode in Seattle's history.

JAMES CLARK STRONG. [Auto-]Biographical Sketch of. (Los Gatos, California, Privately printed, 1910. Pp. 106.)

This little book is in no way pretentious. For the benefit of his family and friends the writer tells in an interesting way his memory of an eventful life. Those memories relate to a meeting with Marcus Whitman, to early days in Oregon and to the fact of his being a member of the first Territorial Legislature of Washington. It is one of those brief personal records that will be prized and used by students of the Northwest when the all too rapidly approaching day arrives, in which it will no longer be possible to talk with the real pioneers face to face.

Other Books Received

Adams, Charles Francis. Studies, Military and Diplomatic, 1775-1865. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 424. $2.50 net.)

Beard, Charles A. American Government and Politics. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 772. $2.10 net.)

Canadian Club of Vancouver. Addresses and Proceedings, (1909-1910. Pp. 118.)

Chapman, John Jay. Learning and Other Essays. (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1910. Pp. 242. $1.25 net.)

Chipman, General N. P. The Tragedy of Andersonville. (San Francisco: Published by the Author, 1911. Pp. 511.)

Daggy, Maynard Lee. The Principles of Public Speaking. (Madison, Wis.: Democrat Printing Company, 1909. Pp. 436.)

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edward. Bacon is Shake-Speare. (New York: The John McBride Co., 1910. Pp. 286.)

Fite, Emerson David. Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 318.)

Fitzpatrick, T. J. Rafinesque; a Sketch of His Life with Bibliography. (Des Moines: The Historical Department of Iowa, 1911. Pp. 239.)

Fowler, W. Warde. Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 362. $2.25 net.)

Garrison, Wendell Phillips. Letters and Memorials of. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1908. Pp. 298.)

Innes, Arthur D. A General Sketch of Political History from the Earliest Times. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 419.)

Knox, Robert. An Historical Relation of Ceylon. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1911. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 460. $3.25 net.)

Muzzey, David Saville. An American History. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1911. Pp. 662.)

NATIONAL LUMBER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION. National Problems Affecting the Lumber Industry. (Chicago: Official Report of Ninth Annual Convention, 1911. Pp. 278.)

REID, HARVEY. Thomas Cox. (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1909. Pp. 257.)

RENOUF, V. A. Outlines of General History; edited by William Starr Myers. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 501. $1.30 net.)

WASHINGTON, WILLIAM DE HERTBURN. Progress and Prosperity. (New York: The National Educational Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 887.)

WOODRUFF, CHARLES EDWARD. Expansion of Races. (New York: Rebman Company, 1910. Pp. 495.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association

The ninth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will be held at Stanford University on April 5 and 6, 1912. At the same time and place there will be held the general session of the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies.

There are six general session papers on the history programme, as follows: Royal Finances in the Time of Henry III., by Professor Henry L. Cannon, Stanford University; The Norman Sheriff and the Local English Courts, by Professor William A. Morris, University of Washington; Robert Grossetete and the Intellectual Revival in England in the Thirteenth Century, by Professor Lone J. Paetow, University of California; Later Historical Appreciation of Gregory VII., by Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, St. Thomas Aquinas' Church, Palo Alto; Oregon's First Constitution, by Professor Robert C. Clark, University of Oregon; The Virginia Committee of Correspondence from 1759 to 1770, by Professor Elmer I. Miller, Chico State Normal School.

At the annual dinner, Friday evening, April 5, the presidential address will be given by the Vice-President, Professor Rockwell D. Hunt, University of Southern California, and a short address will be given by Judge John E. Richards, San Jose.

At a Teachers' Session two papers will be given: Has Economics a Place in the High School? by Miss Anna G. Fraser, Oakland High School; The Content and Method of High School Economics, by Professor Stuart Daggett, University of California.

Collecting Historic Relics

Several announcements have been made recently of renewed purpose to collect historic relics as well as documents within the State of Washington. Mrs. C. L. Hathaway of the Spokane Public Library is urging efforts to make that institution a repository for as wide a territory as possible. The Native Sons of Washington have avowed this work to be part of their activities. The Washington State Historical Society, with headquarters in Tacoma, is continuing its work in this line. Similar work on a large scale is prospering at the University of Washington. If centralized, there is no doubt the aggregate of such work in this state would compare favorably with that in the older states.

The University of Washington Fifty Years Old

On November 4, 1911, the University of Washington reached its fiftieth birthday. The event was celebrated by an elaborate programme extending over five days.

On Friday evening, November 3, there was held a reception in the Gymnasium for the college men of Washington and delegates to the semi-centennial celebration, and at the same time there was held at the Presidents' Residence a reception for the college women of Washington and visiting women.

Saturday was Alumni and Students' Day. The memorial tablet, prepared by the class of 1911, was unveiled at the old column saved from the first building of the Territorial University. The address was given by Clarence B. Bagley. The afternoon was given over to a game of football between the University of Washington and the Oregon Agricultural College. In the evening the alumni held a reunion and enjoyed a banquet at the President's Residence.

Devotional exercises were held in the Auditorium on Sunday afternoon. The sermon: The University, a Field and Force in Religious Thought and Action, was delivered by Ozora Stearns Davis, Ph. D., President of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Other clergymen who participated were Rev. Everett M. Hill of the University Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. E. V. Shayler of St. Mark's Episcopal Church; Rev. Norman B. Harrison of the University Presbyterian Church. The music, of most excellent quality on this and other occasions, was directed by Professor Irving M. Glen and was rendered by the university chorus, orchestra, and soloists, Miss Margaretta Von Oiten, soprano; Madame Hesse-Sprotte, contralto; Mr. Festyn Davies, tenor; Professor Glen, baritone.

Monday was University and State Day. There were two programmes, one devoted to the University, the other to the State. Dr. Kendric Charles Babcock, of the office of the United States Commissioner of Education, delivered his address, Fifty Years' Development in Higher Education. The other addresses on the first programme were The Growth of Collegiate Education on the Pacific Coast, by President Prince L. Campbell, University of Oregon; Future Problems in the Development of Collegiate Education on the Pacific Coast, by President James A. MacLane, University of Idaho.

The addresses during the programme devoted to the State were as follows: The University as an Institution of the State, by Honorable M. E. Hay, Governor of Washington; The Service of the University as a Part of the Public School System, by Honorable Henry B. Dewey, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Citizenship, by Honorable Stephen J. Chadwick, Justice of the Supreme Court of Washington.

Tuesday was called Semi-Centennial Day. The two principal addresses were The Development of the State University and the Instruction in the Sciences, by Samuel Avery, Chancellor of the University of Nebraska; State Universities, Present and Future, by James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado.

Margaret Lenora Denny, of the honored pioneer family of that name, unveiled a bronze tablet to commemorate the semi-centennial of the University. The celebration closed with greetings from the many delegates representing the most important colleges and universities of America, including a few in Europe as well as the Imperial Universities of Japan and China.

The presiding officer of the various meetings was Thomas F. Kane, President of the University of Washington.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

I. Spanish Voyages of Discovery

1. Introductory.
   a. Idea of world's sphericity.
   b. Need of water route to the Orient.
   c. Voyages of Columbus.
   d. Balboa's discovery of the South Sea.
   e. Magellan's voyage around the globe.
   f. Cortez in Mexico .
   g. Northern voyages inspired by Cortez.
2. Cabrillo and Ferrelo.
   a. First to reach the Northwest, 1543.
3. Vizcaino, Aquilar, and Flores.
   a. Reached 45° north latitude, 1603.
   b. Long neglect of the northern lands.
5. Juan Perez, 1774.
   a. Instructed to explore to 60° north altitude.
   b. Discovered Nootka, which he named San Lorenzo.
   c. Indians had bits of iron and copper.
   d. Named a mountain Santa Rosalia.
   e. Driven south by thirst.
6. Heceta and Quadra, 1775.
   a. First landing on northwest coast.
   b. Indians kill boat's crew.
   c. "Isla de Dolores."
   d. Heceta barely misses discovering the Columbia River.
   e. Quadra's great work in small schooner.
7. The Nootka Controversy.
   a. Martinez seizes British ships, 1789.
   b. Vessels liberated in Mexico.
   c. War threatened by England.

d. President Washington avoids entanglements.
e. Treaty of Madrid, 1790.

8. Elisa, Fidalgo, and Quimper, 1790.
a. Explorations in Straits of Juan de Fuca.

9. Caamano, and Galliano, 1792.
a. Explorations.

10. Quadra and Vancouver meet, 1792.
a. Attempt to negotiate under treaty of 1790.
b. "Quadra and Vancouver Island" named.
c. Further instructions asked from home governments.

11. Nootka episode ended.
a. Negotiations completed, 1795.
b. Spaniards recede from northern coasts.

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BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 1-309. Most detailed record in a single book.

BARRINGTON, DAINES. Miscellanies. Pp. 469-534. This relatively rare book contains a translation of the original record of Quadra's Voyage in 1775.

FISKE, JOHN. Discovery of America, Vols. I.-II. Selections from these volumes will be found helpful on the introductory portions of the syllabus.

HAWTHORNE, JULIAN. History of Washington, Vol. I., pp., 75-87; 95-99; 108-120. Compiled from less accessible works.

MANNING, WILLIAM RAY. The Nootka Controversy. In Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. Original sources were extensively used by this author.

MEANY, EDMOND S. Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. Pp. 1-60; 300-334. Part of the original record is here reproduced.

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SNOWDEN, CLINTON A. History of Washington, Vol. I., pp. 37-81. Extensive work; the cited portion applies to the subject here outlined.

VANCOUVER, GEORGE. A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and Round the World. Edition of 1801. Vol. II., pp. 331-381. The original work is growing yearly more accessible in the Northwestern libraries. The portion cited contains an account of the negotiations with Quadra at Nootka.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and was continued in portions of varying lengths until Chapter I. of Part II. was begun in Volume II., Number 4, July, 1908. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

"Hallo, strangers! bound for the encampment?" shouted a voice from the box.

"Yes; are we far away?"

"About three mile. You'll find a nice party there. We're only goin' back to Independence for some articles we forgot, and then we're with you! Good day."

In about an hour we arrived at the rendezvous, or encampment, as our roadside friends had called it. We found there already over three hundred people preparing for one of the most arduous trips ever undertaken in modern times. About fifty wagons were arranged in a huge semi-circle, in the center of which little groups were busying themselves in the usual occupations of life, while others were whiling away the hours in idle conversation. Here a smith was tinkering at a rivet, there a female bustled over her domestic pots and pans; in one quarter an artisan was engaged in mending a shaft or resetting a wagon top, while in another, a hardy huntsman was rubbing up his rifle. Numerous herds of cattle browsed about the plain, while the horses reaped their harvest of the generous herbage within the circle or their tether. All the concomitants of civilization were there, yet so intermixed with savage instances, as to startle the observer at the social hybrid. There was something in the unusual scene and its object, that challenged the reflection and led the mind off in its own despite, in search for the causes that induced it. Curiosity asked why a large body of human beings, possessed of a fair share of the comforts of life, should renounce, of their own accord, all the advantages of society, and submit to a voluntary banishment in a region of which they had only heard by rumor, and that was almost beyond the bounds of civil life? Why, with vast plains before them, offering the most bounteous fertility to the lightest summons of the husbandman; possessing a certain climate, and promising assured comfort; asking no purchase but those of the

ploughshare and the spade, they chase rather a toilsome pilgrimage and the uncertain perils of an almost unknown route, to seek the same advantages in the extremity of the continent? It certainly was not from misanthrophy, for the very manner of the enterprise denied it; they were not flying from the persecutions of intolerance and bigotry; neither were they the victims of ill-balanced laws, but they were obeying that restless impulse of ambition which Liberty implants and fosters, and which displays itself in a passion for experiment and adventure. This spirit, which has imparted to us energies that have astonished the world, and still puzzle the monarchies of Europe, has spread its effects from the Atlantic even thus far into the wilderness; it is now directing the movements of this enterprise, and stamps it as the first sign of the enlargement of the boundaries of Freedom to the western ocean. Liberty and enterprise are inseparable qualities, and were it not for the obstacle of inadequate means of travel, no corner of our country would be left unpeopled.

We were received on our entrance with a shout of welcome, and as we drove in a dozen busy hands were instantly lent to assist us in arranging the disposal of our articles. Our wagon was drawn to a proper spot, our horses were watered and staked, Mrs. Robbins was introduced to Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Harris; the little Robbsnees received the overtures of the juvenile Bakers and Brewers, and Jack followed suit by making most decided advances to a handsome terrier bitch, who was doing the amiable in a series of cavortings that would have been most delightful for any lover of natural philosophy to see.

As this was also my first visit to the rendezvous, I was received in like manner, and some acquaintances whom I had made a few days before in the town of Independence, came forward to welcome me and to show me the ins and outs of the encampment.

"Har you, sir! Har you?" was the greeting which, accompanied by hearty and earnest grasps of the hand, met me on all sides, and in the course of half an hour I had become acquainted with two thirds of the whole party. Among others, I was introduced to a fat old gentleman in a round jacket and very short pair of corduroys, responding to the name of McFarley, and who, by the way, aspired to the command of the enterprise. Another fat old gentleman named Dumberton was also introduced to me, who was McFarley's rival for the chieftainship. He had the advantage of the latter, however, in a face of aldermanic redness, and likewise in a long-tailed snuff colored coat.

This latter gentleman, immediately on taking my hand, informed me that he came from "East Tennessee, at a place high up on Big Pidgeon, near Kit Bullard's mill"; and then feeling convinced that it was quite un-

necessary to take any further measure to secure my profound respect, threw his head on one side, and waited for his communication to produce its effect.

Dumberton, or the Captain, as he was called, had the advantage of McFarley in several other points. I have already mentioned the superior contrast of the snuff-colored coat with the round jacket, and I might also have alluded to the substantial claims of a pantaloons of the same color in opposition to the meek pretensions of the corduroys; but the great superiority of the Captain laid chiefly in a profuse shock of stiff gray hair, which, being contrasted with the rich crimson of his countenance, and further set off by the white of his neck cloth, rendered his appearance imposing to a degree. Besides, his *home department* had a most superlative curve, while McFarley's, on the other hand, was a sudden projection, which looked as if he had just bolted the bump of a buffalo, and from its absolute abruptness, conveyed no idea of dignity at all. McFarley made up for these natural disadvantages, however, by industry, perseverance, and superior tact, which being opposed to the Captain's natural gifts, about balanced the material of the struggle.

The last of these remarkable gentlemen running one of the sleeves of his snuff-colored coat through my arm, fairly took me prisoner, and turned me off in the direction of a neighboring cluster of trees, for the purpose of securing my influence in his own favor, and in opposition to his opponent. It is impossible to describe McFarley's face, at this attempt of the other to make capital at his expense; suffice it, it outblushed his rival's, and his teeth were set in fierce determination. He was not long at a loss for an expedient to interrupt the Captain's design, for he bribed a boy to tell me "my horse had run a spike in his foot, and that Mr. Robbins wanted to see me at once." This was a great relief to me, as it was a comfort to Mr. McFarley, for fat man the first had just commenced some disparaging reflections upon fat man the second, that I could not have listened to without compromising the neutrality of my position.

I had four men who had linked their interests with mine, and who had put themselves under my special direction. They were still at Independence, and I did not expect them till the afternoon of the following day, when they were to bring along our common team, cattle, wagons and "fixin's." For want, therefore, of anything to do, I lent a hand to Robbins, in getting up his tent, and setting his things to rights. The remainder of the day was spent in making acquaintances, and projecting arrangements for future guidance, a precaution which I considered by no means unnecessary, now that I had discovered that the struggles of selfishness were likely in a greater or less degree, to agitate our little community. I should

not omit to mention here, that I was also introduced this afternoon to Mr. Peter H. Burnet, who was subsequently made captain of the expedition.

After the evening had set in, I laid down in the wagon of an acquaintance, and overcome with fatigue, soon fell asleep. An hour could not have elapsed, however, before I started wide awake. While I lay endeavoring to recover my disturbed repose, I had a chance to hear how my neighbors were disposing of their time. In one direction the sound of a violin rasped the air; in another, a little further off, the mellow warble of a flute stole softly on the night; while hard by my ear, a harmonious voice poured forth a measure of reproach to the

"*False hearted Jane Louisa.*"

Unable to sleep, and desirous of taking a share in the enjoyment, I arose and went forth, and approaching the tent from which the last pathetic strain had issued, peeped into its centre. It was filled with a motley group, who appeared to have given themselves up to the last degree of merriment. In the rear, on a huge trunk, which was used as a table, sat two bottles, and a corpulent little jug, all of them, doubtless, contributions from different members of the company. On the right hand of this imposing platform, sat McFarley, and on the left, honest John Robbins, with dog Jack between his legs, who was looking, if possible, graver than ever. Behind, and mounted on a high seat, made by a trunk turned endwise, with a flask in his hand, and his hat cocked gaily into an extreme angle, sat the ruling spirit of the party. He was one of those peculiar geniuses whom Nature by the gift of a rich fund of humor and invincible gaiety marks for a practical philanthropist. In his own way, Jim Wayne was the source of more real pleasure and enjoyment, by his unmistakable drolleries, during the long journey which followed, than any dozen other causes put together. His songs were sung by the whole camp; his stories were told over and over, for the edification and amusement of every sub-circle; and wherever he went, his presence of itself, appeared to possess galvanic power, which operated immediately in distending the muscles of every face.

"Gentlemen!" said Wayne, at the conclusion of his ditty, with an air of impressive solemnity, "it is my painful duty to communicate to you my apprehension that we have an individual among us of the most suspicious character; an individual who, so far from entering into our proceedings with that degree of hilarity and good-fellowship which are the guarantees of honest intentions, has preserved a dogged silence, and has moreover given more than one indication that he is incapable of appreciating the sentiment of our enlightened proceedings; in short, gentlemen, he is a creature, as a man may say, without a soul. Gentlemen," continued

the speaker, after the buzz of surprise and rapid scrutiny which swept the circle from man to man, upon this startling communication, was over, "gentlemen, the nature of our enterprise, the peculiarity of our situation, demands our utmost care, and I appeal to your intelligences, if an individual be found in this company, guilty of the demeanor I have charged him with, shall he not forthwith summoned before this bar, arraigned for examination, and, if necessary, I will add, for punishment?"

"Yes, yes, where is he? Who is he?" shouted a dozen voices, while some of the bronzed faces around frowned stern resentment.

Wayne turned, and after looking fixedly at John Robbins for several moments, as if it pained him to perform his duty, at length broke the silence. "John Robbins, I command you to produce the body of an individual now in your possession, commonly know as dog Jack, that he may answer to the charge now about to be preferred against him."

At this conclusion, the whole company broke into a general peal of laughter, in which John Robbins, who was relieved from his temporary uneasiness, heartily joined.

"McFarley, arraign the culprit," cried Wayne, in a stern tone, which though apparently intended to check the levity of the group, only elicited another burst of merriment.

Jack was lifted on the box by his master, and McFarley, who acted as clerk of the court, made him face the Judge, setting him on his haunches, and holding up his fore paws for the purpose of accomplishing a respectful attitude.

The President then addressed the offender at length, and with much dignity and force. Jack, while this was going on, never once altered the solemnity of his demeanor. The only departure from his usual stoicism, was an occasional glance which he now and then stole over his shoulder at McFarley, who was holding him. At length the President finished his address, and wound up by saying, that "as mercy was the divinest attribute of dogs as well as men, he would forgive him for this first offence, and allow him an opportunity to retrieve his character, by making him an honorary member of the association." Saying which, he baptized the animal on the end of the nose, with some of the contents of the flask in his hand, "to learn him," as he said, "to be a jolly good fellow."

Jack had stood everything quietly, until this, but no sooner did the alcoholic nauseate touch his nostrils, than he gave a sudden twist, followed by a spring which swept off the jar, carried McFarley to the ground, and nearly upset me, as he flashed past where I stood.

A long, loud, and continuous roar followed this conclusion of the prank, and under cover of it, I drew off to my quarters again.

This may be considered as a specimen of the evening enjoyments of the pilgrimage (barring the drinking); and I have been thus particular with the events of the first night, even at the expense of being charged with frivolity, that the reader may have a correct idea of all the variations and phases of the life that is led in the journey over the prairies. Many and many a time, even in the short period I have spent in this region, have I turned back to luxuriate upon the delights of that adventure.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of My Camp Equipages—Outfit for Emigrants—Grand Council at Elm Grove—Struggle of Ambition—Result of the Council—Regulations for Future Government—Evening Scene in the Prairies.

On the following day my men, wagons, and cattle arrived, and we were all kept pretty busy in making arrangements. McFarley and Dumberton both interrupted me frequently to secure my aid to their intrigues, but I resolutely put them off on the plea of pressing business of my own. A meeting was held in the latter part of the day, which resulted in appointing a committee to return to Independence, and make inquiries of Doctor Whitman, missionary, who had an establishment on the Wallawalla, respecting the practicabilities of the road, and an adjournment was made to the 20th, to Elm Grove, at a little distance off, for the purpose of making final arrangements for the regular government of the expedition. Meanwhile, new recruits kept pouring in, and at the appointed time, nearly all the emigrants were at the designated place.

As all the preparations which the wants of our journey were now complete, I will here furnish a description of them for the benefit of the future emigrant (for whom these notes are specially written), adding to them such other directions as the experience of the actual journey has taught me are useful and necessary.

The proper outfit for emigrants is a matter of first importance, as on it depends not only the ease, the comfort, but even in a great degree, the success of the journey.

The wagons for the trip should be two horse wagons with plain Yankee beds. The running gear should be made of the best materials, and it should also be of the most excellent workmanship. The wagons should have falling tongues, as they have a decided advantage over any other kind for this trip. You frequently are obliged to pass across hollows, having very steep, but short banks, where, it will be perceived, falling tongues are by far the most preferable. The wagon sheets, instead of being painted, should merely be doubled, as painting is apt to make them break, and the

bows should be well made and strong. It is best to have sideboards, and to have the upper edge of the wagon body bevelled outwards, so that the water running from the sheet may, when it strikes the body, be shed down the side. It is well also to have the bottom of the bed bevelled in the same way, to preclude any possibility of the approach of water to the inside. With your wagon thus prepared, you are as secure as though you were in a house. Tents and wagon sheets are best made of heavy brown cotton drilling, and the latter, if securely fastened, will, like the former, last well all the way. You should take along with you for repairs, a few extra iron bolts, linch pins, skeans, paint bands for the axles, a cold chisel, a few pounds of assorted wrought nails, several papers of tacks, a lot of hoop iron, and a punch for making holes in it; a few chisels, a handsaw, a drawing knife, a couple of axes, and indeed a general assortment of tools, not forgetting an auger, as they may all be needed on the way in repairing. All the light tools a man has, if they do not weigh too much, should be brought along. When you reach the mountains, if your wagons are not made of seasoned timber, the tires becomes loose; but this defect is very easily repaired with the assistance of the hoop iron you have brought along. You first take the nails out of the tire, and then drive the hoop iron between it and the fellows; the punch is then inserted to make holes in the short iron, and the nails following, and being driven home, all will be found as tight as ever. If your wagons are even ordinarily good this will not happen at all, and you will not perhaps have occasion to make a repair of any consequence during the whole trip. Any vehicle that can perform a journey from Kentucky to Missouri, will stand the trip well. In proof of this, there are many wagons now in use in Oregon which were brought through last year, though they were in quite ordinary condition when they started from the States. Beware of heavy vehicles; they break down your teams, and light ones answer every purpose to much better advantage. The latter will carry every thing you want, and as there are no obstacles on the road in the way of logs or stumps, or even rocks, until you get more than half way (when your load is very much reduced), there is but little danger of accident. You meet with no stumps on the road, until you came to the Burnt river, and there they are very few, and you encounter no rocks until you get among the tail of the Black hills, and these are not formidable in their character, and only last for a short distance. From this point you meet with no more obstructions worth speaking of, until you reach the Great Soda Spring on Bear river, which is situated in the intricacies of the mountain passes. Experience has proved, however, that the difficulties there, are readily overcome. If an individual should have several wagons, some good and some indifferent, he might start with all; the latter would go to the mountains, where the loads being re-

duced one half, their burdens might be transferred entirely to the strong ones, and the former could roll through empty. It is not necessary to bring along extra axle trees, as you seldom break one, though you should take with you a few pieces of well seasoned hickory, to be used for wedges and for other little useful purposes.

TEAMS.—The best teams for this trip are ox-teams. The oxen should be from three to five years old, well set and compactly built, though they should not be too heavy, as they feet will not bear the wear and hardships of the route as well as those of lighter animals. This, though well to be observed as a general rule, is not imperative upon the emigrant, as we had with us in this trip several very large oxen, of seven and eight years of age, which endured the continued labor of the task very well, though not so well as the younger and lighter ones. Young cows make just as good teams as any other, as previous to your reaching Fort Hall on the west of the mountains, it is merely the continuance of travel, and not the hardship of the drought that challenges the physical powers of your cattle. To make cows serve all the purposes of oxen, therefore, you have only to hitch a double number and you will go along as comfortably and as easily, as with the best oxen in the world; besides, cows in addition to furnishing you with a nutritious beverage, night and morning, stand the trip better than the male members of their species. Either of the above, however, are better for the emigrant's purpose than mules. They are, moreover, more easily managed—they are not so subject to be lost or broken down on the way—they cost less at the start, and they are worth four times as much when you arrive at the end of your journey.

Those who come to this country with oxen, will be in love with them long before they get here. Their patient, gentle, persevering good will, are each a claim upon your warm attachment. They will plunge through the heaviest mud, dive into thickets, climb mountains, however great their previous labor, without the slightest refusal, and in their frugal habits are content with the reward of almost any provender—willows alone satisfying their humble appetites for days together.

I would most strongly urge emigrants to bring all the cattle they can procure; and horses among the rest, as with proper care, the latter will stand the journey as well as mules. If a person setting out would invest five hundred dollars in young heifers, and drive them here, they would be worth five thousand dollars to him on his arrival; and by pursuing the enterprize in the way of stock raising, if he did not wish to sell, he could in a short time make a fortune. Milch cows are exceedingly useful on the road, as they give an abundance of milk all the way, with the exception of the latter part of it, where, in consequence of the frequent interruptions of the previously rich herbage, the supply somewhat decreases. This edible

is of great value to the traveller, as when thickened, it effects a great saving of flour, and its rich and delicious qualities afford a fine and nourishing food for your children. Its other advantage is, that the giver of it gathers it from day to day, and relieves you of any trouble of carriage, by bearing it herself.

We found that yearlings, nay even suckling calves, stood the trip well, but the objection to the latter is, that they get all the milk of the mother.

PROVISIONS.—As this is the most important branch of preparation, it is necessary that we should bestow a careful attention upon it. Every one thinks he must eat, and so settled is the notion, that it would amount to little short of a separation of soul and body to be persuaded to the contrary.

One hundred and fifty pounds of flour, and fifty pounds of bacon, must be allowed to each person, and this must be taken as a fundamental rule—a *protective provision* as the lawyers say, which must not be overlooked or departed from. Besides the above, as much rice, corn meal, parched corn meal, and raw corn, peas, dried fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and such necessary articles of food, as you can find room for, should by all means be brought along. Flour and parched corn meal will keep sweet the whole way, but corn meal only lasts to the mountains. The parched meal is most excellent in making soup—a few beef cattle or fat calves should be taken to kill on the way, as before you fall in with the buffalo, you will need fresh meat. Peas will be found to ve very useful also, and your dried fruits by being brought out occasionally, will supply with their delicacy and nourishing qualities, many of the deprivations of absence from a settled home.

The loading, in short, should consist mostly of provisions. Emigrants should not burden themselves with much furniture or many beds. It is folly to lug these articles two thousand miles over mountains and rivers, through a mere prejudice of habit and notion. A few light trunks should be brought to pack clothes in, as they will be found to be better than any other article for the same purpose; boxes are too heavy in an expedition where every pound tells in every hour of draught.

(To be continued)

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REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER OF THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON

In the summer of 1849 President Taylor appointed John P. Gaines Governor of Oregon Territory, to succeed Joseph Lane, Oregon's first Governor, appointed the year before by President Polk. At the same time Taylor appointed Edward Hamilton Territorial Secretary, and William Strong one of the three Judges of the District Court for the Territory. Simultaneously order was issued for the United States store ship Supply—one of the Government's smallest sail vessels—to be fitted up with a cabin amidships, and staterooms around the cabin, and the officers named with their families were invited to take passage on her for the Pacific. Governor Gaines and family, General Hamilton and family and Judge Strong and family (of which I was constituted one member) left the Brooklyn Navy Yard in December, 1849, on this small vessel. Stop was made at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, where we took the yellow fever aboard, Governor Gaines losing two daughters and Judge Strong one son in consequence. Somewhat on account of the fever the vessel next put in at St. Catherine's, six hundred miles south of Rio, where we made a prolonged stay. In rounding Cape Horn we were driven down to the sixteenth degree of south latitude. Our next call was at Valparaiso, Chile, where I had my first experience with earthquakes, and from there we came straight to San Francisco. There we were all transferred to the United States sloop of war Falmouth, Captain Pettigrew, who had received orders to take us to Astoria, where we landed on the 13th day of August, 1850.

Great was the disappointment of the officials on finding that the little river steamer Multnomah, the only steam vessel on the Columbia at that time, and which they had been told would be at Astoria to take them up the river, was laid up for repairs, and that Captain Hoyt, its owner, had gone to San Francisco for new machinery. How to get to

Oregon City, our place of destination, became a serious problem. The day after our landing an employee of the Hudson Bay Company came over from Scarborough Point, and on learning the situation suggested that word be sent to Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Factor and Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, whose headquarters were at Fort Vancouver, asking him to send a batteau for us.xOtherwise we would probably be detained three weeks at Astoria. Governor Gaines at once wrote to Governor Ogden, and the company man referred to got an Indian to take the letter to him. It was a new and interesting sight to us to see that Indian start off in his "ikt man kanim" for a trip of about one hundred miles up one of the grandest rivers in the world, and how anxiously we waited to know the result, frequently walking up to Tongue Point and scanning the large bay above. The people of Astoria, few then in number, were very kind, and told us that that would be the quickest way of getting up the river, as the mail steamer from San Francisco to Portland would not be along for almost a month. They knew Governor Ogden, and were sure he would do the best he could for us, as he was the man who, of his own motion, ransomed and rescued the white prisoners in the hands of the Indians at the time of the Whitman massacre.

In a few days a large batteau arrived, bringing a cordial welcome from Ogden. It did not take long to load such of our belongings as were necessary into that boat, and as soon as the tide began flooding the next day we started. The first night brought us to Cathlamet, where we were welcomed by Mr. James Birnie, a retired factor of the Hudson Bay Company, who, with his family, had lived there many years. Mrs. Birnie gave the ladies every attention, and Mr. Birnie took care of the men. Judge Strong was greatly pleased with this locality, and afterwards settled there. It was in Oregon then. The next day we went on, landing when necessary, spreading our blankets on the ground at night, until in a few days we arrived at Fort Vancouver. How different such a trip from one on the same river today. How few of the inhabitants of the State of Washington have had such an experience?

Judge Strong's wife and infant child and I remained at Fort Vancouver, but after lightening the batteau as much as possible the Governor and Secretary, with their families, and Judge Strong, were taken to Oregon City, the capital. The Judge soon returned, and I went there in a canoe. There were no houses on the east side of the river at Portland, and very few on the west. Between Portland and Oregon City was a sandbar, on which at that time there was so little water that large canoes had to be poled over it. It was for this reason that the batteau was made as light as possible at Fort Vancouver.

While in Oregon City I learned that about three months prior to that time five Indian chiefs had been hanged there as instigators of the massacre of Dr. Marcus Whitman and others at the Whitman mission. I was deeply interested in learning all I could in relation to this bloody affair, I having gone to school with the two Nez Perce Indian boys, John I-ee and Richard Tac-is-tas-tin, whom Dr. Whitman brought with him from Oregon, and left at Rushville, N. Y. (his native place and where I then lived) during the winter of 1835-'36, when he went east and married Narcissa Prentice. I also listened to a talk he gave in the old Rushville church in the spring of 1843, when he was again there to visit his mother, at which time I became so interested in the Indians and in the climate of Oregon that I wanted to go there with him, but he said he wanted married men, and, as I lacked two months of being seventeen years old, I did not fill that requirement. He comforted me, however, by saying, "the Indians need good doctors, and when you have finished your education, and studied medicine, we will be glad to have you come."

In 1850 all but a very few white Americans in Oregon were residents of Willamette Valley. During the two following years the number north of the Columbia was greatly increased, probably multiplied by three. By that time I had been over the land sufficiently to convince me that there was plenty of room on that side for a great Territory or State, and that in due time there would be one, of which I hoped and expected to become a citizen, and why I did not will be told later on.

In the winter of 1850-'51 Judge Strong had a house (and I afterwards built one) at Cathlamet. The people of Cathlamet a year or so later were so many and so ambitious that they schemed to secure a road to Puget Sound. They interested the people of Elohamon Valley, which lay back of Cathlamet and had its only outlet thru that town, in the idea, and arrangements were finally made to survey the line for a road as far as Bonfort Prairie. We engaged a young man to go with the party as surveyor. He had come to Cathlamet, and they were nearly all ready to start, when unfortunately he cut his foot so severely with the hatchet while sharpening a stake as to prevent his going. I had to go in his place. I was accompanied by Mr. Diay, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Stilwell, Newell Brewer, all owners of property in the Elohamon Valley, and two Indians. We had a pretty hard time of it, however, as it took much longer than we expected, and the packer was careless, and lost or wasted not only our provisions, but our ammunition as well, so we were without food for five days. When we got to Bonfort Prairie, we were given a sumptuous meal at the home of Fred A. Clarke, it being prepared by Mrs. Clarke, who, now of Puyallup, is one of the few survivors at this time of those long

gone-by days. There was one creek that took us a long time to find a way across. It had cut a channel nearly or quite 200 feet wide, and of great depth, with almost perpendicular sides. Fifteen feet down was a stratum of sea shells twelve feet thick, the same on both sides, showing conclusively that the shore of the great Pacific Ocean was once there. Above this stratum of shells was about fifteen feet of rich soil. We found the route impracticable, as road building was then understood. What has become of my field notes of that survey I do not know. The entire expense of this survey was borne by the parties whose property would have been benefited had the road been built.

In 1850 there were very few white men north of the Columbia River from its mouth to Vancouver and beyond, except those connected with the Hudson Bay Company. In the latter part of 1851 and the early part of 1852 they came in considerable numbers, and there were so many people in the fall of the latter year that a convention was called and held at Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz River, which petitioned Congress to divide Oregon Territory and create the Territory of Columbia in that part north of the river. The petitioners were somewhat surprised to learn that Congress not only refused to name the new Territory Columbia, but insisted upon naming it Washington, to which the convention members and other persons chiefly concerned were obliged to submit. It was only about fifteen months from the date of holding that convention that the new Territory desired was in complete running order, with full list of officials, Legislature and courts. I was a member of the first House of Representatives, from Pacific County. The Legislature met at Olympia Feb. 27th, 1854, but I was not sworn in until April 14th. (See page 97 of Journal.)

Another person, whose name I cannot now recall, and myself surveyed the east part of Mrs. Esther Shorts' land claim into town lots, blocks and streets, and the first Legislative Assembly, in March, 1854, passed an act naming this land, so surveyed by us, "Columbia City," and made it the county seat of Clarke County. (See page 475, Statutes First Legislative Assembly.) Columbia City is the Vancouver of the present day.

When Judge Strong found that the meager salary paid a United States Judge would not support his family, the in New York, where we were from, it would have been more than ample—the costs of living being very much greater on the Pacific Coast—he tendered his resignation, and as soon as his successor—who was an unmarried man—arrived, and was sworn in, he commenced the practice of his profession. He spent the long remainder of his days in Oregon, a prominent member of the bar and an honored citizen of the State.

In the latter part of 1852 First Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant came to Fort Vancouver with a part of his regiment, the Fourth Infantry, in which he rendered special services as quartermaster. He lived in the barracks with the other officers. He never had a house to himself, contrary to what I have seen stated. While he was at Fort Vancouver, he and Judge Strong became warm friends, and he would sometimes get a leave of absence, and spend the time with the judge in Cathlamet. While at Vancouver Grant and other officers joined in planting a large field of potatoes. The river rose and covered the vines so long and so deep that the potatoes were spoiled, and never dug. He also, in 1853, equipped and supplied the railroad exploration and survey parties of the Government in Washington under Captain George B. McClellan and Governor I. I. Stevens. He was promoted to a captaincy, and after about a year's stay at Vancouver, took command of his company at a post in California, from which he resigned his commission in 1854, going to Missouri and later to Illinois and engaging in the pursuits of civil life until the outbreak of the war in 1861, when he reentered the army.

October 11th, 1854, John S. Clendenin, United States Attorney for the Territory of Washington, appointed and commissioned me assistant United States Attorney, and placed me in charge of all his business. He then left for the Eastern States, and never returned. The next year I was elected Prosecuting Attorney for the First Judicial District of Washington Territory.

When the Indian war broke out, in 1855, I joined a military company, and served until discharged. My brother William also enlisted, and was made captain of a company of mounted riflemen.

In the spring of 1856 the judges concluded that on account of the war they would hold no courts until the next fall, so the farmers might put in their crops, repair damages, etc. In the summer of that year, John D. Biles, who was a member of the House in the first Legislature at the time I was, and who was then clerk of the United States District Court at Vancouver, and myself, taking advantage of the court vacation, left for the States, expecting to return together, prior to the resumption of work by the judges. He returned, but I did not, for this reason: I had an aged mother, who was much opposed to my going back, and when it came near to the time for me to start became seriously ill, and asked me to promise her that I would not return as long as she lived, which I did. She then began to improve, and lived nearly five years, dying about two months before the breaking out of the civil war, during which time I had gone into business and married. When the war began I immediately raised a company, was elected its captain, and we were mustered into service in the

Twenty-First Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry on the 7th day of May, 1861. I served as captain for six months, and was then promoted to lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Thirty-Eighth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, and afterwards to brigadier general by brevet. I was wounded twice in battle, the last time by a conical ball passing entirely thru my body, tearing out my right hip joint, and making me a cripple for life, stiffening the hip, and shortening the leg three and a half inches.

When at Fort Vancouver, W. T., I became personally well acquainted with Captain Rufus Ingalls, who was quartermaster of the post there, and after I was wounded I was taken to Fortress Monroe, and placed in the Hygeia Hospital. The next morning I was greatly surprised to be called upon by Major General Rufus Ingalls, Quartermaster General of the Army of the Potomac. He was exceedingly kind, gave me every attention possible, and was of great assistance to me.

My brother, John C. Strong, came to Fortress Monroe, and took me home to Buffalo, N. Y., on an army litter. After I had recovered from my wounds so as to be able to get around on crutches, President Lincoln commissioned me a colonel in the Veteran Reserve Corps, which commission I prize very highly, as it bears his autograph. I was then assigned to the Fifteenth Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, and sent to command the post at Chicago, which included Camp Douglas, thus relieving General Ammon from command of the post, and Colonel C. V. Deland, of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, who were guarding the prisoners, and who immediately thereafter went to the front. When the number of prisoners became so great that one Veteran Reserve Corps Regiment, every man of which was wounded, was not considered sufficient to guard them, Brigadier General Sweet, who was also colonel of the Eighth Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, came, bringing a battery of artillery, which organizations, with my regiment, gave him ample force to take care of the prisoners. General Sweet ranked me, which, of course, gave him command of the post.

I was ordered to report to General George G. Meade, in Philadelphia, who would instruct me how to close up camps, and furnish me with the proper papers. This I did, and I was kept in service, and sent to close up the different camps thruout the country, and was not mustered out until June 30, 1866. I then went to my home in Buffalo, N. Y., and practised law for a while. Later I was appointed United States Assessor of Internal Revenue, and afterwards United States Circuit Court Commissioner.

My wounds so shattered my nervous system that I suffered greatly in cold weather, and in January, 1896, I brought my family to Los Gatos, Santa Clara County, California, where we resided on a ranch in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains at the southerly edge of the beautiful Santa Clara Valley, until June, 1911, when we removed to Oakland, Alameda County. I am today, May 6th, 1912, 86 years of age.

Remaining in the East was a great disappointment to me, as all my interests then were in the new Territory of Washington, where I intended to make my home, but I considered my duty to my aged mother paramount to all others.

JAMES C. STRONG.

A HISTORY OF THE RAILROADS IN WASHINGTON

On September 2, 1876, the people of the Eastern states were given the following directions on how to get to Washington Territory by Elwood Evans, in an address at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia:

"The following hints will give the necessary information to tourists or immigrants: Parties from the East can leave the Central Pacific Railroad at Kelton, 700 miles east of San Francisco, and by stage reach Walla Walla; from thence they can readily go to any part of the Territory. Still it is more comfortable, quite as cheap, and about as expeditious, to go through to San Francisco. Arrived there, those bound for Puget Sound will find almost daily opportunity, by sailing vessels and trimonthly steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, to reach any port on the Sound. Those bound for Eastern Washington (and if expeditious travel be an object, to any part of the Territory) will be best accommodated by the steamers of the Oregon Steamship Company, which make weekly trips from San Francisco to Portland. Arrived at Portland, steamers leave daily for the upper Columbia, by which all parts of Eastern Washington are reached. There is also daily communication, Sunday excepted, by steamers to Kalama, and thence by the Northern Pacific Railroad to Puget Sound."

Compare these directions with the following statement taken from a railroad folder published in May, 1912:

"Looking at a map of the United States, you will find that there are six transcontinental railroad lines entering the Pacific Northwest."

In these quotations are summed up the entire span of railroad history in Washington, a bracket which includes forty years within its scope.

The course of railroading in Washington drops naturally into three parts: First, the period of discussion about a transcontinental road lasting from 1834 to 1870; second, the period of the construction of the first road, 1870 to 1883, when the last spike was driven; third, the period of development from 1883 to the present time, during which a cobweb of steel has been spun about Washington.

To Dr. Samuel B. Barlow of Granville, Mass., belongs the credit of first proposing a road to the Pacific, although one year before some slight mention had been made of such a plan in a Michigan paper called the "Emigrant." Dr. Barlow, in an article published in the Intelligencer, a weekly of Westport, Mass., suggested a government road from New

York to the Pacific Ocean near the mouth of the Columbia River. The cost of such an undertaking was estimated at $30,000,000, and it was supposed that a train could traverse the 3,000 miles and return, traveling at a speed of ten miles an hour, in thirty days.

"What a glorious undertaking for the United States!" exclaimed Dr. Barlow. "The greatest public work, I mean the greatest in its ends and utilities, that mortal man has ever yet accomplished."

Dr. Parker, with whom Whitman had made his first journey to the West, backed up Barlow's dream with the assertion that there were no greater difficulties in the way of building such a road than there had been in constructing the line from Boston to Albany.

The initial active attempt to carry out the construction of a transcontinental road was made in 1845 by Asa Whitney, a New York merchant, and he was so militant in advocating the plan that he later became known as the "Father of the Pacific Railroad." Whitney conducted a campaign among the members of the United States Congress and by other means for the building of a road connecting Lake Michigan with the mouth of the Columbia by a line that should cross Wisconsin and Minnesota to the Missouri and thence follow the route of Lewis and Clark to the ocean.

As a result of this work of Whitney, Congress, in 1853, appropriated $150,000 for the exploration of four routes. Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of the Territory of Washington, was placed in charge of the northern route survey, and assisting him were W. I. Gardiner, George B. McClellan, afterwards commander of the Army of the Potomac; Johnson K. Duncan, Cuvier Grover, A. J. Donelson, John Mullan, Jr., army officers and engineers, together with George F. Suckley and J. G. Cooper, surgeons and naturalists; John Evans, geologist; J. M. Stanley, artist; C. W. Stevens and A. Remenyi, astronomers; A. W. Tinkham and F. W. Lander, civil engineers, and John Lambert, draughtsman. The survey was to start from both ends of the route and McClellan was placed in charge of the western part. He arrived with his party in San Francisco in 1853 and proceeded to explore the Cascades for passes leading to Puget Sound. Stevens proceeded from the headwaters of the Mississippi westward to the Sound.

The survey was completed and the route found entirely feasible and practicable and the route finally followed adopted the line of Stevens' exploration. Nothing was done about a northern route for some years, and meanwhile the Territory of Washington was established under Stevens as governor.

At his suggestion, the Washington legislature of 1857 incorporated the Northern Pacific Railroad and named as incorporators Stevens, Senator Ramsey of Minnesota, Gen. James Shields of Minnesota, Judge William A. Strong, Col. William Cock, Elwood Evans, A. A. Denny and W. S. Ladd of Portland. The road was capitalized at $15,000,000, and the route was to be from Nebraska west across Washington by the Bitter Root Valley, and across the Coeur D'Alene Mountains to the Columbia. One branch was to follow the Columbia and another to cross the Cascades to the Sound, the two branches to be connected by a line from the Sound to the Columbia. In 1860, the legislature amended the act to extend the time of beginning construction to July 4, 1863, and of completion to July 4, 1870. No capital was raised, however, and no railroad was built under the original or amended act.

Congress on February 5, 1855, appropriated $30,000 for the construction of a military road from the great falls of the Missouri to Fort Walla Walla, and this was looked upon as the forerunner of a Pacific railway, but it was not until nine years later that a Northern railroad became an actual matter of business for Congress.

The State of Washington must look to the Columbia River for the first railroad within its borders. Here, around the cascades of the river, a portage tramway of wood was built by the Cascade Railroad Company, which was incorporated by an act of the legislature, January, 1858. Previous to this there had been a wooden track laid around the rapids for the use of the military department, and over this many immigrants with their goods had been transported by animal power. These wooden rails were, within a short time, covered with iron, and the road was operated by steam. Another road was built to connect The Dalles with Celilo.

The incorporators of this Cascade Railroad Company were B. B. Bishop, William H. Faunleroy, George W. Murray and their associates. In 1860, the Washington legislature chartered the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, with a capital of $1,000,000, whose incorporators were J. C. Ainsworth, Daniel Bradford, R. R. Thompson, J. S. Ruckle and their associates, and this company took over the Cascade Company.

The second railroad in Washington was Dr. Baker's famous Rawhide Road. A company, known as the Walla Walla Railroad Company, had been chartered in January, 1862, to operate a railroad from Walla Walla to the Columbia at Wallula to be completed by November, 1865. The time was extended two years in 1864, but the company was never a success and finally failed outright, giving way in 1868 to the Walla Walla & Columbia River Railroad. Dr. Doney S. Baker was the builder, using his own resources chiefly. A survey of the thirty miles was completed in

1871, and in 1872 construction started, being completed one year later. The first ten miles were built entirely of fir stringers, 4x6, laid on crossties, the wood coming from mills Dr. Baker had built for the purpose. This wood wore out even while transporting construction materials, and the rails at the curves were then protected with strap iron. The straps turned up at the ends under the pressure of the wheels and the trains had to stop while they were pounded down again. The road was the joke of Walla Walla and the people, when they heard of a delay, declared "that the coyotes had eaten out a section of the doctor's track." There was a story current that the rails were covered with rawhide, which gave it the name of the Rawhide Road.

During the third year of construction the rails reached Whitman's mission at Wailatpu. The doctor at this time purchased rails weighing 26 pounds to the yard, and these were laid down. A little eight-ton engine did the hauling, and the road was completed in October, 1872. For a long time after the road was built freight was carried only on flat cars. The passengers were transported in a low house, with a curved roof and small windows built upon a flat car. This was furnished with a board seat running all the way around except at the doorways, and was known as the "Hearse." The transportation rates were $5 a ton, feathers or hardware, it didn't make any difference, and passengers were carried for $5 each. Transportation rates before the railroad were $15 the ton. In 1881, the road was sold to the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co.

A contest between a northern and southern route for the transcontinental railroad had arisen in Congress, and the larger population in California, due to the gold excitement, determined the construction of the Union Pacific. The Washington legislature, in 1858, had memorialized in favor of the northern route, and in 1860 a railroad convention to boost the northern route had met in Vancouver, attended by delegates from both Oregon and Washington. In 1864, Thad Stevens, a leader in the house, succeeded in passing a bill which was approved by President Lincoln, incorporating the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and giving it a grant of lands to aid in building a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. The grant of land proved insufficient to raise the money for construction, which was estimated at $157,000,000. Jay Cooke & Co. finally undertook to raise the money and issued $100,000,000 7 and 7-10 per cent bonds in $50 lots to attract small investors. They were successful, and on February 15, 1870, ground was broken at Thompson Junction, 24 miles west of Duluth. In May of the same year, the western end was started at Kalama. A fight then developed in Washington for the Sound terminus of the line between Olympia, Steilacoom, Seattle, Tacoma and

Mukilteo. A committee from the company decided on Tacoma, and General Morton Mathew McCarver, founder of the city, drove the last spike on December 16, 1873. The other Sound cities now started a fight for existence. Seattle attempted to organize a line of its own through Snoqualmie Pass to Walla Walla. A survey of the road was completed by General Tilton and T. B. Morris in 1874. The estimated cost, by making the lower Yakima route, was $4,179,910, or $3,677,962, if built by way of Priest Rapids. The people of Seattle found it impossible to finance the road, although it was shown that the annual revenue would be $1,600,000 per year, so on May 14, 1874, they started out to build it themselves. Cannon and anvils were fired, steam whistles blown, and the whole town, men, women and children, started building the road. Everybody worked, and at noon there was much oratory and a dinner prepared by the women. The plan of action was for each man in the town to give at least one day a week to working on the road. The construction and enthusiasm lagged, so that by October only thirteen miles had been graded, and this was beginning to be washed away by the rains.

At this point J. M. Colman saved the day by advancing money and finishing the construction of the road to Seattle. On April 7 the people of Olympia had done practically the same thing. The Northern Pacific passed eighteen miles from Olympia at Tenino and the citizens determined to build a branch to their town.

"The building of this railroad was made a labor of love," says Bancroft. "The governor and territorial officers, and all the most prominent citizens worked at clearing and grading on regular days, called 'field days,' when their wives accompanied them to the place indicated by the superintendent of construction and carried with them ample provisions, which, being prepared and served by them with much mirth and amiability, converted the day of labor into a general holiday."

But their ardor also died and the road was not completed until July, 1878, when all the citizens were given a free ride on the first train to Tenino.

The legislature in 1875 passed an act to aid in the construction of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad, the name of which was changed to the Seattle and Colfax. The counties along the route, under this act, were permitted to contribute $400,000. But the road itself never developed.

The failure of Cooke and Company in 1873 delayed the Northern Pacific construction, and it was not until 1879 that work was resumed. The western end reached Spokane in 1881, and the road was continued eastward from Spokane towards the Pend d'Oreille and at the same time

westward from the Missouri River. The eastern and western ends of the Northern Pacific were brought together on the north bank of the Deer Lodge River in Montana on September 8, 1883. The Cascade division was started through Stampede Pass in 1884 and the first train reached Tacoma on July 3, 1887. The Puget Sound Shore line from Black River Junction to Stuck, to connect with the seven-mile spur of the Northern Pacific and give Seattle direct connection with the main line, was finished and trains were operated for but one month, when the line stopped and was known as the Orphan Road.

From the completion of the Northern Pacific Road until the present time, there has been a great era of railroad building until practically every portion of the state has one or more lines.

One of the first acts of Cooke and Company in taking over the Northern Pacific was to acquire control of the old Cascades road about the falls of the Columbia.

An early road in Seattle was that of the Seattle Coal Company, which connected the portage between Lake Washington and Lake Union and ran from the southern extremity of Lake Union to a wharf at the foot of Pike Street, a distance of approximately two miles.

In 1884, according to the report of Governor Watson C. Squire, the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company maintained 204 miles of track in the state. The Northern Pacific owned 324 miles, distributed as follows: From Wallula junction eastward, 179 miles; from Kalama to Tacoma, 105 miles; from Tacoma to South Prairie, 25 miles; from South Prairie to Carbonado, 8 miles; from Puyallup Junction to Stuck Junction, 6 miles. The Oregon Improvement Company, belonging to the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, operated 21 miles narrow gauge from Seattle to Newcastle and 7 miles of an extension up Cedar River Valley between Renton and the McAllister coal mine. By December 1, the rails, said Governor Squire, would be laid to the Black Diamond mine, 31 miles from Seattle, and by January 1, 1885, to the north bank of the Green River, making a total of about 46 miles under control of the Oregon Improvement Company. The Olympia and Chehalis Valley Railroad connected Olympia with Tenino and another railroad connected the Northern Pacific at Stuck directly with Seattle, but not being operated. Counting the newly contracted roads, there were in 1884, 660 miles of railroads in the territory, of which about 600 was operated.

In 1885, the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company operated 259 miles, branches extending into the eastern wheat regions; one branch from Colfax to Moscow being completed and a branch from Starbuck to Pomeroy started. The Northern Pacific maintained 455 miles and had

completed during the year 62 miles from a point 25 miles west of Pasco to North Yakima. The grading and bridging of 37 additional miles between North Yakima and Ellensberg were finished, and 25 miles of road construction from South Prairie to Eagle Gorge, on Green River. By the beginning of 1886, but 75 miles of the Cascade division was unfinished. The Columbia and Puget Sound Railway Company, the old Oregon Improvement Company, had completed the line from Seattle to Franklin. A summary of the mileage gave 866 miles within the Territory, 804 of which were operated. This was a gain of 200 miles, or one-third of the total mileage, over 1885.

Governor Squire thus surveys the situation in his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1885-6: "We now have the Oregon Short Line, connecting westward by way of the Union Pacific to Portland; the Canadian Pacific Railroad, terminating at Port Moody on Burrard's Inlet, from which immigrants can arrive by a short ride on the steamer to Puget Sound; and perhaps most important of all, the Northern Pacific Railroad line, which now traverses the eastern portion of the Territory and makes its connections with the western portions by way of the Oregon Railway and Navigation line from Wallula to Portland."

The report showed that the Northern Pacific had completed the Cascade division as far as Ellensburg and had leased the Spokane and Palouse Railway, which had been built during the year, from Marshall Junction to Belmont. This road left the main line of the Northern Pacific at Marshall, nine miles west of Spokane Falls, and ran southward by way of the towns of Spangle and Rosalia to Belmont. The line, it was said, would be continued in 1887 to Snake River. Other proposed Northern Pacific branches mentioned were to the Coeur d'Alene region and to Colfax. The Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad, which was organized in 1883 to build from Bellingham Bay to the Canadian Pacific at Mission, was mentioned in the report as projected. The road was not built, however, until 1889, and in 1891 the line was completed to Sumas and in 1900 extended to Glacier, with a branch in 1903 to Lynden. The Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern Railroad was mentioned in this report as starting construction. This road was incorporated in 1885 and constructed afterwards a line to Snoqualmie, with a branch to Sumas. A line was also constructed from Spokane westward as far as Davenport, with the intention of ultimately connecting it with the Seattle end. The road was bought by the Northern Pacific

In 1892 there were 2,618 miles of railroad in the State, distributed as follows: Northern Pacific, 1,244, including the following branches: Spokane and Palouse Railway, Farmington branch, Central Washington

Railway; Northern Pacific and Cascade Railway; Burnett Branch, Crockeir branch; Tacoma, Orting and Southeastern Railway; Northern Pacific and Puget Sound Shore Railroad; Roslyn branch; Green River and Northern Railroad; Tacoma, Olympia & Grays Harbor Railroad (Centralia to Ocosta); Lake View Branch (Olympia to Ocosta); Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern; Yakima & Pacific Coast Railroad. Great Northern Railroad, controlling 487 miles, including the Seattle and Montana and the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia. Union Pacific System, controlling 270 miles, including a Walla Walla branch and a Mason branch. Oregon Improvement Company's lines, 164 miles, including Columbia River and Puget Sound, Port Townsend and Southern; Olympia branch and the Seattle and Northern Railroad. Hunt's system, 111 miles, including Washington and Columbia River Railway, formerly the Oregon & Washington Territory R. R. Co. (Eastern division, Dayton to Hunt's Junction); Western Division, Pendleton to Hunt's Junction in Washington; Eureka Flat Branch, Pleasant View to Eureka Junction. Other lines, 338 miles—Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad Co. (Spokane to Northport); Ilwaco & Shoalwater Bay Railroad; Puget Sound and Gray's Harbor; Mason County Central; Clifton to Port Orchard; Vancouver, Klickitat & Yakima; Monte Cristo; Blue Canyon Coal Road; Shelton Southwestern Railroad; Mosquito & Coal Creek Road in Cowlitz Co.; Ostrander, Cowlitz Co.; Fidalgo City and Anacortes; Wm. Knight & Co., Skagit Co.; Cascades Portage; Fairhaven and Southern; and the Washington Southern, Shelton to Satsop route. Washington in this year led all the other states in railroad building with a total of 420 miles, the nearest approach being Pennsylvania, with 256 miles.

In 1906, there were 3,292 miles of railroad in operation, just 400 per cent more than in 1886. The cost of construction was estimated at $160,000,000 and the mileage was owned and controlled as fololws: Northern Pacific, 1,782; Great Northern, 747; Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, 550; Tacoma Eastern Railroad, 62; Bellingham Bay and British Columbia, 58; Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad, 58, and the Canadian Pacific Railroad, controlling the Kettle River Valley Railway (Great Northern property afterwards), 35 miles.

In 1910, the railroads owned 3,795 miles in Washington and paid a total of $2,059,017 into the state treasury.

The following table, taken from the annual reports of the State Tax Commission, shows the growth of the roads in recent years:

ROAD	MILEAGE					ASSETS				
	1904	1907	1908	1909	1910	1904	1907	1908	1909	1910
Bell, B. & B. C. R. Co.	18.70	17.81	18.00	54.00	54.00	$ 16,000.00	$ 15,000.00	$ 15,000.00	$ 15,182.00	$ 15,000.00
Chi. & T. S. R. R. Co.	17.00	40.25	48.00	47.00	47.00	14,700.83	26,804.54	16,415.00	42,765.00	38,694.00
Chi. Lake Shore & T. Co.	3.00	3.00	3.00			3,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00		
Coeur d'Alene & P. R. Co.	142.00	147.00	147.00	604.00	604.00	148,747.82	172,469.47	243,586.00	415,377.00	639,602.00
Juneau Bull. & Nav. Co., O. & R. R.	11.00	11.26	18.00	28.00	28.00		1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Northern Pacific	5,616.14	5,691.00	5,691.00	5,777.00	5,841.00	1,000,000.00	1,000,000.00	1,000,000.00	1,000,000.00	1,000,000.00
Oregon Railroad & N. Co.	*	500.00	500.00	*	503.00	*	138,125.00	138,870.00	*	138,187.00
Pend Oreille & Northern R. R. Co.	61.00	61.00	61.00	61.00	61.00	6,487.50	6,487.50	6,487.50	1,845.00	8,213.00
Spokane Falls & Nor. Ry. Co. (S. P.)	159.26	159.26	159.00			27,881.82	28,902.00	30,146.00		
Tacoma Eastern R. R. Co. (N. P.)	61.20	69.80	51.00	101.00	101.00	8,815.50	18,440.00	11,253.00	17,215.00	24,001.00
Wa. & Col. R. R. Co. (N. P.)	117.70	122.80	122.80			15,448.81	25,256.00	25,256.00		
Wa. & U. N. Ry. Co.	69.38	63.36	111.00			9,258.46	10,634.00	15,338.00		
Spokane & Inland Empire R.	*	*	*			*	*	*		
Spokane & Pt. Co.										
Spokane, International R.		18.58	18.58	18.58				1,241.00	6,146.00	2,753.00
Seat. & Pt. Co. (G. N. & N. P. T. Co.)		0.90	0.90	0.90					159.00	159.00
Spokane Traction Co.					0.50					150.00
Ore., Wa. & Idaho R.			70.00		70.00					1,000.00
Snake Riv. Ry. & P. Co. (O. R. & N.)										
Spokane & Teper Co. (Harriman)										
Tidewater				460.00						89,351.00
Wa., Oregon & Mont.				3.00						1,014.00
North Yakima & Val. Ry.				14.00						1,000.00
Totals	5,619.60	6,329.00	7,153.00	7,156.00	7,209.50	$1,453,327.94	$1,455,768.04	$1,518,594.00	$1,521,731.00	$1,965,171.00

ROAD	ASSETS					LIABILITIES				
	1904	1907	1908	1909	1910	1904	1907	1908	1909	1910
Bell, B. & B. C. R. Co.	$ 2,400,238.00	$ 2,496,213.00	$ 2,675,847.00	$ 2,113,478.00	$ 2,144,154.00					
Chi. & T. S. R. R. Co.	2,213,149.00	2,291,663.00	2,552,194.00	2,703,194.00	3,265,375.00					
Chi. Lake Shore & T. Co.	343,474.00	403,319.00								
Coeur d'Alene & P. R. Co.	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00
Juneau Bull. & Nav. Co., O. & R. R.	180,238.00	204,174.00	204,174.00	204,174.00	204,174.00					
Northern Pacific	47,351,641.00	48,750,114.00	50,502,834.00	53,057,422.00	58,018,555.00					
Oregon Railroad & N. Co.	24,075,291.00	24,340,000.00								
Pend Oreille & Northern R. R. Co.	1,240,551.00	4,004,104.00	5,248,398.00	4,179,458.00	4,812,678.00					
Spokane Falls & Northern Ry. (G. N.)	2,791,168.00	2,791,168.00								
Tacoma Eastern R. R. Co. (N. P.)	2,791,168.00	2,791,168.00	5,091,807.00	5,614,663.00	5,642,164.00					
Wa. & Col. R. R. Co. (N. P.)	5,189,440.00	6,290,666.00								
Wa. & U. N. Ry. Co.	5,184,895.00	6,858,120.00								
Spokane & Inland Empire R.	*	*	*	*	*					
Spok. & U. C. Ry. Co.										
Spokane, International R.			5,014,451.00	8,268,853.00						
Seattle Southwestern Ry. (Paid to No Coast Timber Co.)			112,350.25	113,043.00	139,174.54					
Tacoma Eastern R. R. Co.			16,446,846.00	19,745,279.00	21,584,849.00					
Ore., Wa. & Idaho R. R. Co.			1,835,750.00	1,835,750.00	4,051,164.00					
Snake River Ry. & P. Co. (O. R. & N.)			1,835,750.00	1,835,750.00						
Spokane, Traction Co. (Harriman)			514,282.00	514,282.00	514,282.00					
Spokane, Portland, Seattle Ry.					52,482,000.00					
Tidewater				2,395,474.00	2,395,474.00					
North Yakima & Val. Ry.				1,243,990.00	1,389,523.00					
Total										

*No report.

Since its completion in 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad's policy has been to acquire control of lines throughout the state. At different times it has bought the following roads: The Puget Sound Shore Railroad, bought in 1890; the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern Railroad; the Spokane and Palouse Railroad, operated from Spokane south into Idaho, the construction of which was begun in 1886, and later extended from Pullman to Moscow; the Washington Central, from Spokane to Coulee City, begun in 1888 and completed in 1891, extended to connect with the Great Northern in 1903; the Bellingham Bay & Eastern Railroad, from Bellingham to Wickersham, incorporated in 1891, constructed in 1901 and sold to the Northern Pacific in 1902; the Seattle and San Francisco Railroad; the Everett & Monte Cristo, from Everett to Snohomish and from Hartford to Monte Cristo; the Washington & Columbia River Railroad, organized as the Oregon & Washington Territory Railroad in 1887, known as the Hunt Road, built from Wallula to Walla Walla, nearly paralleling the Snake, but branching off at Eureka Junction and going down the other side of the triangle to Walla Walla and thence to Pendleton and Athena in Oregon. The road was organized in 1887 by Pendleton business men, who could not carry out their plans, and the road was acquired by G. W. Hunt, an experienced railroad builder of Corvallis. The Port Townsend and Southern, acquired in 1901, was organized in 1887 and construction begun in 1890, the line extending from Port Townsend to Quilcene and from Olympia to Tenino, a projected road going from Tenino to Tacoma.

The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company got its foothold in Washington by the purchase of Dr. Baker's Rawhide road. In 1881, the company completed a road from Portland to Wallula, which gave it direct connections with Walla Walla. Extensions from Walla Walla to Ripatia and from Belles to Dayton were made in 1881. In 1883, under the name of the Columbia & Palouse Railway, a road was built from Connell to Colfax, and in 1885 this was extended to Pullman and Moscow. The company extended its line from Starbuck to Pomeroy in 1885 and in 1886, as the Columbia and Palouse, from Colfax to Farmington; in 1888, as the Washington and Idaho, from Farmington to Rockford, and in its own name from Riparia to La Crosse; in 1889, as the Washington and Idaho, from Rockford to Spokane, and from Tekoa to Mullan, Idaho; and as the Oregon Extension Company, from Winona to Seltice; as the Snake River Valley Railway, from Wallula to Grange City; and in its own name from Dayton to Turner and Fairfield to Waverly; in 1889, under the name of the Iwaco Railway and Navigation Company, from Iwaco to Nahcotta.

The work of construction of the Great Northern from its Idaho line to Lowell was started April, 1892, and completed January 6, 1893.

The Seattle and Northern was acquired. This road was incorporated in November, 1888, with Elijah Smith, president, and H. W. McNeil, vice-president, to build a road from Seattle northerly via Whatcom to a point on the northern boundary of Washington near Blaine; also from where it crosses the Skagit up to the mouth of the Sauk, and thence in an easterly course to Spokane Falls; also from the Skagit crossing westerly via Fidalgo Island and Deception Pass to Admiralty Head on Whidby Island. The road from Hamilton to Sauk or Rockport, begun August 7, 1900, was completed February 6, 1901, Anacortes to Hamilton, constructed in 1890 and 1891.

The Washington & Great Northern Railway, Curlew to Midway, was started August 19, 1905, and completed November 28, 1905; Marcus to Republic, started October 3, 1901, and completed July 29, 1902.

The Fairhaven and Southern Railway Company, incorporated in 1888 with Nelson Bennett, president, and a capital stock of $1,000,000, was built from Bellingham Bay to Vancouver, B. C. This gave Bellingham Bay its first connection with the outside world. It was bought by the Great Northern in 1891, after surveys had been completed to extend it to Seattle, becoming a part of the Seattle & Montana system.

The Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad, existing as an independent road, bought the Seattle & Walla Walla Road in 1880, and has since extended it in the Newcastle coal region. It is ranked as a part of the Oregon Railway & Navigation system.

The Bellingham Bay & British Columbia Railroad, extending from Bellingham to Glacier, an independent road, was organized in 1883. In 1889, construction started and in 1903 was completed to Glacier, with a branch, built in 1903, to Lyaden.

The Tacoma Eastern Railroad Company, a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound system, although long ranked as independent, was organized in 1890 and constructed to Ashford. In 1900 it was continued to Kosmos.

The latest addition to the transcontinental roads is the Chicago, Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railway, which has completed its road, entering the state at Plummer, and proceeding directly west to Tacoma and Seattle. Branches are in operation to Spokane, Everett, Marcellus, and the Tacoma Eastern road to Mount Rainier, and the Grays Harbor and Puget Sound Railway to Grays Harbor.

The North Coast Road, traveling through Spokane, Davenport, Walla Walla, North Yakima, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle, is not yet completed. It is a part of the Harriman system.

The Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railroad, the North Bank Road, traversing the North Bank of the Columbia and Snake, completed in 1910, is used jointly by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern.

In addition to these roads mentioned, there are scores of logging railroads, privately owned, to transfer lumber to the main roads.

The aim of the railroads in the past has been to tap the shipping, lumber, coal and wheat regions of the state, so that practically every section of the state has an outlet for its products. Development within the next few years will be to open up the great Olympic peninsula and to further build throughout the Okanogan region.

SOL. H. LEWIS.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1824.*

Deputy Governor George Simpson (afterward knighted, and more generally designated Sir George Simpson), at the head of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in British North America for nearly 40 years, was a very forceful and thorough man. He had been chosen to the position at the time of the coalition with the Northwest Company in 1821; and the last District to be visited and reorganized by him was the Columbia District, for the management of which Dr. John McLoughlin had been selected as resident Chief Factor. This was the occasion for the presence of Gov. Simpson at Ft. George at the mouth of the Columbia river in November, 1824; along with Dr. McLoughlin and others he had just arrived from across the mountains.

The expedition covered by the Journal herewith (which is now published in full for the first time) had been planned several months previous; this we know from correspondence with John McLeod at Thompson River (Kamloops), instructing him to detach Mr. Annamour, a clerk, to become one of the party. Mr. McLeod had been instructed to obtain all possible information as to an outlet to the Coast by way of Fraser river or any other stream of New Caledonia; and to explore personally in the interior. It was not until after 1828, when Gov. Simpson personally made the trip up Peace River and down the Fraser, that he gave up the immediate search for such an outlet; even later he was hoping to find one further south. So immediately after his arrival at Ft. George this expedition was outfitted and sent off. It is evident that the report from Mr. McMillan was desired before a permanent location should be selected further up the Columbia for the District Headquarters. Fort Vancouver then did not yet exist except by anticipation.

The personnel of the expedition is interesting. Mr. Jas. McMillan was a man of experience on the Columbia, the same who was associated on its upper waters with David Thompson fifteen years earlier; he afterward built Ft. Langley on the Fraser river and remained in charge until succeeded there by Mr. Archibald MacDonald in 1828. The ubiquitous and brave Thos. McKay, now a son-in-law of Dr. McLoughlin, but previously a member of the first Astoria party on the Tonquin, had returned

*After Mr. Elliott had prepared this paper for the Washington Historical Quarterly, the Editor of the Work Journal in the Provincial Library of British Columbia had arranged to publish the Work Journal with other materials in a bulletin. Notwithstanding this fact, Mr. Elliott's paper is printed in full because readers who might not receive the proposed bulletin also are hereby informed that the record bears directly upon the field of this Quarterly.—[Editor.]

to the Columbia with the present party; he of course wanted to be present when any chance for a scrap with the Indians might occur, for he had a family score to wipe out. He was in charge of the hunting and expected to keep the party supplied with fresh meat. Mr. Annance was a clerk in rank who did not rise to special prominence in later years; Mr. Work, the writer of this Journal, was the other clerk. Mr. John Work was of Irish descent, his name is properly spelled Wark, but less often appears so written. He became a prominent man among the H. B. Co. officials of the District. His daughter, widow of the late Edward Huggins of Tacoma, has only recently died in that city; another daughter was the wife of the late Dr. Wm. Fraser Tolmie, whose last years were spent in Victoria, B. C., and whose children possess the original Journal from which this copy has been kindly allowed. This is the Journal from which Hubert Howe Bancroft personally drew his account of this same expedition as appears on pp. 464-8 of his History of the Northwest Coast, Vol. 2. It has not before been printed in full.

Briefly stated, the expedition portaged from the Columbia river at Tlwaco across to Shoalwater Bay and from that Bay portaged again along the beach to Grays Harbor; thence followed the meanderings of the Chehalis and Black river to a source in Black Lake, from which a portage was made to either Eld or Budd Inlet of Puget Sound; thence followed the Easterly channels and bays of the Sound to a stream beyond the 49th parallel that empties into Boundary Bay and up that stream to a portage across to another stream flowing into the Fraser river at the site chosen for Fort Langley a little more than a year later, and up the Fraser river for two days, a full month being consumed to the date of turning back. Returning they paddled and sailed out of the mouth of the Fraser, rounded Point Roberts and spent a night at Birch Bay and then followed practically the same route they had come as far back as Black River south of Olympia, Washington; there the party divided, Mr. McMillan, Mr. Work and a few others proceeding by the more traveled and direct route of the Cowlitz to the Columbia and Ft. George, and Mr. McKay, in charge of the remainder of the party, taking the boats back by the route first traveled. The return was made in twelve days by Mr. McMillan. To follow this course closely with the aid of charts published by the U. S. and Dominion Governments and county maps showing careful details will be of much interest to residents of the counties bordering upon the Coast (who will appreciate what was meant by a "weighty rain") and Puget Sound and the Fraser. The journal is also of value as showing the carrying capacity of the light batteaux used by the fur traders, and the variety of food carried

for their sustenance, and the manual labor and exposure common to their expeditions.

No opportunity has been available to compare with the original journa lnad check some uncertainties in copying.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Journal of John Work

Nov., 1824—Governor Simpson having determined to send an expedition to the Northward for the purpose of discovering the entrance of Fraser's River, and ascertaining the possibility of navigating that River with boats, and also of examining the coast between Fort George and Fraser's River as far as practicable. James McMillan, Esq., was appointed to command the expedition, which consisted of:

Thos. McKay, F. N. Annamour, John Work, clerks; Michael Laframboin, interpreter; 1, Pierre L'Etang; 2, Jas. Portneuf Abanaker; 3, Alexis Aubuchou; 4, Pierre Villandri; 5, J. B. Proveau; 6, Peter Wagner; 7, F. H. Condon; 8, Pierre Karogarajab, Ir.; 9, Louis Shatakorata, Ir.; 10, Wm. Johnston, Englishman; 11, Segwin Le Deranti; 12, Cawano, Ir.; 13, Louis Anawano, Ir.; 14, Pierre Karaguana, Ir.; 15, Chas. Jaundeau; 16, Louis Diomilea; 17, Andre Loncloin; 18, Chas. Rondeau; 19, Pierre Patvin; 20, Ettuni Osiager, Ir.; 21, Louis Hanatiobe, Ir.; 22, Louis Vivet; 23, Peo Beau, Islander; 24, Thos. Tojanel, Islander; 25, Thos. Zawatton, Islander; 26, Jos. Loui Abanaker; 27 Andre Le Chappel; 28, J. B. Dubian; 29, Joseph Derard; 30, Leo Depuis; 31, Jacques Patvin; 32, Louis Shorakorta, Islander; 33, Joseph Grey, Islander; 34, Bazil Pioner; 35, Momonta, Islander; 36, Cannon, American.

Besides the above group, an Iroquoy Freehunter and his slave also accompanied the party on account of his being acquainted with the coast part of the way. The voyage to be performed in three boats, the only loading of which consists of . . kegs pease, . . kegs oatmeal, . . bags flour, . . kegs pork, . . kegs grease, . . kegs rum, . . keg butter, . . kegs, sugar, . . bags biscuit, . . bags pemmican. In all . . days' provisions.

Thursday, 18 (November)

Everything being in readiness, the expedition left Fort George at a quarter past one o'clock and in 2 hours and 10 minutes reached the portage in Eskern Esq., a distance of not less than 14 miles. This portage is about . . miles to the Northward of Cape Disappointment. This portage is made to avoid doubling the Cape, which is not practicable with our

[Present town of Ilwaco.

boats. Though the wind did not blow very strong, there was a heavy swell in the middle of the River. Mr. Kennedy accompanied in a boat to Bakers Bay and stopped with us for the night. It was drizzling rain in the after part of the day, with some showers.

FRIDAY, 19 NOV., 1824

Weighty rain all day and blowing fresh in the afternoon from the Eastward.

Commenced carrying the boats and cargoes across the portage of 1060 yards, to a small lake[1] about half a mile long. The portage was wet and dirty, but in dry weather it would be a fine road. From this little lake part of the people carried part of the cargo, while the remainder of the people with the boats and the rest of the property proceeded down a small creek[2] that receives its waters from the lake. This creek is so narrow that the boats could scarcely be got dragged through it, and all the property had to be carried the greater part of the way. The road along this little creek, which runs through a little swampy plain, is very soft and wet. We have got only about 2-3 of the way across the portage. The distance we have made from the little lake is 4,200 paces in a direction nearly N. by E.

Mr. Kennedy, who came to see us across the river, took leave of us at the little lake.

Abundance of geese and ducks are along this little river and swamp. McKay killed three and Mr. Annamour 1 goose. Some parts of the road there were a good many cranberries.

SATURDAY, 20

Blew a storm in the night with weighty showers of rain. Fine weather in the morning, but very weighty rain afterwards, wind S. E. The people resumed transporting the property and boats to where the tide came up the little river, a distance of 1,218 yards, here all the property was embarked, and at 440 yards farther down the passengers also embarked. Here the creek began to widen and a strong flood tide made it sufficiently deep for the boats. About two miles farther we came to the entrance of Grey's Bay,[3] down which we proceeded about 9 miles and encamped about 2 o'clock P. M. at the entrance of a little river on the west side of the bay.[4] Our reasons for stopping so early was in being too late to cross the bay and there being no possibility of getting water farther on. The wind being favorable, the sails were hoisted about an

[1]Whealdon's Pond, vulgarly called Black Lake.
[2]Partait Brough and Cranberry Marshes.
[3]Mouth of Brough at Hindmarsh Bay.
[4]Near present town Goderville.

hour. The little valley through which we passed yesterday and today is here and there clothed with willows, which some places nearly choke up the river, in some parts it is clear and clothed with verdure, in several places it is very swampy on account of the heavy rain and the tide flowing over its lower end. The part of the Bay which we have passed through seems to be from 4 to 6 or 7 miles wide. On the W. side the shores are flat and covered with woods, principally a kind of pine, to the water's edge, wood of the same description also extends to the water's edge on the E. side, but the shores in some places appear steep and seem to be compounded of a reddish clay. Our general course all day was nearly due North.

Here there is a small village of Chenooks consisting of 5 inhabited and 1 uninhabited house.

SUNDAY, 21

Fair weather, a fine gentle breeze of wind from the S. E., some weighty rain in the night. As it would have been too long to wait for the tide rising sufficiently high, the boats and property were carried about ¼ of a mile, and we were on the water at 8 o'clock. Our courses were as follows: N. E. 5 miles, which was across to the East side of the Bay,[1] then along the East side of it N. W. 6 miles[2]. W. N. W. 4 miles; N. N. W. 5 miles; and W. N. W. 8 miles, which brought us to a point[3] which forms the entrance of the bay on the East side at 1 o'clock. This is a low point about 2 miles across and has such a heavy surf breaking upon it, particularly that from the ocean on its north side, that it is impossible to take boats round with any degree of safety, the cargoes were therefore, carried nearly across the point, a distance of 3,300 yards. The labour of carrying will not end here, as the sea is breaking with such violence on the shore, that that banners (will) likely have to be continued a good while. Notwithstanding this breach of the sea on the beach, the wind is off the land and not blowing strong. The road in this portage is very good, the ground is sound, dry, with some fir, pines and willows growing upon it. Grey's Bay widens greatly towards its entrance, it is in some parts not less than 15 miles. The E. shore appears still flat near the water, the bank on the W. side is a little higher and in some places would be difficult to land, as they are so steep. In crossing the entrance to two bays before we came to the portage, the tide ran very high, the waves were very high, but as they did not break we shipped no water.

[1] North Cove on Willapa Harbor.
[2] Bay Center and Goose Point.
[3] Toke Point.

MONDAY, 22ND

Stormy with very weighty rain in the night and blowing fresh with some showers during the day. Wind southerly.

All hands were at work at an early hour, part carrying the property 3,870 yards N. N. W. farther on the portage, and part clearing a road along a little river, so that the boats might be got through that way in preference to attempting the sea shore. About all the people were sent for the boats, which they brought with great labour a distance of about 3 miles, the greater part of which they had to be dragged through places almost entirely dry or little better than swamps. Tomorrow it is intended to carry them to the sea shore and try to get them along as the Indians do their canoes, which is to conduct them along between the beach and the shore, while thus employed the waves often break over both them and their canoes. The road through which the goods were carried today is very good and lies along the edge of the woods which is about ¼ to ½ miles from the shore. Geese are plentiful, 20 were killed, they are mostly the small grey geese and very lean, however, provided a kettle for the men. Vandit and little Louis are lame.

TUESDAY, 23

Light clouds, fine fair weather, light wind from the S. E. At daylight all the people were employed carrying the boats from the woods where they were left yesterday to the sea shore, afterwards part of the men, 6 and boat, conducted them along shore in the inside of the breakers, where they had just water enough to float them to the other end of the portage. One of the boats was left some distance on this side of the others. In performing this business part of the men stopped in the boats with poles to keep her right and to watch the waves, while the rest dragged her along with a line; the swells were often nearly upsetting her. The surges often flowed in about the men at the line until they were up to the middle. The remainder of the people were employed carrying the property a distance of 4,620 yards N. N. W. The road still continues very good.

Mr. Annamouse went to seek elk, but saw no appearance of any. He represents the country as bare and swampy and unfit for the residence of elk. 5 geese were killed, the same kind as yesterday and equally lean.

One of the men, Vandit Potvin, who got lame yesterday, was so ill that he had to be carried today. Yesterday morning a small spot on the upper part of his foot became painful and suddenly swelled very large and

is now so painful that he cannot put it to the ground. This (a) an unfortunate circumstance in our present situation.

WEDNESDAY, 24

Overcast, fair weather except some showers in the afternoon, wind S. E.

As soon as it was daylight, all hands were at work and carried the property along shore 3,720 yards N. N. W.,[2] and then struck along the woods to a branch of the Chihalis Bay[13] a distance of 2,364 yards N. E., where the goods were all brought by 1 o'clock. The road along the sea shore was the same as yesterday, but that across the woods is very bad. It lies through thick woods and is almost one continuation of swamps where the men with their loads were often on their knees in water and mud. By taking this road a great deal of labour is saved ,as it is 3 miles shorter than the road along the shore and across the other end of the point. As soon as the goods were got across the half of the people were sent to take round the boat which was left yesterday and to bring it and the other two up to this place; they have not yet arrived.

A goose and 2 ducks were killed, great numbers of ducks are in this small branch of the bay, but they are very shy and difficult to get at.

Vandit Patvin is getting worse, the swelling is extending up his leg and several black spots are appearing on his foot, he had to be carried all the way we came today.

The whole length of this portage which we have just got across is little more than 15 miles.

THURSDAY, 25

Overcast with drizzling rain and weighty showers. Wind S. E. blowing pretty fresh. Rained hard in the night.

At an early hour the men who remained at the camp were sent off to assist the others with the boats with which they arrived at noon, and at ½ past 1 o'clock we embarked and proceeded up the Chihalis Bay. Our courses were N. 5 miles, N. N. E. 4 miles and N. E. 5 miles along the E. side of the Bay. On account of the haziness of the weather the form of the Bay or the appearance of the country about it could not be clearly discerned, but the Bay appears to be about 6 miles wide at its entrance immediately after which it widens to from 10 to 12 miles and then narrows gradually as we advance to from 3 to 4 miles. The shores are thickly clothed with wood, chiefly pine, to the water's edge, and near the water are rather flat. It is sometimes difficult to find a dry place to encamp on account of the rising tides, fresh

[2]Near to Westport.
[13]Gray's Harbor.

water is also sometimes a scarce article, and that which we got being obtained from the swamps is of a bad quality and sometimes brackish.

The Iroquoy George[1] had been stationary near this bay sometime past hunting sea otter, he has now sent all his slaves to the Fort but one with whom he accompanies us.

A canoe with 10 Chihalis Indians passed us on their way to the Chenooks.

FRIDAY, 26

Weighty rain in the night and with the exception of a few short intervals in the afternoon, pouring down rain all day. Blowing fresh from the E. forenoon. The men were completely drenched, and it was with difficulty a fire was got made when we put ashore for breakfast.

Embarked at daylight and proceeded to the bottom of the bay,[2] a distance of about 6 miles N. E. Here we entered the Chihalis River, up which we proceeded about 18 miles in a winding course which varies from N. E. to S. E., the course in general may be considered E. The part of the bay through which we passed in the morning narrows from 2 miles to about ½ mile in breadth, the shores of the North side are pretty high and those on the S. side are low and swampy near the water. The Bay from S. W. to N. E. may be about 23 or 24 miles in length. The Chihalis River is about 300 yards wide at its entrance and narrows as we advance till about 100 yds. where we are now encamped. The banks in some places are high and steep, but often low and flat and thickly wooded to the water's edge, principally pine on the high banks and oak and alder on the low points, and all along so thickly (covered) with underwood, bush and long grass, that it would be difficult to penetrate any distance into the woods; the shores are wet and muddy. The navigation for so far is very good, the river is deep and the current slack, the tide ascends this far. In the course of the day we passed several islands. Passed 4 villages of the Chihalis Nation, 2 houses in the first, 5 in the second, 2 in the third, and 3 in the fourth, opposite which we encamped. Though these people are well accustomed with the Whites and have been still on friendly terms with them, we were surprised to find them all under arms on our approach, and at some of the villages assuming threatening attitudes, shouting from behind the trees and presenting their arms, particularly their bows and arrows, as if in the act of discharging them. On inquiring into the cause of this unexpected conduct, we learned that Cumcumlus Son Cassica had spread a report among these people that the Whites were coming to attack them and they were too credulous as to dis-

1 The Freebuter already mentioned.
2 Near Aberdeen.

believe it, but they were soon undeceived and a present of a little tobacco to some of the chief men dismissed all appearances of hostility.

Patwin, the lame man, is getting no better, the swelling is rather increasing than decreasing.

These peoples' houses and appearances, etc., are in every respect similar to the Chemoeks, they have a good many fine arms among them.

We can only form a conjecture as to their number, from the first 3 houses we passed a canoe followed us with 14 men whom we supposed were all that belonged to those two houses, which was 7 house, supposing each house to contain 7 men fit to bear arms, as we passed 12 houses the number of men would be 84 which is probably correct, perhaps under the thing.

These peoples' houses are constructed of planks set on end and neatly fastened at the top, those in the ends lengthening towards the middle to form the proper pitch, the roofs are cased in with plank, the seams between which are filled with moss, a space is left open all the way along the ridge which answers the double purpose of letting out the smoke and admitting the light. About their habitations there is a complete bank of filth and nastiness. At this wet season it is a complete mess mixed with the offal of fish and dirt of every kind renders it surprising that human beings can reside among it.

SATURDAY, 27

Poured down rain all night, blowing fresh from the S. E. It rained incessantly with very little wind till 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when it ceased and a fair evening succeeded. Every person and every thing was completely drenched, our means of keeping them dry being ineffectual.

In order to save time and avoid the difficulty of getting a fire, we breakfasted before we left our encampment, and embarked at 8 o'clock and continued our course up the river to 4 o'clock in the afternoon where we encamped both wet and uncomfortable, but the evening being fine a good fire was soon made and all hands were soon employed warming themselves and drying their clothes. The distance made today we reckon from 20 to 24 miles through a very winding course, the river was so crooked that we were steering to every part at times, but our general course was East. The current was very strong and the people had often to use their poles. The general appearance of the river is much the same as yesterday except that the banks are high and not so soft and muddy as when the tide ebbs and flows. The breadth of the river this day might be from 60 to 80 yards. The continual rain is causing the river to rise very fast and, of course, increases the strength of the current. We passed 10 houses, first 1, next six and last 3 all of the Chihailis nation.

The inhabitants did not appear in arms nor did they appear alarmed as those we passed yesterday. They were likely appeased by some of their friends who proceeded us, that they had no reason to be alarmed. At the large village I counted 47 men on the bank and saw some in the houses besides, the whole of which were upwards of 50, but some of those we saw yesterday were among them. The filth about these houses exceeded that we saw yesterday. About and even in the houses were literally alive with maggots which had generated in the off all of fish and the stench was most offensive. Canoes of these people accompanied us from one village to another, many of them were quite naked regardless of the rain. Several tracks of elks were seen today. But not a single appearance of beaver have we seen yet in the river.

Patvai is getting worse, his foot and leg has broke in different places.

SUNDAY, 28

Raining the most part of the night. Short intervals of fair weather in the morning and constant rain afterwards. Wind S. E.

Embarked a little after 8 o'clock and pursued our course up the river a distance of about 10 miles S. E. to where it receives a little river called the Black River from the Northward, up which we proceeded about 10 miles in about a N. E. direction. The part of the Chihailis River which we passed today is much the same in appearance as that described yesterday. The current continues very strong, the water had risen considerably in the night. The Black River[1] so named from the colour of its water, is from 20 to 30 yards wide, towards its lower end the navigation is very good, the water is deep and the current not strong, but about 5 or 6 miles up it the navigation gets troublesome as the current becomes strong and in many places so shallow that the boats could scarcely be dragged through it. The river was also in two places blocked up with driftwood, at one of which a portage was made, a passage was cut through the other, a great deal of drift wood is piled on the shore at many places along the river. The banks of this river are in some places elevated and in some places low, the high banks are generally clothed with lofty pine and the low ones with poplar, ash, alder, etc., and the low points with thick willows. Where we are encamped is on the edge of a little plain. This river would not be passable for such craft as ours in the dry season. A great many dead salmon are in the river and many that are just alive and barely able to move through the water. Passed on Indian house belonging to the Hollowenna nation, I counted 12 persons at it, probably some more were in the house.

[1]This name still sticks; evidently there before 1824.

MONDAY, 29

Wind S. E. Rain in the night and a continual succession of weighty showers all day.

Embarked at ½ past 8 o'clock and proceeded about 9 miles up the river in a N. E. course. In places the river was very shallow and our progress was sometimes obstructed by driftwood. In other parts the navigation was good as the water was deep and the current slack. The appearance of the country is changing considerably as we advance. The low points are covered with willows and small poplars, plane and some oak trees, while the higher banks have pine, and some distance appear hills thickly clothed with pine, between these hills and the river there are in some places fine plains. Saw several marks of beaver.

Encamped at noon, the cause of stopping so soon was to wait for Mr. Annamour who had been sent to the principal Hallowenna village a few miles off, for a trader Pierre Charles who has been with the Indians for some time. It is thought that he would be an acquisition to our party, but he could not be found.

Some of the people were sent off to hunt but returned unsuccessful though they saw both elk and deer. This is reckoned a good part of the country for those animals.

Passed two houses of the Hallowenna Nation at which I counted 10 men and as many women besides children, probably some more were in the houses. Saw some more Indians some of whom had horses.

TUESDAY, 30

Rain in the night and weighty rain the greater part of the day with strong gusts of wind from the S. E. We did not decamp today. Patvin's foot and leg has got so ill that there is no prospects of his recovery en tie voyage, and this being the last place from which there is any chance of getting him sent back to the Fort, an agreement was made with an Indian, a principal man of the Chihaihi Nation whom we met, to take him home to the Fort, for which he was to be paid handsomely on his arrival. Several of the men were, therefore, sent off with the sick man to meet the Indian at the Hallowenna Village where he was to proceed by the sea coast in a canoe. Lawania an Islander was sent with them to take care of him, but the men returned in the evening and reported that the Indian had made some difficulties and wanted payment before he went off. It not being considered prudent to send the sick man with the Indian, a bargain was made with another a Hallowenna to take him by the Cowlitch, by which route he was expected to make the Fort sooner.

Pierre Charles, the man who was wanted yesterday, joined our party.

Several of the people went to hunt and Mr. Annamour and Little Pierre killed each a deer. Some of the others saw both elk and deer but killed none, the heavy rain was unfavourable for hunting.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST DEC.

Showery weather, wind S. E. There has been more fair weather last night and today than for several days past.

In consequence of having to send the Interpreter Laframbois to finish the arrangements with the Indian and get him sent off with the sick man, we did not move camp today, until the Interpreter returned in the evening having effected his mission satisfactorily. The Indian who was engaged for the purpose had set out with the sick man by the Cowlitch. Part of the journey had to be performed on horse back. The poor man is furnished with a supply of provisions, medicines and the means of procuring provisions as the means possessed of would admit.

Several of the people were sent off to hunt, they are to proceed to a portage a short way ahead and there meet us.

Since we have been here several of the Hallowenna Indians from the neighbouring village have visited us. Their mode of life, manners, language, etc., differ little from the Chihalis, indeed, they may be considered as a detached part of that tribe.

THURSDAY, 2ND

Mild fair weather, wind Easterly.

Embarked at half past 7 o'clock and proceeded about 5 miles up the river nearly N. Here the river becomes so narrow and nearly chocked up with willows and trees that it was found necessary to make a portage and the goods were carried a distance of 2,980 yards. The boats were brought up by water which was such a tedious business, a road having to be cut for them in many places through the bushes, that it was night when they reached the upper end of the portage. The part of the river through which we passed today is pretty deep and the current not strong except at some points till we reach the portage. The shores are complete thickets of willows and different kinds of deciduous trees, mostly ash. The portage is a fine road through a handsome plain. Saw several marks of beaver by their cuttings they seem to be fonder of the ash than other trees.

FRIDAY, 3RD

Wind Northerly, fair mild weather except a little drizzling rain in the morning.

Embarked at ¼ past 7 o'clock and proceeded up the river and nearly to the head of a lake[14] where it has its source, a distance of about 8 miles N. to a Portage where boats and all have to be carried across land to Puget's Sound. On our arrival at the portage at 10 o'clock the business of carrying was immediately commenced and the boats and goods carried 3,140 yards N. W., the men had a hard day's work.

The river widened a little above the portage we left in the morning, but was in many places nearly chocked up with willows, but on account of the recent rain there was plenty of water. Pine trees lined the shores which are low at some distance from the water, the intervening space is covered with thick willows and small trees of different kinds. The lake is about 3 to 4 miles long and from 1 to ½ miles wide, and appears on every side thickly wooded with, chiefly pine. In the part of the portage which we passed today the road is very good running through a small plain with ash trees scattered here and there through it and afterwards through thick woods of lofty trees of different kind, some of which are very large, and a good deal of underwood. The road is very good for carrying the pieces as it has been a good deal frequented by Indians, but it is too narrow to carry the boats through, and requires a good deal of labour to widen it, as some of the trees to be removed are pretty large, six men were employed clearing it all day.

The hunters who left us two days ago met us here. Mr. Annamour killed a deer which was the only success the party had.

SATURDAY, 4TH DEC., 1824

Fair mild weather, wind Northerly.

At daylight the people resumed their labour on the portage, part to clear a road for the boats and part to carry the baggage. The property was carried to the end of the portage, a distance of 4,950 yards N. W., by 11 o'clock after which all hands were employed carrying the boats a part of the way. This labour is attended with a great deal of difficulty, as we advance the road gets worse, it is in many places wet and miry, the trees are of a very large size many of them fallen, and the ground among them so thickly covered with underwood, particularly an evergreen shrub called by the Chenooks Lallall, that cutting a road through them for the boats is a tedious and laborious task. The track is also intersected by thin little rivers or creeks.

The portage is 8,090 yards long, and except a little plain at its commencement, thickly wooded with different kinds of trees, pine, maple, cedar, ash and wild cherry. Some of the pine trees are very large. I

[14]Black Lake of today. See note on Dec. 16th, 1824.

measured some of them, one of the largest was upwards of 5 fathoms in circumference, another 28 feet around, the soil seems to be very rich.

Pierre Charles was sent to hunt and returned in the evening having killed two elk.

SUNDAY, 5TH

Overcast mild fair weather, wind North.

At an early hour part of the men was sent off for the meat that was killed yesterday, and the rest continued their labour at the boats which are yet a considerable distance from the end of the portage, though the people wrought at the road and carrying them all day. A good allowance of the fresh meat was served out to all hands which is a very acceptable change to them after the pease on which they have been living chiefly for some time.

Where we are no wencamped is a small bay[1] of Puget's Sound. Notwithstanding that the tide rises about 6 feet yet the water is not very salt: it can only be called brackish. As the little river that falls into it here is inconsiderable, probably several little rivers discharge themselves into the bay at no great distance.

Two Indian houses of the Halloweena tribe are close by, their inhabitants are living on salmon which comes up this little bay.

MONDAY, 6TH

Overcast, rain, cold weather, wind Northerly. Foggy in the morning.

At daylight the people went off to the boats which they brought to the end of the portage and at 9 o'clock we embarked and proceeded down the bay about 25 miles in the following courses: 4 miles N. N. W., 4 N. E., 3 N., 2 N. N. E., 2 N., 2 E. by S., 3 N. E. by E., 3 E., and 2 N. N. E., mostly along the S. E. shore, through narrow channels formed by islands or points Passed three deep bays or narrows formed by islands on the West side and on the S. E. side. In the evening passed the Nisqually River which falls in from the E. into a pretty large bay. The shores are steep and bold compounded of clay, a gravel and covered with wood, principaly pine, to the water's edge. In several places the wood appears pretty clear and not much chocked with underwood. Put ashore a short time at noon to join the boats. Here we found plenty of muscl, which were the only shellfish we found although the shells of several other kinds such as oysters and different kinds of cockles were along the shores in plenty, another kind of fish in a curious shape was also in plenty, this

[1]Budd Inlet. If Budd Inlet why no mention of the Chutes or Falls that have made Olympia famous?

is a shapeless animal with long toes joined together in the middle, it seems to be in a torpid state and scarcely to move, it is covered with a crust or hard skin of reddish colour.

Passed a house of the Halloweens tribe, also saw two Indians in a canoe.

Encamped in the evening near 4 o'clock on a sandy point; very little fresh water.

Tuesday, 7th

Wind Easterly. Overcast cold weather, foggy in the morning.

Embarked at ½ past 7 o'clock and proceeded 3 miles N. E., 6 E. and 26 North, in all 35 miles. Encamped at 4 o'clock in the evening. Our course lay through narrow channels about ½ mile wide and some wide openings formed by traversing bays and channels formed by islands and points. Passed a channel and two bays on the W. side and two bays and a channel on the E. side, the last of the bays receives the Qualax[16] River. Stopped at another little river where there was a village[17] of the Nisqually Nation consisting of six houses, these are miserable habitations constructed of poles covered with mats, we were detained 1½ hours at this village, getting two men and a woman, wife to one of them, to act as interpreters and guides for us. The men are both of the Sanahomis tribe[18] and are not intelligible to any of our party, neither do they well understand us but they, at least one of them, understands the language of the Cowecchins which is the name of the tribe at the entrance of what is supposed to be Fraser's River. The woman speaks and understands the Chenook language pretty well and is to interpret to the men. Two canoes with 8 Indians passed our encampment in the evening, and when it was dark the Indians visited our camp, these people are from the Interior and belong to the . . . . . .

The Nisqualy Indians speak a language different from any we have seen yet.

Where we are encamped is an island,[19] where we see the marks of some horses which the Indians have on it.

The appearance of the shores is much the same as yesterday, still bold and high, composed of clay and generally wooded to the water's edge. Where we encamped last night we found abundance of mussels at low water.

Wednesday, 8th

Some rain in the afternoon, wind Easterly.

16Puyallup River.
17Steilacoom; camped here again on return.
18Squallyamish.
19Vashon Island (?).

We were on the water at 7 o'clock and made according to estimation a distance of 36 miles, N. 5 miles, W. 3, N. E. 5 and N. 23. We were 7½ hours on the water, 3¾ of which we both sailed and paddled with mild breeze, we concluded that we made at least 5 miles per hour. We this day proceeded through a fine channel formed, as the others, by the main land and an island. Passed an opening on the E. side in the morning and on the same side a bay[1] into which the Lananaimo River (flows). On the West side we came through the Soquamis Bay from which there is a small opening to the Westward. Where we are now encamped opposite to a wider channel or opening[2] which runs to the Westward (2), it is very deep with a number of islands in its north side and through its entrance. The channels through which we passed may be 3 or 4 miles wide, the shores appear the same as yesterday. We stopped at the Soquamis village situated in the bay[3] of the same name, it consists of 4 houses, we saw only 8 or ten men, but understand several of the inhabitants were off fishing. Our object in stopping here was to get the chief to accompany us as an interpreter, but he was not at home. The houses are build of boards covered with mats.

The country in general appearance the same as that through which we have already passed, the banks generally very high composed of clay or gravel and wooded generally to the water's edge, the timber seems not to be of a large growth. A ridge of high mountains covered with snow appeared some distance inland on the Eastern shore, two high mountains[4] were also seen covered with snow to the S. and S. E., another high one was also seen to the S. W.[5]

THURSDAY, 9TH

Foggy in the morning. Wind Northerly, rain, cold weather.

Resumed our voyage at ½ past 7 o'clock and proceeded about 28 miles through a fine channel from 3 to 5 miles wide, formed by an island on the W. side and the main land and islands on the E. side. Our courses were as follows: N. N. E. 15 miles, W. N. W. 10 and N. N. W. 3. Passed the Sinnahamis[6] Bay which receives a river of the same name on the E. side, and on the same side the entrance of a bay or channel, here was also a small island on the same side in the entrance of the Sannhamic Bay. On the W. side of the channel we passed the entrance of a bay or channel and a small island in the entrance of Sanni-

1)Probably Jillott Bay.
2)Admiralty Inlet.
3)Port Madison.
4)Baker and St. Helens.
5)Evident error. Must refer to Mt. Baker.
6)Snohomish.

hamis Bay. Where we are now encamped[24] is near a village of the Skaadchet[27] tribe, the smoke of two other villages of the same tribe appear at other situations around the Bay. During the forepart of the day the appearance of the country is much the same as yesterday, but towards evening it began to change considerably. The banks are still high but not so abrupt as before, the woods are getting in several places much thinner and sometimes plains were seen stretching down to the water's edge. A high ridge of snow topped mountains were still seen extending from nearly south to N. along the Eastern shore and some distant islands All the country hereabouts is represented by the Indians to abound with elk and deer.

In the afternoon passed a large house belonging to some of the Samshamis tribe on the E. side of the channel, the inhabitants on our approach fled to the woods, but our interpreter called to some who were in a canoe and they brought back their friends. We went to this house and were treated by them with shell fish. All these tribes appear much alarmed on our approach and appear aimed to dispatch on landing, if they do not fly to the woods till they are informed of our friendly intentions. All strangers are considered by these as parties of neighboring tribes coming on war excursions. These people got some trifling presents.

One of our interpreters, being afraid to proceed any farther remained at this house where some of his friends resided. This man since he has been with us frequently boasted of his bravery and showed us how he would kill the Cowerchins, the tribe who inhabit the entrance of the river of which we are in quest, and who are represented as a barbarous and wicked people. They are so wicked that the most of the Indians are unwilling to trust themselves among them even under our protection. However, the other interpreter and his wife are still bold enough to proceed.

A canoe with 10 men and a woman of the Scaadchet tribe met us in the evening and being assured of their safety by our guide, returned to where we encamped and are remaining with us all night.

FRIDAY, 10TH

Foggy in the morning and foggy with rain all the after part of the day. Wind northerly.

Embarked at ¼ past 7 o'clock and proceeded 3 miles N. N. W., 5 N. by W., 5 N. N. W., 2 N. W., 10 N. N. W., and 11 N. W., in all 36 miles. Our course lay first round a point to one of the Scaadchet vil-

[24]On Campbell Island along Stratgea Passage.
[27]Irish name for Skaatt.

lapse,[78] then across a deep bay[79] and through a narrow winding channel[80] to another larger bay,[81] down which we proceeded to an island[82] at its entrance where we encamped at ½ past 4 o'clock. This was the only place within our reach where water could be found according to our guides. The appearance of the country is very much changed, the shores are much bolder and of rock, the islands are also rocky with apparently very little earth and clothed with trees of a stunted growth.

Last night a young man, son to the Scaadchet Chief, was engaged to accompany the party as a guide and interpreter, and principally for the purpose of introducing us to strangers whom we may pass. He accordingly embarked with us, and shortly after we were met by some people in canoes who informed him that a war party from a neighboring tribe had surprised one of the villages and slain one of his friends in the night. A kind of bowling was set up and we proceeded to the village which was on our way where a short stay was made till our guide got some things for his wife, when we continued across the bay, in the meantime the Indians had collected from the different villages and followed us in five canoes to the number of 55 men armed with bows and arrows, spears, bludgeons and a few guns. Not knowing what their intentions might be our party placed their arms beside them in readiness, however, the Indians said they were going to get news of the murder which turned out to be a false report. A present of a knife and a bowling glass was made to each of their principal chiefs with which they seemed well satisfied. Two of the chiefs, the father of the young man already mentioned, and another volunteered to accompany us and their offer was accepted and they embarked, all the others returned.

The Scaadchet are fine looking Indians. They are not so flat headed as the Chemosin. They go quite naked except a blanket about their shoulders, many use in lieu of blankets little cloaks made of feathers or hair. The bay in which they reside is a handsome place. Passed 12 houses belonging to these people on the E. side of our road, not far separated, and in the opposite side of the bay I counted at least 12 houses in a village, besides which at a great distance, the smoke of two other villages appeared.

A ridge of mountains[83] covered with snow extended from S. E. to N. W. at some distance from the Eastern shore, the intervening space seemed to be a flat country well wooded. In the after part of the day approached considerably nearer the shore and the country became much more hilly, even every island of any size rose to a little hill in its centre. The

78 at Thaadgy?
79 Skhagit Bay.
80 Skagit between Fidalgo Island and La Conner Flats.
81 Padilla Bay.
82 Sandoll or Lummi Island.
83 Cascade Range.

Indians represent this country as abounding in elk, even the islands are said to be well stocked with these animals. The main land appears well for beaver and the Indians say they are numerous.

SATURDAY, 11TH

Overcast showery weather, wind Easterly.

Proceeded on our voyage at ½ past 7 o'clock and continued to ½ past 12 where we encamped in consequence of having a very wide traverse to make which it was deemed unsafe to attempt as the weather appeared unsettled and the sea appeared to be running high in the middle of the traverse. The distance made was 15 miles N. W. by W. and 7 miles N. W. along the main shore. The wind being favorable we sailed most of the time with a fine breeze. Passed several islands[26] to the Westward but at a great distance, there was also what appeared to be a chain of hills to the Westward farther off than the islands but on account of the haziness of the weather we could not well distinguish whether they were hills or other islands. Saw two large channels, one[27] running to the S. W. and the other[28] to the West. On the East passed a small island in the morning, then two points[29] and a small bay close[30] to where we encamped which is in the entrance of another bay. The appearance of the country has again changed, the shore still continues high and steep but instead of rocks are composed of clay and wooded to the water's edge, and the woods seem not to be much chocked up with underwood.

Immediately when we put ashore Pierre Charles went to hunt and shortly returned having killed 3 elk and a deer.

SUNDAY, 12TH

Overcast stormy weather in the morning and moderate in the after part of the day, sleet and weighty rain in the night.

The weather being too rough to attempt the traverse this morning, and part of the people having to be sent for the meat which was killed yesterday, we did not decamp today.

The people who were sent for the meat arrived with it in the afternoon. The great number of tracks seen by the hunters indicated that elk are very numerous about this place.

MONDAY, 13TH

Overcast, wind N. Easterly, a little wind in the forepart of the day but nearly calm afterward.

[26]Orca, San Juan, etc., Islands.
[27]Rosario Strait.
[28]Channel de Haro.
[29]Sandy and Watchorn Points.
[30]Semiahmoo Bay.

Embarked at half past 7 o'clock and set out with the intention of crossing the traverse, but had gone but a short way when it was thought too rough to proceed, though there was not much wind. The course was, therefore changed and the boats crossed the entrance of the little bay in which we had been encamped and continued along the main shore to another bay[39] down which they proceeded to the entrance of a small river[40] up which they continued about 7 or 8 miles, in a very winding course which was in general N. Easterly. Encamped at ½ past 3 o'clock.

The point above mentioned[41] to which it was intended to cross in the morning is represented by the Indians to form the entrance of the Cowerchun River (which is supposed to be the same with Fraser's), on the S. E. side it projects far out to sea and appears like an island but seems to be joined to the mainland which is very low by a sandy ridge which probably may be covered at high water, immense flocks of plover were observed flying about the sand. The distance to this point might be about 10 miles. Sand appears at a distance beyond the point.

The reason for proceeding up the little river was the Indians representing that by making a portage there was a road this way into the Cowerchin River, but they said it was very bad and seemed most desirous to go by the point. The navigation of the little river is very bad, after getting a short distance up it was often barred up with driftwood which impeded our progress, the Indians had cut roads through it for their canoes yet they were too narrow for our boats. Farther up it is nearly closed up with willows so uncommonly thick that it was both laborious and tedious to get the boats dragged through them. It is yet some distance to the portage. The appearance of the country round the bay from which we started this morning round to the point, appears low and flat, the bay appears to be shallow. In the river nothing but thick willows are seen for some distance from the water, where the banks though low are well wooded with pine, cedar, alder and some other trees. There are the appearance of beaver being pretty numerous in this river. Where we are now encamped in a pretty little plain. Two Indian boys were found in a lodge a little above our encampment, they were treatedly kindly and allowed to depart. No information of any importance was got from them. Our Indian and they understand each other, but our interpreter so imperfectly understood the Indians who accompanied us that the information required on the most important points is very unsatisfactorily obtained.

[39] Boundary Bay.
[40] Nikomeckl River.
[41] Point Roberts.

TUESDAY, 14TH

Overcast, very weighty rain in the after part of the day.

It being found that the boats could proceed no farther up the river, carrying was commenced in the morning and the boats and baggage carried 3,970 yards which is a little more than half of the portage. This portage which is to another little river which falls into Cowecchin River, lies through a plain[12] which with the weighty rain is become so soft and miry, that in several places it resembles a swamp. The road is very miry and every hollow is a pool of water. The soil here appears to be very rich, is a black mould, the remains of a luxurious crop of fern and grass lies on the ground. The country about here seems low, the trees are of different kinds, pine, birch, poplar, alder, etc., some of the pine of a very large size. Some of the men who were hunting visited the upper part of the little river and report that they saw the appearance of plenty of beaver. Elk have been very numerous here some time ago but the hunters suppose that since this rainy season they have gone to the high ground.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH

Raining all day with the exception of some short intervals of fair weather.

The people resumed their labour at an early hour and by the evening had the boats and baggage at the end of the portage, a distance of 3,930 yards which makes the whole length of the portage 7,910 yards N. N. E. The appearance of the country the same as described yesterday.

In the evening as we got to the end of the portage a herd of elk was seen on the edge of the plain. Several of the people set after them but only one was killed which was by Mr. McKAY. There were too many hunters and though the elk were not wild they were not approached with sufficient caution, they were followed into the woods by some of the people who have not yet returned.

These Indians came to us in the afternoon. They are of the Cahouttes Nation. They differ little in appearance from the Indians who accompany us, their blankets are of their own manufacture and made of hair or coarse wool on which they wear a kind of short cloak made of the bark of the cedar tree, it has a hole in the middle through which the head passes, it extends to below the shoulders and breast and has an opening left on each side to leave the arms unconfined. The only arms observed with these were bows and arrows. Their language differs from that of our Indians but they understand each other. The only information obtained from them was that their tribe was in detached parties in their winter quarters in the little river, that the large river was not far off.

[12]Lansiey Prairie.

THURSDAY, 16TH

Rain in the night and except some short intervals, raining all day. Calm.

We were detained waiting for A. Aubuta, Thos. Taranton and Louis who went after the elk yesterday and did not return till late this morning, till 11 o'clock when we embarked and proceded down the little river[43] from the portage through a very winding course, generally North, for a distance of about 8 miles to its discharge into the Coweechin[44] River, up which we proceeded about 2 miles E. and encamped at 2 o'clock.

The navigation of the little river is pretty good in some places it is rather shallow, the tide runs a little way up it. The country through which it runs is flat and clayey. In some parts near the portage the woods approach to the water's edge, but farther down the woods are at some distance and the river runs through a fine meadow which is covered with the withered remains of a fine crop of hay. The marshes of a great many beaver and numerous tracks of elk some quite fresh are to be seen all the way along the river.

We entered the Coweechin River at 1 o'clock. At this place[45] it is a fine looking river at least as wide as the Columbia at Oak Point, 1,000 yards wide. Where we come into it is opposite to an island[46] we are uncertain which what distance it may be to its entrance. The banks of the N. shore are low and those on the South shore are pretty high, both well wooded to the water's edge. The trees are pine, cedar, alder, birch and some others. Some high hills appear to the Eastward at no great distance, topped with snow.

From the size and appearance of the river there is no doubt in our minds that it is Fraser's.

The men who went after elk yesterday evening killed 2 but brought very little of the meat home and it was thought that too much time would be lost by sending for it.

FRIDAY, 17TH

Overcast, wind Northerly, sharp, cold weather.

Embarked at 8 o'clock and proceeded up the river 4 miles E. N. E. to an island[47] which divides it into two channels, then up the N. channel 1 mile E. N. E. and 1 mile E. to the head of the island, 4 miles E. S. E. here the river is again divided into 2 channels by an island[48] 1 mile E.

[43]Salmon River.
[44]Cowichan River.
[45]Future site of Fort Langley.
[46]McMillan Island.
[47]Crescent Island.

through a channel between two small islands[49] situated in the N. channel, 1½ miles E. N. E. and 1½ E. to the head of the island, then 3 miles N. N. E. and 1 mile E. to the entrance of a small river[50] North where we encamped. The river still keeps its breadth, the shores in the forepart of the day had a moderate ascent and thickly wooded to the water's edge, farther on the banks were lower and wooded in some places principally with poplar, behind these the land rises in hills which appear to be chiefly clothed with pine and cedar. The banks were in many places composed with clay that has been deposited by the water. A high mountain[51] covered with snow appeared to the S. W. in the morning and shortly after a ridge also topped with snow was extending from N. W. to N. E. Two peaks[52] in this ridge are very high, as we are approaching these mountains the country is getting hilly, some of the hills are high and close to the shore.

In the forepart of the day we saw an Indian lodge in a little bay on the N. side of the river. Our Indians were sent ahead to appraise the inhabitants of our approach and good intentions which prevented them from being alarmed. This was a miserable habitation formed of plank, both sides and roof, the usual appendages of Indian houses filth and nastiness were here in abundance, and the smell of the remains of decayed salmon was very offensive. In number 22, 7 men, 7 women and 8 children. Nevertheless, the inhabitants appeared healthy and seemed to have plenty of dried salmon provided. Our Indians were understood by these people, yet we got very little information from them. We learned that they got some fine European articles in traffic from tribes above whom obtained them from White people. The Indians got a few presents when we left them at 2 and 2 of them accompanied us in a canoe.

A village is a short way up the river where we are encamped. An Indian went to it where (one) of them remained all night, the other returned when it was dark with 3 of the Indians who stayed a short time and went off with the intention, as we understood, of paying a formal visit tomorrow.

At the house below there was an instrument resembling in shape a salmon spear, but what purpose it is used for, its size leaves me at a loss to determine, it was 2 poles about 5 inches in circumference fitted in such a manner that they were intended to be spliced together, one of the was 42 feet long and the other 29, in all about 71 feet, it was of cedar neatly dressed, a fork made of 2 pieces of wood different from the pole and not

49 Mateoul Indian Reserve Islands.
50 Now Hatki Slough, two miles above Mission Station.
51 Mt. Baker.
52 Ocoam Peaks.

barked nor made very sharp was fixed to the end of the pole, no cordage any other tackling was about it.

SATURDAY, 18TH

Rained without intermission all night and all day, very little wind from the N. E.

About 9 o'clock 47 men 3 women and 1 boy of the Cahantitt Indians (which is the name of the tribe that inhabit the village above where we were encamped) visited us in a friendly manner. Some presents were given them consisting of a fish hook to each of the common men and a looking glass and a little vermillion to each of 3 or 4 chiefs. A few beaver skins were also purchased from one of these chiefs for a couple of axes and a few beads. These Indians, though of the same tribe, are much more intelligent than those we saw yesterday.

A new blanket, two guns, a pair of trousers and a few other European articles, some of them very old and worn out, were in the possession of these people. These articles we understood were received in battle from tribes farther up the river and that they had passed from white people through several tribes before that. A good deal of information was received from these people respecting the river. A little boy presented to the chief to forward to Thompson's River, he mentioned not fewer than 15 tribes, 8 on the south and 7 on the North side of the river, through whose hands it must pass before it reached the Forks. He named the Suswhaps and some other tribes whose names we know.

The chief of this tribe is a fine tall good looking man, but his people are of low stature. The men have generally bieeds, all their heads are a little flatted. Their clothes consisted of blankets of their own manufacture, some white and some grey or of black with variegated beads of different colours mostly red and white. They wore mats to keep off the rain and conical hats.

On account of our short stay we could observe nothing respecting their manners or mode of living of these people. They offered some roasted sturgeon for sale which shows that those fish were in the river, but of their mode of taking them we know nothing. Our Indian guide understood them and was understood also. The language they speak has some little resemblance to the Okanagan.

On the arrival of the Indians at our camp this morning we learned that the Scaadchet chief who went to visit them yesterday had deserted in the night.

Mr. McMillan having determined to retire deeming it unnecessary to proceed farther up the river, we embarked past noon and retired to the camp which we left yesterday.

SUNDAY, 19TH

Cloudy fair weather, wind S. E. blowing fresh in the evening. Poured down rain all night.

Embarked at 7 o'clock and proceeded town the river about 27 miles, viz., W. 4 miles down the N. channel formed by the island opposite where we entered the river on the 16th. Another small island is at the lower end of this one, then W. N. W. 2 miles, S. W. by W. 2 miles, W. by N. 2 miles, along the N. side of an island[11] 4 miles W. by S. At the lower end of this course there is a bay with an island[12] in its entrance. On the N. side of the river W. S. W. 3 miles, a small island is in the N. side of the river just below the bay. S. by W. 3 miles[13] about the middle of this course there is a bay and an island on the W. side of the river and immediately below the river is divided into two channels by an island,[14] proceeded down the E. one. 1 mile S. W. by S. and 4 miles W. S. W. During the day the river maintained its widenes till towards evening when its breadth considerably increased. Some places the banks are elevated at the waiter's edge but in general they are low and the land rising nito hills a short distance from the shore, towards evening the shores on both side of the river became low and swampy. The trees observed on the shores are pine, cedar, plane, alder and some others, the alder principally occupies the low ground. Where we are now encamped[15] it not far from the entrance of the river, the country is so very swampy and liable to be overflowed with the tide that we had to turn back some distance to our present situation which, though the site of an old village, is a quagmire.

Four canoes containing 17 Indians of the Cahoitit tribe met us, among them was the principal cheif of the tribe and a second cheif named . We put ashore and had some conversation with them by the help of our interpreten, they were informed of the motive of our visit and seemed highly pleased. A chief's clothing was presented to the old man and a com. coat to the young one, besides a few other trifling articles. Some beaver skins were also traded from them. These people are of low stature their heads are a little flattened and the old men generally have beards. The old chief seems to be marked with the small pox, and is a smart looking little man though pretty old. The young one is much stouter and a good looking man. This village was at some distance up a river which falls into the bay.

11Harrston Island.
12Mouth of Pitt River and Douglas Island.
13Now passing in front of New Westminster.
14Annacis Island.
15Probably opposite Tilbury Island.

We saw another canoe with three Indians in it but they would not approach us.

A pair of old blankets and an old knife were the only European articles observed among these people, they seemed to have no arms, their clothing was blankets of their own manufacture.

Though we saw but very few Indians yet they must be very numerous about this river at particular seasons of the year. We passed the site of several old villages, the one where we are now encamped extends at least ¾ of a mile along the shore, while passing it I counted 54 houses but on coming near they are found to be so situated that not more than the ½ of them were counted.

MONDAY, 20TH

Overcast mild weather with fog and slight showers of rain forenoon, cleared up afterwards and became a fine sunshiny day. Light wind from the E. and N. E.

Embarked at ½ before 7 o'clock and continued our course down the river S. by W. 6 miles and W. by S. 5 miles through one of the principal channels which is at least yards wide to its discharge into the sea. There were two other channels on the south side and a large one supposed to be on the N. side. The channel through which we came was sounded in several places towards its dicharge and found to be from 7 to 3½ fathoms about high water. The land about the entrance of the river is very low and swampy with some few scattered pines of a small size and bushes. A ridge of pretty high land appears at some distance on the N. side of the river, that on the N. E. side is a low narrow strip which divides the river from the sea. The sea on each side of the entrance of this River appears to be shallow.

From the entrance of the river the boats proceeded along the outside of the low strip of land S. E. by S. 2 miles, S. E. by E. 5 miles to near a point of high land along which we continued 4 miles S. S. E., 1 S. S. E., 3 E. N. E. and 1 N. E. to its outward extremity, then across the open sea to the E. side of a bay on the northern shore E. by N. 6 miles, E. S. E. 4 and E. 4. The point above mentioned is Vancouver's Pt. Roberts, part of the shore along which we passed is low clothed with grass and bushes and has a pleasing appearance. Towards the outer end the shore is bold and composed of clay with some rocks along the water's edge, at the very lower end is a low point of considerably extent entirely covered with an old Indian village. Where we are now encamped is the Birch Bay of Vancouver.

Vancouver's Island and the islands in the E. channel between it and the main shore appeared quite plain and in many places rises into high hills. Also along the main shore to the Northward, the land could be seen distinctly a strip of low flat ground extends some distance from the shore and is surrounded by a ridge of high mountains covered with snow, extending as far as the eye can reach along the coast both to the S. E. and to the N. W. Some of the peaks are very high, some pretty high hills are also to be seen which are green and have no snow on them.

Saw a canoe with six Indians near the entrance of the river, on being called to by our Indian they approached to within a short distance of the boats but could not be prevailed upon to come nearer. On some further conversation with our Indian they pulled ashore to bring their chief who had landed, but the boats pushed on and did not wait for them. These people are of the Cowwechin tribe and had just crossed from Vancouver's Island where they now live. They did not approach near enough for us to distinguish anything of their dress or appearance, they were armed with long spears.

On the low land at the entrance of the River grese, particularly white ones, were very numerous and were by no means shy, they allowed themselves to be approached easily. Mr. McKay killed 3 of them.

TUESDAY, 21ST

Clear stormy weather in the night with a slight frost. Cloudy sunshining weather during the day. Light wind from the N. W.

Embarked at 6 o'clock and encamped at 2. Our course was back along the same track through which we passed on the 10th and 11th inst., viz. 12 miles S. E. by E., 5 miles S. E. by E., 9 miles S. E. by S., 5 miles S. E., and 3 miles S. E. to the entrance [37] of the narrow channel. The wind was favourable and the sails were up part of the day, but it was so light that they were of little service.

WEDNESDAY, 22ND

Showery weather, wind S. Easterly.

Embarked at 4 o'clock and after getting out of the little channel which was S. E. 6 or 7 miles, proceeded E. S. E. across a bay about 10 miles to the entrance of a narrow shallow channel[38] through which we proceeded 2 miles S. S. E. into a fine bay[39] up which we continued S. S. E. 12 miles to the head of an island on the right hand, it was down

[37]Swiftsnish Slough at La Conner.
[38]Davis Slough at Blakwood.
[39]Port Susan.

the E. side of this island[a] we passed on the 9th inst. From this island our course was S. by E. The entrance of bay to the Westward and the channel to Scaadchet Bay to the Westward, then S. by E., 10 miles to a point in the main shore[b] on Eastern side of channel opposite a wide channel[c] that falls in from the Westward.

In the morning passed a lodge of Scaadchet Indians, here I counted about the house and in the door 17 persons. From these people we learned that the chiefs who deserted from us on the inst. have not yet arrived. Afterwards we passed a village of the Sannhamis tribe of 3 houses on island. A canoe with 4 men came off to us. They were presented with 3 brass rings each and a knife and pin of tobacco sent to one of their chief men.

The road we have pursued the after part of the day is through the same track we passed on the inst.

Where we are now encamped is at a little brook and though it is scarcely large enough to get a kettle of water drawn from it, yet there are the marks of beaver in it, their cuttings are carried down by the current.

THURSDAY, 23RD

Stormy with weighty showers of rain in the night. Stormy with almost continual heavy rain all day. Wind S. E.

It being too stormy in the morning, we did not embark till 11 o'clock when it became a little moderate. Our course was along the Eastern shore S. by E. 12 to 15 miles to 2 o'clock when we put ashore[d] it being too rough to proceed.

Two canoes of the Soquamis tribe which were proceeding to the Northward along the opposite shore crossed over to us. One of them accompanied us a short way but the others could not get across in time. They soon both pursued their journey under sail. These crafts seem adapted to stand more sea than our boats.

FRIDAY, 24TH

Stormy and weighty rain in the night and cold cloudy fair weather afterpart of the day.

Embarked a little after 4 o'clock in the morning and encamped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at Sinoughtons, our guides' village which is called Chilacoom.[e] It was stormy in the morning but pretty moderate afterwards. Our course all day was about S. by E. 44 miles, we are now resting in the same track we pursued on our way going.

a=Whidbe Island.
b=Meadow Point, north of Pt. Lawton.
c=Port Madison.
d=Point Pully, Tree Point.
e=Steilacoom again and source for the name.

SATURDAY, 25TH

Showery in the night and weighty rain the greater part of the day. Wind S. E.

Embarked at 4 o'clock and reached the portage at 10 where the people immediately commenced carrying and had the boats and baggage more than half across the portage at night. On account of the heavy rain the road is much more wet and miry than we passed last, yet we got on more expeditiously as the road is cleared.

One of our boats was left at Sinoughtons village and the crew and baggage embarked in the other two.

Last night Sinoughton was paid for his services and seemed well satisfied.

SUNDAY, 26TH

Wind South Easterly. Very weighty rain in the night and raining the most of the day.

At daylight the business of carrying was resumed and by 11 o'clock we were embarked on the Scaadchet Lake[65] and pursued back the same road which we went on the to 4 o'clock where we encamped on a plain on the side of the river opposite the Halloweena village.

Passed two Indian houses on the S. E. side of the Scaadchet Lake of the Halloweena Nation.

MONDAY, 27TH

Sharp frost in the night. Fair weather with fog. Wind Southerly.

Our party divided.[66] Mr. McMillan, I. Michel, the Interpreter and 6 men to proceed across land to the Cowlitch River and thence to the Fort by water. Messrs. McKay, Annamour and the rest of the people to go with the boats the same way we came. A man went ahead yesterday to procure horses from the Indians. It was noon today when he returned with the information that they were to be had. The boats then proceeded on their route down the River and we crossed a fine plain[67] about 6 miles to the Halloweena Village, but the Indians not being able to get the horses collected, we had to encamp close by for the night.

The plain on which this village is situated has a very pleasing appearance, it is of considerable extent bounded on every side by woods, principally pine, with here and there oak trees finely scattered over the plain. The soil is composed of gravel mixed with a small quantity of rich

[65]Impossible to reconcile this designation. It is Black Lake on present day maps.

[66]Near Gate station on Northern Pacific Railroad.

[67]Probably Grand Mound Prairie.

black mould. The surface is covered with a scanty crop of short grass and fern.

TUESDAY, 28TH

Sharp frost in the night and foggy during the day.

Having procured the horses and got everything ready, started on our journey at 8 o'clock and encamped at 4 in the evening. The people found such difficulty in dividing up the loaded horses that it was quite dark before some of them reached the camp, the men got so tired with one of the horses that they left him and carried his load themselves.

Our course was nearly S. E. about 25 miles. The road lay through plain and points of woods alternately. In the morning the road through the plains was very good but in the woods it was very bad and ran over two pretty high hills, it is very wet and miry and so slippery in places that the horses can scarcely keep their feet, and though it is a common Indian road they are so lazy that they will not remove the branches and fallen trees out of the way, which is often nearly obstructed by them, and the miserable horses with difficulty climb over the trees. The road was crossed by two pretty large rivers and several small streams some of which are now pretty much being swelled with the heavy rain, all these streams run to the S. W. As we advance the plains are of a small size, they are wetter than the large ones and the soil seemes better having a greater proposition of black earth mixed with the gravel, the crop of grass and fern seems to have been more luxurious. In the woods the trees are pine of different kinds, some of a large size, cedar, plane, alder and some others, besides several bushes of willows and a kind of crab tree. The soil in the woods seems to be richer than that in the plains.

Passed an Indian house of the Halloweena Nation.

WEDNESDAY, 29TH

Frost in the night. Cloudy fair weather during the day.

Proceeded on our journey at 7 o'clock and by 11 arrived at the Cowlitch River, it was 12 before all the people arrived. The course was still about S. E. 10 or 12 miles and lay through alternate plains and woods the same as yesterday.[177] Some small streams crossed the road, the Nisqually and Cowlitch mountains appeared in the morning, the former to the N. E. and the latter to the E.

A canoe was hired from the Indians to carry us to the Fort, but when we had embarked it was found too small and another had to be hired and at ½ past 12 we pushed off and fell down the river and reached

[177]The trail this and the preceding day follows closely the present line of Northern Pacific Railroad through Centralia, Chehalis and to point on Cowlitz River near Toledo, where later the Cowlitz Farm of H. B. Co. was located.

the Columbia near 7 o'clock. The Cowlitch is in general from 40 to 50 yds. wide, the current very strong above but slack as it discharges into the Columbia. The banks are in some places bold and high at other places not so elevated, the high bank is in general clothed with pine of different kinds and cedar, and the lower ones with alder, ash and other deciduous trees. The general course of the River, which is very winding, appears to be about S. W. A large branch falls in from the Southward, beside several small streams from both sides. The upper part of the river is very populous, I counted 30 houses to the Forks, all built of planks.

THURSDAY, 30TH

Frost in the night. Blowing fresh the forepart of the day with weighty rain in the afternoons.

Put ashore to sup at 8 o'clock last night and after supping embarked and continued under way all night and arrived at the Fort at 10 o'clock in the morning. The wind being pretty fresh in the night caused a swell that was just enough for our canoes to pass through with safety, the swell increasing about Teague Point we took in a good deal of water before we got ashore at the portage, but the wind being then off the land we got safely to the Fort. The little canoe had to put ashore in the night and did not arrive till the afternoon.

DOCUMENTS

[Though the editor now has a wealth of materials for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly, he always welcomes suggestions or copies of unprinted manuscript documents.]

The original journal of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie was deposited by the family in the Provincial Library of British Columbia at Victoria. There several copies were made, from one of which the following portion of the journal is printed. A visit was made to the above named library to check carefully the copy with the original, but it was found that Dr. Tolmie's son had withdrawn the original for his own studies. Comparison was then made with copies held by Clarence B. Bagley of Seattle and by George H. Himes of the Oregon Historical Society. It was then ascertained that the original copy had been blurred in spots by moisture. It is believed that the following record is as accurate as is possible to obtain. —[Editor.]

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE—1833

Tuesday, April 30. Off Cape Disappointment, (no sight) at noon 8 air 49, 29, 97 raining W. S. W. 12—49—29—94 rainy 63—14—49 S. E. by E. A few moments after, the summits of the hills appeared dimly seen, distant about 40 miles. At 9 it became clearer, the land was distinctly seen on either side, presenting a series of low undulating hills alternating with flats, and the whole supported a luxuriant growth of tall trees.

It seemed to us as if we were entering a firth or estuary. Large flocks of wild ducks closely ssminated flying overhead and smaller ones skimming the surface of the foaming billows. A prodigious number of other birds almost darkening the air ahead actively engaged in the pursuit of prey, large masses of seaweed abundantly scattered about, perhaps affording them a supply of crustaceous and molluscous meals. Our position being uncertain, lay to and dropped the deep sea lead which reached a sandy bottom at 25 fathoms. The mate then declared his opinion that we were to northward of the Cape, and the Captain acquiescing wore the ship and steered S. E. at 10. . . .

Came on deck at 1. Cape Disappointment had just been recognized a quarter of an hour before bearing North by East and the C. tracked and steered for it having been mistaken in the supposition that we were to the northward of it. Examined the chart executed by the late Captain Simpson of the entrance to the Columbia River, and at 1½ went up to the forecastle yard where the mate pointed out the different localities, and

land was perceptible from N. to S. E. and Cape Disappointment for which we steered bere N. W. about 12 miles distant. It is a bluff, wooded promontory, and the contiguous land of same character (that of a rolling country) stretches away to N. or N. by W. beyond which the sea again appears and the coast receding from Baker Bay to the eastward of the Cape, the land from N. to N. N. E. has an insulated appearance, which is heightened by your perceiving a higher range of hills immediately behind the Cape continues with those extending toward S. E. Chenooke Point, bearing about N. E. by E. was distinguished by a triangularly yellow patch on an adjoining hill which the gloomy aspect of the surrounding forest made conspicuous. Here the line of coast was again broken and Point Adam was seen bearing about E. bov, flat, and clad with trees: becoming gradualy elevated until it terminated in a line of wooded hills which the eye could follow as far as the S. E. point. The summits of the hills did not jut out into sharp conical peaks as at Oahu, but were smooth and rounded. From the top sailyard I could see the N. and S. breakers rising impetuously over the bar, and when very near within about three miles we could perceive them from the deck. At 2 the C. thought it prudent to stand out to sea, and it was fortunate, as the atmosphere soon after became more dense, and the breeze stronger, and the pelican run would have been made under very unfavorable circumstances.

In entering, the chief danger consisted in passing between the Cape and the South Spit, a narrow point which runs off from the Middle Grounds, which name was applied to that part of the bar above water. The channel is narrow and the depth of water only four fathoms. In passing between Middle Ground and Chenooke Point you are between Scylla and Charybdis, having on the left Chenooke sheal, and on the right the N. Spit to alarm you.

Wednesday, May 1st

Fort George, 6 p. m.

Up at 7, and going on deck found that the Gannymede was making for the Cape with a favorable breeze from S. or S. E. The morning was beautiful, and ahead could be seen the north breakers sparkling in the sunshine and overspread with a thin vapor. We were about the same distance from the Cape as when we stood out yesterday, and distinctly viewed the hills in the interval on which the hazy mists of night were still lingering, especially in the clefts or ravines. The C. once or twice hesitated from the furious breaking of the sea over the bar, but the smooth surface presented by the channel at other times reinspired him with courage, and we stood in and passed within 150 yards of the Cape at 8½, and at 9 were sailing across Baker's Bay in safety. In entering, could see land to a considerable distance northward of the Cape Peninsula. It was flat and wooded. The Cape is a steep, precipitous crag about 200 feet high, its sides grassy and shrubby and summit crested with pines. The coast for nearly a mile to the N. is of a similar description, hills pinecland on [to?] summits, with their sides lodging out into grassy knolls or terraces, and intersected with small ravines which were adorned with richer verdure.

In Baker's Bay the water was as smooth as glass bordered by a sandy

beach, and all around strewed with driftwood on its margin, the rising ground covered with pine. This spot appeared to me singularly beautiful, and from it I could view the dangerous breakers we had just passed with great complacency and thankfulness to Providence. . . .

At 10 boarded by a party of Chenooks off Point Ellice, one of whom, named George, offered himself as pilot. They were treated with biscuit and molasses and a glass of rum. At 11 Mr. Fisk, the person in charge of Fort George, arrived bringing the intelligence that Mr. Finlayson had set out in the Lama on the 12th ulto. to form a new settlement in the Russian territory to northward of Naase, that Dr. McLaughlin was at Ft. Vancouver with but very few assistants, that Mr. Douglas had accompanied the hunting party to New Caledonia, and is expected to return with them in June. Fort George was from Point Ellice where the Gananoque lay at anchor did not much resemble its namesake in Scotland,—a few cottages perched on a green knoll close to beach with a small footpath space behind cleared, except the stumps, and all around it a trackless forest. Set out in Fisk's canoe for Fort George, distant six miles. Rather rough passage, got wetted, arrived at the Fort about 5, and occupied in drying clothes. . . .

The Fort is built on a rising ground at the head of a small creek or bay along the margin of which there are about half a dozen miserable looking wooden huts inhabited by Indians. About a gunshot from this are about the same number of comfortable looking cottages which constitute Fort George. Along the eminence which were frisking about, browsing on rich but short clover grass. This steep space was laid out in cultivable lands. This is the original site of the Fort. Were shown a rattle and beaver skin by Fisk. There is no arable land, but they have got a stock of goats and poultry. . . . At 7 our canoe was ready and we embarked. It was manned by five Indians, a Kanaka, and the Orkneyman. . . .

Thursday, May 2nd

12 p. m. Slept soundly and started out of a pleasant dream at 4½ this morning by John's shouting to rouse the Indians. Morning fine. On the densely wooded banks of opposite side, the mists are still hanging in graceful wreaths and heavy strata in the mountain valleys in the background. 8½. Saw several seals in fort setting out. Their bald heads bobbing up and down resembled small buoys, a heavy shower lasting for an hour came on at 6, but my extra cloak was armour of proof and I thank my stars that I had got a cloak instead of a heavy gray coat, for G. was put to many shifts to keep himself comfortable with a great coat cloak of gray plaid. The ample dimensions of my cloak enveloped me completely, and there being a layer of oilcloth between the [outer?] and inside lining, it was quite impervious to rain. The scenery along the banks has been of a monotonous character, a dense unbroken forest of pines covers them and the surrounding hills, the only interruption to this is where low sandy points project, these clothed with stunted willows and bushes, affording by their verdure a pleasant relief to the eye, tired with the sombre gloominess of the wilderness in the background. Where we slepted, viz. Tongue

Point, 6 miles above Fort George, the river was perhaps 5 miles broad, now it is nearly 3. Saw several low shoals or sand banks, few of them above high water mark, and in passing between them grounded once or twice. Large flocks of geese and ducks numerous, but never within shot. At an eagle perched on a decayed stump 30 yards off, G. fired and missed. The bird of Jove sprang up fluttering as if shaking himself, and then soared away majestically soon after. Four geese seen at once hovering over the lofty pines. 10 a. m. Arrived at Ashtanai village where it was proposed to breakfast. 4 huts in a line and two others detached placed at the base of a pinacled ridge constituted the hamlet. Some Indians were bewing wood, others at work in canoes, but the greatest number [*squatted*] in front of the dwellings. They had 6 fine salmon in a canoe, but superstitiously refused to sell any because they were the first caught tha season, and it is their firm belief that if the first caught salmon are not roasted in a particular manner, the fish will desert the river. Tantalizing as it was had to proceed without any and view 95½ have held our course between some beautiful islets where the channel at times is less than 20 yards in width and obstructed by enormous trunks which in some cases nearly form a natural bridge and shoot up most sapplings all along their whole length, with great regularity, passed a canoe fastened to the trunk of a tree on the bank about five yards from margin, containing the ashes of a chenooke. The Indians call these sepulchres Nemmahth either, "the Place of the Dead." Breakfasted at a sunny little cove under right bank and got away about twelve. Wrote part of yesterday's journal and afterwards chatted with John about Ft. V. 9 p. m. Have since 1 been standing before a steady breeze from northwest, having a sort of toy sail set in fore part of canoe. Banks becoming more elevated, still invested with dark pines,—that on our right, however, low and flat for some distance up and enlivened by a bright green foliage of willow and aspens. It terminates about two miles ahead in a wooded knoll termed Oak Point which closes the prospect of the river and makes it appear very narrow. 6½ having coasted along, we are now at Oak Point Village, consisting of three groups of huts, three in each, possessed by Yauher, the chief, a droll-looking character with a square pit in the extremity of his nose capable of containing a small pea and his front of upper lip also lashed down to situate a leg of venison in exchange for a small quantity of powder and shot. Channel of stream narrow, less than a quarter of a mile. Left bank steep and scraggy. Began to read Cooper's Table Talk. Metricle errors now and in almost every line, but the ideas are fine and seriously expressed. 9½ p. m. Have been paddling along in the merry moonlight and since it became too dark for reading have been resuing the echoes with Auld Lang Syne, &c. and indulging in corresponding train of ideas "On the land of Brown Heath and Shaggy Wood," "Land of the Mountain and the flood." Evening surpassingly beautiful. The blue concave is cloudless and lit up with the starry hosts. Venus has just sunk behind the western bank. Urna Major is nearly on the meridian and the "glorious car of the night" is riding in full-orbed majesty about a demiquadrant above horizon and sheds her mellow beams on the mighty stream here shut in by its banks so as to appear like a broad unruffled lake. 10½. Now encamping on a small wooded

islet; a blazing wood fire disseminates light all around and the pots are boiling furiously. The Indians have just upset their's and are philosophically laughing at their mishap, and the wolves on opposite bank are howling in concourse.

FRIDAY, MAY 3RD

Supped heartily last night on boiled venison; poor stuff. Wrote journal while fire emitted light sufficient and turned in at $1\frac{1}{2}$, i. e. into tartan cloak; as it did not threaten rain, had no canopy of mats formed. Slept soundly till 5. Performed ablutions and started as half an hour. A dense fog stepped on the river but the blue sky overhead gave promise of a fine day and the sun appearing over opposite bank was slowly dispelling the mist. $8\frac{1}{2}$. Have been coasting left bank and now arrived at Tawallish, a small lodge, near to which Kesino, the highest chief on river and his party are camped. The men are mostly clothed with blue capots, or great coats with a hood and are armed with knives, and bows and arrows and muskets are ranged around a tree in military regularity. In front of hamlet, man, squaws and children are squatted. Kesino stands proceeding to the fort today. The mouth of Tawallish river, broad and open, appears a little above huts. Canoes going to Fraser's river ascend it. $9\frac{1}{2}$. Have caught a snake 3 feet 6 inches long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest circumference. $10\frac{1}{2}$. Have come along right bank rugged and jutting out into bluffs adorned with saxifragas and sedums in flower. Overtaken and passed by two canoes from Tawallish, the inhabitants of all the inmates are fattened and their faces bedaubbed with a pigment of an ugly brownish red color. On a high bluff and also on a small rocky islet the habitations of the dead are very numerous. The chenooks seem to choose [places?] most difficult of access to deposit the remains of their defunct friends. The islet is called Coffin Islc. $11\frac{1}{2}$. Have stopped in a pretty little creek to breakfast. Temperature of air 58 degrees. Kiesno has arrived in his canoe and received from [us] a small donation of cheshire cheese. $12\frac{1}{2}$. Have breakfasted on the remainder of venison and picked the bones clean. All our stores except the salmon and a few potatoes are expended. Again afloat and paddling with renewed vigour. For several miles the edge of river is bordered with willows, aspens, birch, etc. The scenery assumes a softer character. Some very picturesque little bays and creeks reach the arms of sylan beauty, but the wild and savage pine exclusively occupies the ground becoming elevated. 3 p. m. Have been coasting along Deer Island since $1\frac{1}{2}$ and its termination is fully a mile and a half ahead. Slender elegant-looking trees ornament its surface which is gradually elevated 20 or 30 feet above water. There are two parties of Indians encamped there fishing sturgeon. Saw one moored to a canoe at least 15 feet long. They had a long line set in the river floated by logs of wood at each [end] of line. They would not sell any sturgeon. 4 p. m. Cloudy, rainy appearance. Feed twice at an eagle but missed. Have just come in sight of a lofty mountain covered with eternal snow. It bears E., by S. and our course is about S. There is an extensive plain on easterly shore on which patches of oak are met with. $5\frac{1}{2}$. Have been paddling for an hour reading Cowper's "Progress of Error." With the arrows of pol-

ished but cutting satire he attacks the modish follies of the day and rises to higher themes toward conclusion, addressing Lord Chesterfield, or rather his shade, under the name of Petronius, he condemns his epistles with just severity. Now at the mouth of the river which flows into Coulmbia in a S. W. by S. direction, the chief, Kenno, lives on its banks and I now see his canoe a good way up, paddling homeward. McKay, a clerk retired from company service has settled 6 miles up. River nearly a quarter of a mile broad at mouth. Hills on left bank becoming higher and in the distance eastward a sugar loaf mountain seen last night to great advantage now rises in immaculate whiteness and buries its [acutely?] pointed summit in the cloud. Several flocks of geese seen flying to the north. A thin stratum of gray clouds veils the heavens. The water is smooth as a mirror and with equal fidelity reflects its leafy banks. 7¾. Now steering S. E. and for upwards of an hour have been assisted by gentle breeze. The eminence of background nearly excluded from view on right side by two parallel rows of dense lofty trees, which extend along for a considerable distance. Posterior now much taller than anterior. Shades of evening are now closing over us. 9 p. m. Have distributed brandy among the Indians and are now going to court "Nature's sweet restorer" in the bottom of canoe.

SATURDAY, MAY 4TH

Fort Vancouver. Slept tolerably till 3 when reached our destined port after nearly an eight months' pilgrimage. Knocked at the gate which, after some delay, was opened by the gardener, who I at once discovered to be a Celt. Our approach being announced to Governor McLoughlin, he appeared in shirt and trousers on the staircase of the common hall and welcomed us with a cordial shake of the hand. Sat down in dining hall and while refreshments were being prepared, communicated the political intelligence of Europe to Mr. McL. who is an able politician. Messrs. Cowie and Allan, gentlemen stationed at the Fort, and Captain Duncan, commanding the schooner Vancouver, now appeared and a lively conversation was kept up till about 6 when we betook ourselves to eating with right good will, having fasted since yesterday at 11. Our fare was excellent, consisting of superb salmon, fresh butter and bread, tea, with [rich?] milk and mealy potatoes. Having done ample justice to the good things, chatted with the doctor, as he is called, till about 7, then visited garden. Young apples are in rich blossom and extensive beds sowed with culinary vegetables are layed out in nice order, and under a long range of frames melons are sown. Afterwards visited patients, which are pretty numerous, and have been divided between us. Sat down to breakfast at 8 and ate half a boiled salmon. After breakfast engaged in putting apothecary's Hall in some degree of order, visited and prescribed for my patients, and thus occupied till 12 when dinner was announced. After dinner wrote journal till nearly 4 when visited a woman with subacute [... pleuresis?] In the evening putting apoth. hall, which is to be our temporary domicile, to rights, and am now, 10½, going to turn in. From what I have seen of Gov. like him and think my first propossessions will be confirmed by a longer acquaintance.

SUNDAY, MAY 5TH

Up at 6½ having slept soundly. Having conversed frankly with G. last night, proposed to him that we should reside permanently together as the present domicile as we should not then in all likelihood have intruders when arrivals of brigades occur. G. stated his wish that we should be separated, and from that we talked on our former differences and finally became reconciled, which am glad of, as it will add materially to our mutual comfort and happiness. Skinned snake caught on Friday. Read Bogatsky before breakfast. Afterwards visited patients and attended Episcopalian morning service read by Gov. in dining hall. The square was now occupied with upwards of 100 horses and Indians who are busy herself tendes a large cavalcade of Canadians and boys set out for Vancouver Plain by a road leading through a pine wood, the navigation of which was difficult. After half an hour's dangerous scrambling through brush and brake and stumps entered plain which extends for about 15 miles down river and is generally a mile in breadth. Its surface is diversified with clumps of trees and lakes of water, and profusely bedecked with beautiful flowers, amongst which I noticed particularly a large species of lupin, a blue orchidous looking plant called kames and the root of which is baked under ground and eaten by the Indians. A great variety of others seen did not attract so much attention. Rich and luxuriant grass afforded abundant pasturage to three or four hundred cattle which in different herds were met with as we cantered along. At 1 p. m. reached a lake three or four miles in circumference, bordered by trees in full foliage. On its shares flocks of wild ducks feeding and swallows in thousands skimming its surface. Passed several smaller lakes in returning and met cavalcade of Canadians cantering along and [thence followed by?] The scene was now very animating. There were the Canadians, mostly dressed in blue capots, large ghazel hats with a red military belt, and having their coal black hair dangling in profusion about their shoulders—wild, picturesque looking figures and their horses rougher and more shaggy than themselves. All around were herds of beautiful cattle, creeping on the rich herbage or listlessly loitering under trees, horses, goats, etc., seen in every direction attending to the cravings of nature. On the banks wild ducks abundant, and now and then the solitary heron could be seen standing motionless in shallow water watching the motions of the [devoted?] minnows. Wood pidgeons started from a clump of trees in one large cover. In retraversing the pine wood, the Gov. pointed out to me a tall slender tree having a profusion of large syngenesius flowers called here devil's wood. Having been informed that the root was employed in the W. S. [or U. S.?] for the cure of intermittents, Mr. McL. used it here last season in doses of . . . . . dried root in powder and [had] success in subduing disease without cinchona too. Sugar maple also grows in this wood. Got home and dined about 2½. Afterwards looked over introduction to 1st No. of the Canton Miscellany begun in 1831. It is well written on the whole, though diffused and prosy. Rode out with Gov. and Cowie to see the farm which extends along the banks of river to east of Fort. There are several large fields of wheat and pease, and one of barley, with extensive meadows. Heard a horn blowing and approaching found a party of from 30 to 40 Indians, men, women, and

children, performing their devotions. They formed a circle two deep and went round and round, moving their hands as is done in [calling?], exerting themselves violently and simultaneously repeating a monotonous chant loudly. Two men were within the circle and kept moving rapidly from side to side making the same motion of arms, and were, I am told, the directors or managers of the ceremony. Having continued this exercise for several minutes after we beheld them, becoming more and more vehemently excited, they suddenly dropped on their knees and uttered a short prayer, and having rested a short time resumed the circular motion. During the ceremony so intent were they that not an eye was once turned toward us although we stood within a few yards in an encampment close by. Several persons were squatting around the fires. The dwellings formed of poles covered with skins looked very wretched. Felt a sensation of awe come over me when they knelt and prayed. The Cave says that they have invited the Europeans in observing the S. as a day of rest. In the [eve?] visited the schooner Vancouver just rebuilt and now almost ready for sea. After tea talked with Cave and G. on the reform bill, cash laws, etc. Have agreed with G. to have alternate days of taking patients under charge and to commence tomorrow. Or [tomorrow?] if we are spared to table and arrange medicines.

Monday, May 6th

Received intimation this morning at 4 of Plant's death. Mr McL. did not think it advisable, when I spoke at breakfast, that body be inspected as from the force of Canadian prejudices such a thing had never been done. Must endeavor to overcome these prejudices when I become better acquainted with their nature and extent. Up at 7½ and after breakfast commenced examination of medicines and continued at work till 6½. It will be a week before we get comfortably settled. Our apartment is 13 paces long by 7 broad and extends in E. and W. direction, the roof about 20 feet from floor supported by two rafters and 2 transverse beams. In front is the door and a pretty large window—posteriorly—a window and back door one on each side and in the middle a large fire place, without any grate, built of stone and lime. The walls are formed of rough, strong horizontal [deals?] attached at their extremities to perpendicular ones. Against the northern wall are placed our bedsteads, between them a large chest and in front a small medicine shelf. Strong shelves of unplaned deal occupy two posterior thirds of south wall and contain the greater part of medicines. Anteriorly there is a small heater and a painted shelf on which have to-day placed small quantities of medicine most frequently in use. The deals composing floor are in some places two and three inches distant from each other, thus leaving wide apertures. This is also true of the deals in the walls and the chinks are numerous; by those to N. can look into school room. The house to S. is unoccupied at present. Shall close all apertures with brown paper pasted, or leather. The partition is to extend from the foot of my bed to extremity of large shelves on left and the abutment in front to be the surgery. The posterior is our bed room and I expect we shall have it busy soon. Our attendant is a Sandwich Island boy named Namahama. He is slow in his motion as a sloth

but quiet and docile and will improve. Keep up a blazing pine fire usually: our only fire iron is a pole about 6 feet long with 6 inches of iron end fitted to its extremity and is a good apology for a poker. Filled some 8 or 10 quart vials with few tinctures on hand and arranged them on front shelf.

I here in an excellent supply of surgical instruments for amputation, 2 trephinning, 2 eye instruments, a lithotomy, a capping case, besides 2 midwifery forceps and a multitude of catheters, sounds, bandages, probangs, 2 forceps, etc. not put in order. At 6½ attended Plant's funeral. The procession made up by McL., Cowie and self and about twenty-five servants, Europeans, Islanders, and Canadians sent out from Plant's house. The coffin unpainted slung on pieces of canvas and thus borne by young men. Passing through a pretty grove of young oaks and young trees we arrived at burial grove which is situated in a fertile upland meadow bewildered by wild flowers and trees in flower. The funeral service read by Gov. The great want here is the ground not being enclosed. Some of the graves are surrounded with palisades but the greater number are merely covered with stones and logs of wood. The behaviour of the servants was decorous and befitting the solemn occasion. The character of the deceased was not such as to make his death a matter of regret to his fellows. He had been a noted bruiser, distinguished for a quarrelsome disposition, but having the redeeming quality of unflinching courage and hence being a valuable attendant as moments of danger. In the evening had some conversation with the Gov. on farming. Wheat here yields a return of 15-fold; barley from 40 to 50; maize requires the richest soil, barley, hay, then wheat, and lastly oats or peas.

Tuesday, May 7th

Sat chatting with Mr. Cowie last night in his apartments adjoining the office until nearly 11. Afterwards wrote log and conversed with G. until past 12. To-day has been unprofitable in events of interest. By our labours we have brought apartment somewhat near to state of order and fulness but there is still much to be done. Borrowed from Gov. first and second vol. of Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Travels in So. America. Sowed Dahlia seeds in garden under a frame, visited a store; it seemed in a state of confusion. Blankets are the most abundant, while strouds, trinkets, etc. assist in forming the miscellaneous list. Looked out for two calico jacket [and] tartan [check?] Now. 9½; going to begin Humboldt.

Wednesday, May 8th

Began Cowper's poem on tenth but soon laid it aside and accompanied G. along river's bank for a short distance upward. There is a nice pebbly beach well [suited?] for bathing, edged with verdant trees and brushwood, and elegant wild flowers of various species. Armed with guns and fired once but result in my case doubtful. After breakfast resumed labours in dispensing and busy till 5 p. m. Sent calico and tartan to the doctor's who has kindly offered to get them made up by his family. At 6 G. and I set out to walk along the farm with guns and I having vasculum. On passing farm [shedding?] which is extensive and placed about 300 yards above Fort, we struck up toward the

wood and then walked along an upland plateau which reached for about 2 miles to eastward from near Fort to where the dense forests obstruct the view. Its breadth is about ¼ mile and it presents a rounded bluff face to northward, beautified with elegant columbines, luxurious lupines and other plants equally attractive but unknown. From this part to bank of river is a low plain generally ½ mile broad and divided by fences into large wheat, barley, or pea fields or broad meadows, 2 ponds abounding in ducks diversify the same somewhat, but add little to its beauty, their banks being of a dry and sandy nature. G. and I. walked along the plateau by the border of [the] wood, now admiring the rich groves of lupin amidst the trees mixed with handsome columbines, sun flowers, and a great variety of herbacious plants in flower. On the borders of [the] wood there were some enchanting spots and my heart bounded with delight and enthusiasm as I surveyed them. Thin gray clouds mellowed, without much obscuring, the rays of the departing sun and this lent an air of softness to the face of nature, and there being scarcely any wind the glimpses of the magnificent Columbia obtained through interruptions to the belt of wood which skirts its northern shore allowed it to flow placidly and musically along. On its southern shore, good trees extended in a narrow strip along mountain base, but, behind, a range of undulating hills perhaps 500 feet high stretched east and west and in the background the colossal Mt. Hood, to-day much freed of his gilded investment, reared his lofty summit above the clouds. The tout ensemble was the finest combination of beauty and grandeur I have ever beheld. At 6¾ reached extremity of plateau and just going to face about when I saw a bushy animal with a large cocked tail striped white and brown and about the size of a large cat about 100 yards ahead. He perceived us and made off, but seeing him lazily in his movements gave chase and soon gained on him and admired his beauty as he ran with his tail spread out like a fan or tail of a turkey cock. He stopped under the shade of a huge pine, grinned and stood at bay, but I let fly and soon settled his hash. Immediately thereafter a most diabolical smell declared him a polecat [malgre?] the skunk.

Despite the stink, we carried him by the brush to the vicinity of the fort where we concealed him for examination tomorrow, arriving just in time for tea and met a Mr. McDonald, who has returned from an exploring expedition to the Willamette river and gives a very interesting account of the country. Fertile, extensive plains abounding in excellent oak,—three invite the husbandman. Traces of coal exist and he has now brought a specimen of limestone rock. In one part salt springs are numerous and are much frequented by the deer. Mole salmon caught there than in other parts of this neighborhood and there our supply is derived. Am giving C. the polecate as I shall not have time to examine and [to cure?] its skin. Collected a specimen of the Devil's tree used as a purge in W. S. [or U. S.?] and tried it in a few instances.

THURSDAY, MAY 9TH

Up at 6. Erasmus Plants procured last night. It is I think *Cornus Florida* which, in the U. S. is sometimes substituted for cinchona in a dose of .. or .. powdered bark; its composition is

Cirrchonatic quintine and gum. After breakfast visited patients who are all in an improving way, and was, on my return, informed by Mr. McL. that I am to be despatched to northward in the Str. Vancouver which is to set out on a trading voyage in a few days along the coast. Shall probably be left with Mr. Finlayson at the new fort on Millbank Sound which is to supplant Fort Simpson. The situation of settlement is pointed out as being on an island which forms the south bank of north branch of Salmon river, at the entrance to Sound about latitude 51° 30 N. Long. 127 W. The projected establishment to N. is in latitude 57°, Long. 132°. The site pointed out is on a narrow channel in the Stica archipelago, or rather the Prince of Wales which runs between Duke of York's land and some other nameless islands to north about 1 and ½ mile broad and the spot proposed is on its eastern or mainland shore. It will not interfere with the Russians as they have no posts to south of Norfolk Sound. I would have preferred remaining here but *it'simport* [?] ; as we are to coast a great part of the way and touch at several stations in Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia, the voyage I anticipate will be agreeable.

In the north must be constantly armed to the teeth as the Indians are dangerous. Busy during the day in acquiring information among medicines necessary to be taken, etc. In the evening walked out with G. along Vancouver Plain. It is a continuation of that to eastward of Fort described yesterday. Below Fort for some way it is covered with gigantic relics of the primeval forest which form a broad belt of wood extending to eastward. Proceeding along a rough road passing through a wood, the magnificence and grandeur of its colossal tenants was very impressive and the ground was beautifully carpeted with wild flowers and low creeping evergreen shrubs. Many of the plants were stripped of their bark for a few feet above root and the turpentine was profusely exuding in large pellucid drops. Traveled through a grassy level plain for nearly a mile and then plunged into the forest which skirted it on right or north side. Did not find it very impenetrable, there being little underwood. Soon emerged again and returned homewards. Had an excellent cricket field this part of plain would make. The site of it would throw Wilkinson into ecstacies. After tea were visited in our domicile by Mr. McKay, the farmer in Willamette, who returned thence with Mr. McDonald yesterday. He has traversed the country west of the Rocky Mountains in all directions. The Snake party of trappers of which so much was heard last so little time ago on board the Ganymede proceeded to the territory around Lewis or the great Snake River and its northern branch and sometimes enter the northern part of [Maquies?] in the Snake country. They are much annoyed by the Blackfeet Indians from the other side and some sharp skirmishes often occur. Their mode of traveling is on horseback with beaver traps slung by the saddle and they stop at all places where beaver are found until they have exhausted the spot, except where molested by the Indians. They live on buffalo meat. Here several American parties have been massacred by the Indians but the Company's have always escaped at the worst with the loss of a few lives. New Caledonia is the resort of another large party and their mode of traveling and hunting is similar, only that they see so much to apprehend from the Indians. This country last season produced

10,000 beaver skins which generally weigh about 1 pound each and are sold in London at 25 sh. per pound. There are no buffaloes and few deer in this country and fish is the support of the hunters. No hunting parties as yet despatched from Fort Simpson. McKay has had many encounters with the bear and the best way he says when a wounded bear rushes at you is to stand and reload and when he comes near, if your gun is unloaded, look at him steadily and he will not attack but raised on his hind legs will continue to return your gaze until tired of his position, when he betakes himself quietly off.

Friday, May 10th

Up at 7. Wrote part of yesterday's log before breakfast, being too much fatigued last night to go on with it. After having visited patients, looked out several articles of clothing in the store as I must now lay in a stock for a year, in case I may be detained in the north. At all the outposts the goods are advanced in price 33 1-3 per. for the Indian trade, as every servant of the Company's is expected to supply himself at headquarters. After dinner, decided on getting a rifle here and got Mackay to choose one for me. Have been pondering on the propriety of this step ever since arrival and the dangerous nature of the country I am going to, and there being no rifles for sale there, besides that sooner or later I must have got one,—these considerations weighed in favor of my supplying myself at present, notwithstanding that I am in arrears with the Company. The rifle cost 150 sh., has a flint lock, platina touch hole and twist barrel about four feet long, and weighs 8½ pounds only. Shall try it tomorrow. In the afternoon busy in arranging the Vancouver's medicine chest. After tea walked for an hour with McDonald up and down the avenue from the river to Fort gate, I giving him Invernessshire news and receiving in return, as I introduced the subject, useful information regarding this country. Mac. is a native of [Artand?] and commenced his career under Lord Selkirk for whom he enlisted about 40 Highlanders from the Kew river settlement in 1806. His party rendezvoused at Inverness, a countryside of Glengary, whose tenants he had urged as volunteers. He therefore dispatched a posse of men to Inverness to apprehend the deserters but Mac., apprized of their approach, marched his band to the hills and proceeded during the night along by the braes of Culloden to Croy, came down to the sea at Fort George and embarked his men on a small schooner for Kirkwall where Lord Selkirk was with the bay ships. McDonald, of Midmills was the Company's agent at Inverness. The Northwest Companies had had settlements all through New Caledonia and the Snake country but their only fort along the coast was Fort George. The union took place in 1820. Lord Selkirk, besides his stock in the Company's funds, had, for his services, received an interest in the business which now yields his family 10,000 pounds annually. The Dr. informed me some days ago that it was owing to the precipitation of one of the M. C.'s, I think W., in declaring himself a bankrupt, that the M. C.'s estate did not pay in full, it yielding 15 percent under great disadvantages. My disbursements at the store amount to 14.11-2.

SATURDAY, MAY 11

Up at 7. After breakfast showed rifle to McDonald who got Depote a noted marksman to try it; but he, after three shots, declared the barrel poor and the sight improperly constructed and it is now in the hands of the carpenter who understands the thing and is to make the necessary alterations. Busy all day getting up Vancouver's chest and invited in the evening to have some ball practice with G. but was requested by Gov. to copy a correspondence between Company and Russia for Congo, with which have been employed since 6 p. m.

BOOK REVIEWS

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1853. By D. B. Ward. (Seattle, Bull Brothers, 1912, pp. 55, 50 cents.) This is an attractive little booklet bound in paper and knotted with silk cord. It was intended for members of the pioneer's family and his friends, though a few copies were offered for sale in the local market. The journal is dedicated "To the Prairie Schooners of 1853 and their sturdy pilots." For half a century the author's children and grand children had enjoyed the recital of the experiences and adventures of the long journey across the plains and mountains.

He was at last induced to put the story in written form and its first draft was published in The Washington Historian, running through the numbers of January, April, and July, 1901. That interesting quarterly ceased publication, copies of it were scarce and so the author revised the story and put it in this present form.

It is one of those plainly written human documents, interesting to any lovers of the West, which the future historian will appreciate when he studies the romantic period of early immigration to the Pacific Coast regions.

PARKMAN'S THE OREGON TRAIL. By Ottis B. Sperlin. (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1911, pp. 363, 25 cents.)

This favorite in the literature of the West appears in the series known as Longman's English Classics. Though substantially bound in cloth, the price is very low. The editor, Mr. Sperlin, is head of the department of English in the Tacoma High School. He has furnished an introduction, a bibliography, a chronological table, and rather copious notes.

The chronological table is compiled under three heads: "Parkman's Life and Works," "Contemporary History," and "Contemporary Literature." A comprehensive and helpful survey is thus given the reader who may wish to know of the author and his times while enjoying the reprinted book.

The pages of the book are not cramped with the editor's notes. These are gathered on the last twenty-four pages and are easily applied to explain or illuminate certain portions of the text in the light of more recent information.

This edition is useful for schools. It ought also to be welcomed in the public and private libraries of the West where it may not be convenient to have or use the older and more expensive editions.

THE COST OF EMPIRE. By Sarah Pratt Carr. (Seattle, The Stuff Printing Concern, 1912, pp. 23, 35 cents.)

This is the libretto for the opera "Narcissa" by Mary Carr Moore. The author and composer, mother and daughter, live in Seattle. The theme comprises one of the most romantic incidents in the history of the Pacific Northwest. If the opera meets with the success that many people expect for it, there is no doubt that it will start another wave of discussion over the "Whitman Myth." In the synopsis the author says: "The story follows history almost exactly, departing from it only in trifles and in compressing events, to fit the necessities of stage portrayal." In spite of this avowed purpose, the author has not been contented to abide by the abundantly heroic portions of the story, which are undisputed, but has made prominent the so-called political purpose of the winter's ride. That is the crux of the "Whitman Myth." It has been sadly shattered by recent investigations.

Perhaps we should not hold an opera to strict historical standards. Many are avowedly built on myths. It is certainly wise to cordially welcome so serious an effort in this field by a writer and composer of such unmistakable talent.

SEATTLE PARK COMMISSIONERS' EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT. Compiled by Roland W. Cotterill, Secretary. (Seattle, 1911, pp. 112.)

The City of Seattle has been taking an advanced position among American cities in the matter of parks and especially in the adjuncts of playgrounds and boulevards. This report is therefore the more important, as it contains statistics and data from 1890 to 1911. The report is illustrated and carries a valuable map of the city.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By Captain George R. Clark, U. S. N., William O. Stevens, Carrol S. Alden, and Herman F. Krafft. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1911, pp. 505, $3.00 net.)

This work has no direct bearing on the Pacific Northwest, the peculiar field of the Washington Historical Quarterly, but it has a number of references to such warships as the Olympia, Oregon, and Washington. Brief mention is also made of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.

THE AMERICAN LUMBER INDUSTRY. By The National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. (Chicago, Leonard Brosson, Manager, 1912, pp. 238, $1.00.)

The volume embraces the proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the association. The Pacific Northwest is interested in the report of the President, Everett G. Griggs, of Tacoma, on the "West Coast Lumber Manufacturers' Association"; the report on "Western Pine Manufacturers' Association" by A. W. Cooper, of Spokane; and the paper entitled: "Men or Trees? The Problem of Our Logged-Off Lands," by J. J. Donovan of Bellingham.

THE BAILEY AND BABETTE GATZERT FOUNDATION FOR CHILD WELFARE. By Stevenson Smith. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1912. pp. 15.)

This is the first annual report of the Director of the Gatzert Foundation. It includes a statement of the work of the Department of Diagnosis of the Juvenile Court of Seattle. The Foundation is explained and the "Bureau of Child Welfare" is outlined, as are, also, the scope of the Foundation and its relation to the public schools. The cases of two hundred delinquent boys were studied in the Juvenile Court of Seattle.

Other Books Received

BURY, J. B. A History of the Eastern Roman Empire, From the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I. (A. D. 802-867). (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1912. Pp. 530. $4.00 net.)

CROLY, HERBERT. Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 495. $2.50 net.)

DORSEY, JAMES OWEN, and SWANTON, JOHN R. A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages. (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912. Pp. 340.)

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY. The New History. Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 266.)

THEBAUD, REV. AUGUSTUS, S. J. Three-Quarters of a Century (1807 to 1882). Vol. I.: Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Events in France. (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 334.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Harvard Exchanges Professors With Western Colleges

The Commencement Address at the Washington State College was given this year by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard. The presence of this distinguished historian in the Pacific Northwest brings to mind an interesting development in America's oldest university. There has been arranged an exchange of professors between Harvard and a group of four western colleges—Knox, Beloit, Grinnell, and Colorado. Each of the smaller institutions sends a man to Harvard. Each of such professors will devote a fraction of his time to giving instruction and the balance he may devote to research. In exchange Harvard sends one of her best-known professors on that circuit each year. This year Professor Hart gave a short course of lectures at each of the four colleges and took his place in the regular work of each faculty. He made the journey from Colorado Springs to Pullman and planned to return to the Rocky Mountains for his summer vacation. Friends of Harvard are rejoiced over this manifestation of greater interest in the West.

The Harvard Commission on Western History

Harvard's awakened interest in the West has been evidenced in a way more pointed even than the exchange of professors. In the first place, she called to her faculty Professor Frederick Jackson Turner of Wisconsin. And now comes the announcement of the organization of The Harvard Commission on Western History. Mrs. William Hooper has been sending Harvard a considerable annual sum in honor of her father, the late Charles Elliott Perkins of Burlington, Iowa, said sums to be used in the purchase of books on the West.

With this money as the foundation and with the enthusiastic support of Harvard alumni in the West, the Corporation has organized the Commission as follows: A. McF. Davis, '55, of Cambridge, chairman; Horace Davis, '49, of San Francisco; General Grenville M. Dodge, of Council Bluffs; Mr. Charles G. Dawes, of Chicago; Charles Moore, '78, of Detroit; Howard Elliott, '81, of St. Paul; F. A. Delano, '85, of Chicago; Professor F. J. Turner; Professor A. C. Coolidge, '87; and E. H. Wells, '97, secretary, Boston.

The purpose of the Commission was revealed in the original letter suggesting its organization, reproduced in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin, April 10, 1912, including: "We hope in the course of time to build up

such a collection of this subject that Harvard will be generally regarded as the best place in this country for the study of Western History."

Another evidence of this same purpose is the fact that there will soon appear a new edition of the justly famous Channing and Hart's Guide to the Study of American History. The authors of the new work will be Channing, Hart, and Turner. The book will naturally contain more materials on the West.

All this revival of interest in the West at Harvard is simply exhilarating to those who are working at history out here in the field itself. Harvard will find the workers in the West rejoicing at any opportunity to extend sympathy and substantial help in such a laudable undertaking.

Exchange of Professors on the Pacific Coast

The Summer Sessions of the University of California and the University of Washington will experience an exchange of professors in the field of history this year. Professor J. N. Bowman of the former institution and Professor W. A. Morris of the latter are the men who will exchange places. Aside from the manifestation of friendly intercourse between the universities, the experience will be pleasurable to the two men, as each has many friends at the other's institution.

From the House of Macmillan

William E. F. Macmillan, representing the third generation of the great English family of publishers, visited the State of Washington recently on an extensive tour of the United States and Canada. Besides seeing places of interest, his time was well filled throughout his tour by visiting people whose books had been issued from the branches of the old publishing house established by his grandfather.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

II. English Voyages of Discovery

1. Sir Francis Drake.
   a. Early training of the man.
   b. Return from Darien, 1573.
   c. Sailing for the Pacific, 1577.
   d. "Nova Albion" named, 1579.
   e. Return to England, 1580.
   f. Preservation of the "Golden Hind."
2. Thomas Cavendish, 1587.
   a. Referred to by Michael Lok.
   b. So-called Myth of Juan de Fuca.
3. Captain James Cook.
   a. Early life.
   b. First two voyages into the Pacific.
   c. Third voyage.
      i. Touches Northwest Coast, 1778.
      ii. Names left and work done.
      iii. Death in Sandwich Islands, 1779.
      iv. Beginning of fur trade.
4. James Hanna, 1785-1786.
   a. Pioneer fur trader.
   b. Explorations by.
5. John Meares, 1786.
   a. First trip from Bengal.
6. James Strange, 1786.
   a. Named Queen Charlotte Sound.
7. Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, 1786-1787.
   a. Elaborate expedition.
   b. Successful fur trade.
   c. Explorations.

d. Quarrel of the captains.
e. Journals published separately.

8. Charles William Barkley, 1787.
   a. Use of Austrian flag to evade license fees.
   b. Named Barkley Sound.
   c. Observed Straits.
   d. Mrs. Barkley, first white woman in Northwest.
9. Captains Duncan and Colnett, 1787-1788.
   a. Trade on Queen Charlotte Islands.
   b. Both return in subsequent years.
10. John Meares and William Douglas, 1788.
   a. Company of English merchants in India.
   b. Trick of double colors to evade customs charges.
   c. Return of Hawaiian and Nootkan chiefs.
   d. Chinese artisans.
   e. Building vessel at Nootka.
   f. "Rediscovery" of the Straits of Juan de Fuca.
   g. Denial of the Columbia.
   h. Naming of Mount Olympus.
   i. "Shoalwater" Bay, now Willapa Harbor.
   j. First cargo of timber shipped.
11. William Douglas and Robert Funter, 1789.
   a. Representing Meares and his company.
   b. Vessels seized by Spaniards.
12. Captains Colnett and Hudson, 1789.
   a. Under direction of Meares.
   b. Vessels seized by the Spaniards.
13. Diplomatic Troubles.
   a. The Nootka controversy.
14. George Vancouver, 1792.
   a. Lieutenant under Cook, 1778.
   b. Sent to negotiate with Spaniards at Nootka.
   c. Discoveries and explorations around Puget Sound.
   d. Claimed the region as "New Georgia."
   e. Explored Alaskan shores.
   f. Death as his journals were being published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—This list of helpful books is purposely made brief and comprises those most accessible in the libraries of the Northwest.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 1-309. Here is found a record of most of the early voyages by the several nations.

COOK, JAMES. Journals of. There are many editions. If the journals are available it will be easy to find the portion of the third voyage relating to the Northwest Coast. The same instruction will avail if the work accessible be a compilation from the journals.

DIXON, GEORGE. A Voyage Round the World. This work, published in 1789, is in many of the libraries. It is copiously supplied with maps and there are a few plates of natural history objects.

DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS. World Encompassed. The most accessible edition is Richard Hakluyt: The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904), Vol. IX.

MANNING, WILLIAM RAY. The Nootka Controversy. In Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. The author cites many original sources.

MEANY, EDMOND S. Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. This work is more accessible than Vancouver's journal. That part of the journal relating to Puget Sound is reproduced with many notes added.

MEARES, JOHN. Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the N. W. Coast of America. 2 volumes, 1791. There is included an account of the voyage of 1786. This work is especially interesting on account of the relation of Meares to the Nootka controversy.

PORTLOCK, NATHANIEL. A Voyage Round the World. Like that of Dixon, this book was published in 1789. It is not particularly rare and is one of the most beautiful products of that time of well made books. There are numerous illustrations and maps.

SHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. Pp. 1-42. Reliable, though brief account of the voyagers.

VANCOUVER, GEORGE. A Voyage to the Pacific and Round the World. Edition of 1801. Vol. II., pp. 1-418 (beginning with Chapter III. of the first edition, 1798).

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Narrative and Critical History of America. This great work is helpful on all the voyages. It is especially cited here for Drake's voyages which are found in Vol. III., pp. 59—84.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and was continued in portions of varying lengths until Chapter I. of Part II. was begun in Volume II., Number 4, July, 1908. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

All heavy articles, therefore, should be left behind, with the exception of the most necessary cooking utensils, and these should be of tin, or of the lightest materials. If you are heavily loaded, let the quantity of sugar and coffee be small, as milk is preferable as a beverage for health, and because, as I have said before, it travels for itself. You should provide yourself with a water keg, and you should likewise have a tin can made after the fashion of a powder canniter, to hold your milk. A few tin cups, (abjure all crockery,) tin plates, tin saucers, a butcher's knife, a shovel, and a pair of pot-hooks, will go very far toward completing your culinary arrangements, and a small grindstone joined to their company, to keep them in edge, will also lend a valuable assistance to this department. There are many other articles apparently trifling in their nature, which must not be overlooked, and these the good sense of the emigrant must suggest for himself. Such are cord, bits of lines, leather, &c. Rifles, fowling pieces, pistols, powder, shot, ball, lump lead, and all the accompanying articles of destructive warfare upon game, are, I hardly need say, of the first importance. Man's inheritance of destructiveness must be borne with him to this region as well as to every other. The double inducement to carry articles of inherent usefulness, is their wonderful advance in value —thus, a rifle worth *twenty dollars* in the States, enhances to the worth of *fifty dollars* in Oregon, and fowling pieces increase in price in proportion.

The clothing you take, should be of the same description used in the middle states, and enough should be laid in to last a year. Care should be taken that, amongst the rest of your wardrobe, a half dozen or a dozen pair of strong shoes should not be forgotten.

These directions will suffice to give the emigrant a notion of his wants, and of the means he will require to procure them. What I have omitted,

will be supplied hereafter in the course of this narrative, and the remainder left unmentioned will be suggested as I said before by the intelligence of the emigrant himself.

On the 20th of May we moved to Big Spring in obedience to the previous resolution, and found upon our arrival there, a large accession to our party. Our number was now found to amount to near five hundred souls, men, women and children, of which 263 were men able to bear arms.

Here was an enterprise of moment indeed! The greatest confidence appeared to prevail throughout the whole party, and self-reliance and determination were stamped on every countenance. Every now and then, as some rough looking backwoodsman would swagger past, armed to the teeth with pistol and bowie knife, or squads of his companions skirr on horseback over the surrounding plains, rifle in hand, and blade in belt. an apprehension would start upon the mind of the difficulties to be found in harmonizing the incongruous elements, and of subduing them into one reasonable, order loving mass.

With the gathering of the grand council came the climacteric of McFarley's and Dumberton's struggle.

After the meeting had assembled, and the temporary officers of it had been appointed, came the proposals of organization. The ripening of the proceedings to this stage showed that the fat gentlemen were not the only aspirants emolous of supreme distinction. The strange assemblage was gathered from various sections of the country; they were agitated with various views, and naturally separated into various cliques. Most of them had their favorite plans already cut and dried, and their nominees were all ready to wear the chieftain's mantle. A stormy session was the consequence, and it was evident that the question of commandership would not be decided this day. In the middle of the uproar of the first hour, Dumberton, who had given his hair an extra intellectual ruth from the front, and arranged the snuff colored garments in a style of superlative fashi, managed to obtain the ear of the assemblage. After having waved the crowd into profound silence, he commenced a eulogium upon the character of Washington: made patriotic allusions to the revolution and the late war, touched on the battle of New Orleans, apostrophied the American eagle, and then wound up his introduction with a very meaning sentiment levelled with great force and earnestness at the "iron arm of despotism." Imagining that he had fairly taken captive the admiration of his audience, Mr. Dumberton, of Big Pigeon, came to the point of his address, and gravely proposed that the emigration should adopt the *criminal* laws of Missouri and Tennessee for its future government.

No sooner had the speaker delivered himself of his proposition, than McFarley, who had been chafing like a stung bull for the last half hour, sprang up, and remarked that since the gentleman from Big Pigeon had found out we had robbers and thieves among us, he, (McFarley) would move that a penitentiary be engaged to travel in company if his proposal should pass.

Mr. Dumberton replied with a savage irony intended to annihilate his opponent, that "the gentleman who had suggested the last resolution, would doubtless find himself *taken in* if it did." Mr. McFarley denounced Mr. Dumberton as a demagogue, whereupon Mr. Dumberton appealed to the Genius of Liberty for the purity of his intentions in a most beautiful apostrophe.

But the Genius of Liberty not responding to the call of the gentleman from Big Pigeon in time, some fiery spirits interfered, and shifted the dispute to new questions and characters, extinguishing in a moment the hopes and pretensions of the Big Pigeon and its opposing faction.

After some deliberation of a more quiet and sensible character, the council resulted in adopting a set of resolutions as its guiding principles, and postponing for the time the election of a commander and his aids, leaving the chief direction temporarily in the hands of Captain John Grant, who was employed as our pilot for the route. An adjournment then took place with the understanding that we should start finally and altogether on the morning of the 22d, and halt at the Kanzas river, for a final organization in the election of the commander and other officers.

As the resolutions adopted are interesting in a philosophical point of view, presenting as they do the spectacle of a free body of people, voluntarily assuming regulations and restrictions for the common benefit and safety of all—and as they are calculated to be of service to future companies of emigrants, I will here insert them.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE OREGON EMIGRATING SOCIETY.

Resolved—Whereas we deem it necessary for the government of all societies, either civil or military, to adopt certain rules and regulations for their government, for the purpose of keeping good order, and promoting civil and military discipline; therefore, in order to insure union and safety, we adopt the following rules and regulations for the government of said company.

Rule 1st.—Every male person of the age of sixteen or upwards shall be considered a legal voter in all the affairs regulating the company.

Rule 2d.—There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all dis-

putes arising between individuals, and to try, and pass sentence on all persons for any act of which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discipline. They shall take especial cognizance of sentinels and members of the guard who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or of sleeping on their posts. Such persons shall be tried and sentence passed on them at discretion of council. A majority of two thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

Rule 3d.—There shall be a Captain elected, who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the Captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobeying orders, shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The Captain shall appoint the requisite number of duty sergeant, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the Captain.

Rule 4th.—These shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company, and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom—thus giving every man an equal turn of guard duty. He shall also give the member of every guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade every guard, call the roll and inspect the time of mounting. He shall also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that they are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the Captain every morning, and be considered second in command.

Rule 5th.—The Captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council, shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one third or more of the company, to order a new election, for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member, or members of the council; or for all or any of them as the case may be.

Rule 6th.—The election for officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas river.

Rule 7th.—No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose

cattle to every male member of the age of sixteen or upwards."

I hardly need state that many of these remarkable regulations remained as from their very nature they needs must, a dead letter. The convocation, however, had performed the chief business they were called to accomplish, and each man at the adjournment, sought his quarters with the conviction that he had taken part in a proceeding but little short in points of dignity and grand importance to the declaration of independence itself.

It was grey dusk when the council of Elm Grove broke up, and the ceremony of supper to which I hastened with a right good will, led me into the night. When my meal was over, I paid a visit to the tent of John Robbins, and after passing an hour with his family, strolled out to take a view of the camp. Elm Grove is a spot situated in the plain of a vast prairie, and receives its distinction and its name from two beautiful elm trees that stand as solitary (?) land marks upon its surface. Though this was the first time I recognised the term of "grove" as applicable to but two trees, I felt willing from their extreme beauty to allow them any prerogative of definition they pleased to arrogate. The night, the scene, the stars, the air, were beautiful. The moon shed her silvery beams upon the white sheets of sixty wagons, whose arrangement marked the parallelogramic boundaries of our camp. A thousand head of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain, fifty camp fires sent up their enlivening beams of comfort and good cheer, the cheerful sentinel whistled a lively air as he swaggered up and down his post, the sound of the violin, the flute, the flageolet, the accordion, the rich notes of manly voices, some in love ditties and some in patriotic strains, conjoined to lend romance and excitement to the scene. All was mirth, joy, and contentment, "save where some infant raised its fretful pipe," or where some party of infatuated gamesters were cursing the treacheries of a game of chance.

I passed by the tent of Big Pigeon, and overheard a fierce discussion on the new application of the veto power, as bestowed upon the Captain of the Company, and heard Dumberton denounce it, as "an absurd innovation upon a conservative system, and a most gross violation of a cardinal principle of political jurisprudence." Mr. Dumberton owned a circle of most ardent admirers, who if they did not exactly understand the meaning of all he said, (a matter that would have puzzled the gentleman from the vicinity of Kit Bullard's mill himself,) were most devotedly resolved to firmly believe every thing that fell from his lips, to be sound doctrine. There are in all societies classes of people, who would rather adhere and sacrifice to principles they do not understand, than abide by prop-

ositions, however good, that they do. There is something to hope from a mystery which confounds the senses, but a proposition that any one can understand is altogether beneath the notice of an aspiring imagination.

CHAPTER III.

The Start—Crossing of the Walpalusia—Visit of Pottawattomies—Crossing of the Kanzas—Sinking of the Raft—New Recruits—Catholic Missionaries—Election of Officers—Crossing of Big Sandy—An Indian Visit—Crossing of the Blue—A Thunder Storm—Novel Race After Blankets—Meeting With the Osages and Kanzas—Green and the Kaw—More Rain—New Organization and New Election—Friends in the Desert—The Dead Patwee—Buffalo—Chase of an Antelope.

Early on the morning of the 22d, the signal was given for preparation, and the camp was soon in one universal babel of excitement. Our arrangements, however, were not all completed until after midday, when the teams being all hitched, the cattle herded, the tents struck and stowed, and the wagons all ready to take their places in the line, assigned them for the route, the bugle, (blown by Jas Wayne, who galloped up and down, as an aide-de-camp to the temporary commander,) sounded its last signal of departure, and away we streamed to the distance of two miles over the undulating billows of the prairie, at last fairly embarked for the region of our future home. The country we passed through this day, was one succession of gently undulating swells, clothed with a verdure that evinced the rich fertility of the soil. After a journey unmarked by any incidents, except the delays arising out of the confusion of a first start, we encamped about an hour before sunset; having accomplished but a distance of three miles. On the following day we succeeded no better, only making it all, four miles. Our cattle gave us a great deal of trouble, as they had heretofore been allowed unrestricted liberty in wandering over the plains, and had not yet been broken into the regularity of an onward march. We encamped this evening on the banks of a beautiful little river, called the Wapalusia, a tributary of the Kanzas. It was but about twenty yards wide; its clear pellucid waters rolled over a pebbly bottom, and its abrupt banks were studded with the cotton wood, and ash, which on some portions of its course, intermingled their foliage across the stream.

As soon as we had fallen into our regular disposition for the night, and staked our horses, several of us turned out with nets and fishing-tackle, to sweep and to tickle the stream. But though we were successful in fur-

nishing ourselves with some amusement, we were not so successful in the object of our endeavors—being only fortunate enough to secure a few trout, most of which fell to the share of the female department of the expedition.

On the morning of the 24th, we made preparations for crossing the stream, but in consequence of the steepness of its banks, were obliged to let our wagons down with ropes, and to draw them up in the same way. This was the first proof we had, of the advantages possessed by the vehicles with falling tongues, for they were easily lifted out of danger, while the others ran against the bottom in their descent, and one of them was snapped off. Our cattle plunged into the water without any hesitation, and all crossing without difficulty, we were in a short time, regularly following our onward movement. We might have avoided all the delay and trouble of this crossing, if we had searched a hundred yards farther up the stream, for there we would have found a practicable ford.

While crossing, we received a flying visit from three Potawattomie Indians. They were out on a hunt, and were mounted on superb horses arrayed in saddles, bridles and martingales. They stopped but a moment to gaze at us, and then scoured away at top speed towards the south.

On the forenoon of the 26th, we arrived at the borders of the Kanzas river, and finding it too high to ford, were obliged to come to a dead halt, and to devote the rest of the day to devising means to overcome the unexpected obstruction. Here, however, the unfortunate differences which arise out of the vanity of opinion, prevented the adoption of any practical measure, and the debate went over till the next day. On the following morning, 27th, a committee of three, received the delegated opinions of the whole, and were directed to make arrangements for crossing the river. Content with the compromise, the rest of us who chose, went to work at fishing for a fresh dinner.

(To be continued.)

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS FOR PROVISIONS NOT FOUND IN OUR OWN*

In order to appreciate the study of other state constitutions by comparison, it will be necessary to first have some idea of what is contained in the Washington constitution. The Washington constitution, the same as most others, which have been adopted in the last fifty years, covers a comparatively broad field. It begins in the more or less generally accepted way by devoting the first article to the declaration of rights. This article has, perhaps, the most general provisions of any of the articles of the constitution and being thus general in its terms and broad in its scope, the question of its interpretation gives vent to many disputes or actions as to rights under it. The declaration of rights, generally speaking, enumerates the personal rights of the citizens and makes these rights secure. Their contents are usually very similar, so in the comparison, only the important or interesting differences will be mentioned.

Provisions[1] are then made for the respective departments of the government, viz.: legislative, executive and judicial, prescribing certain powers,

*The constitutions studied and their respective dates are as follows:

Alabama, 1819-1865-1867-1875-1901; Arkansas, 1836-1864-1868-1874; California, 1849-1879; Colorado, 1876; Connecticut, 1818; Delaware, 1792-1831-1897; Florida, 1838-1865-1868-1885; Georgia, 1777-1789-1861-1865-1877; Idaho, 1889; Illinois, 1818-1870; Indiana, 1816-1851; Iowa, 1846-1857; Kansas, 1855-1857-1858-1859; Kentucky, 1792-1799-1850-1890; Louisiana, 1812-1845-1852-1864-1868-1879-1898; Maine, 1820; Maryland, 1776-1851; Massachusetts, 1780; Michigan, 1835-1850; Minnesota, 1857; Mississippi, 1817-1832-1861-1890; Missouri, 1820-1865-1865-1875; Montana, 1889; Nebraska, 1866-1875; Nevada, 1864; New Hampshire, 1784-1792-1850-1877; New Jersey, 1776-1844; New York, 1777-1821-1846-1894; North Carolina, 1776-1868-1876; North Dakota, 1889; Ohio, 1802-1851; Oklahoma, 1907; Oregon, 1857; Pennsylvania, 1776-1790-1838-1873; Rhode Island, 1842; South Carolina, 1776-1778-1790-1865-1868-1895; South Dakota, 1889; Tennessee, 1796-1834-1870; Texas, 1845-1866-1869-1876; Utah, 1896; Vermont, 1777-1786-1793-1828-1850; Virginia, 1776-1864-1870-1902; Washington, 1889; West Virginia, 1861-1872; Wisconsin, 1848; Wyoming, 1889.

[1]Art. 2, 3 and 4, Washington constitution.

duties and limitations of each department, as well as prescribing the method for creating said departments. This is followed by an article[2] providing for the removal of an officer for malfeasance, either by impeachment or otherwise. Article 6 then relates to the right of suffrage and the method of conducting elections. Article 7 relates to the method, forms and limits of taxation and raising revenue; article 8 to the public indebtedness.

We then have provisions concerning education,[3] school lands,[4] militia,[5] and state institutions in general[6]; also provisions in regard to both municipal[7] and private[8] corporations. We have provisions with respect to harbors[9] and tide lands,[10] which, owing to the location, are of course not found in the constitution of inland states and while most states along the coasts have similar provisions, still even some of the coast states[11] do not make this a matter which is to be governed directly by the constitution. We also have a clause creating a public health department,[12] which is not found in many of the other state constitutions. While this outline is not very definite, we can at least more readily distinguish many of the more peculiar provisions found in the other constitutions.

While we are primarily interested in those provisions contained in other constitutions and not contained in our own, we incidentally notice that we also have many provisions which are not found in other constitutions. This is especially true with respect to some of the older constitutions[13] which are still in force. Such a comparison shows the important part that the "Times" plays in the framing of a constitution. Many of the older constitutions are frame works for governing laws rather than the definite provisions themselves. Some states have left certain subjects for legislation, while others have included the same subjects in their constitutions, and it is primarily this difference that exists between the older and the more modern constitutions. We find that some of the states[14] have framed new constitutions many times, each time making it a little broader in its scope, more of a building rather than a mere frame. At the same time some of the states still retain the same constitutions which have served them for many years. Here it is interesting to note that Massachusetts' original constitution of 1780 and Connecticut's original constitution of 1818 are still in

[2]Art. 6, Washington constitution.
[3]Art. 9, Washington constitution.
[4]Art. 14, Washington constitution.
[5]Art. 10, Washington constitution.
[6]Art. 11, Washington constitution.
[7]Art. 11, Washington constitution.
[8]Art. 12, Washington constitution.
[9]Art. 15, Washington constitution.
[10]Art. 17, Washington constitution.
[11]Mass. 1780, Alabama 1901 and Virginia 1902.
[12]Art. 20, Washington constitution.
[13]Mass. 1780, Vermont 1793, Connecticut 1818 and Maine '19.
[14]Louisiana, 1812, 1845, 1852, 1864, 1868, 1879, 1898.

force[15] and, while they have amendments, they have never been entirely revised or substituted. In fact, these constitutions don't seem to have as many amendments as most of the more modern constitutions which cover such broad fields. They pursue the method of legislation for many of the matters which others have incorporated in their constitutions. Hence in such constitutions, we do not find many provisions which are not contained in our own, but just the reverse.

One provision which is not in our own constitution, and which is more common in others than any which ours omits, is the one in regard to distribution of powers. The most common method of making the provision[16] is by stating that the government shall consist of three departments, and that no officer of any one department shall exercise any functions or powers in any other department. Connecticut,[17] Rhode Island[18] and South Dakota[19] only go so far as to say that there shall be the three departments named and omit the latter part of the provision. The constitutions of Georgia,[20] Maryland, North and South Carolina, Virginia[21] and West Virginia each have provisions which imply the division by saying that they shall be forever separate and distinct. But Washington is among the states that omit it entirely. The others omitting it are a few eastern and southern states and North Dakota and Kansas. It is very peculiar to note that in the first three constitutions[22] adopted in Kansas, the provision was included, but in their last and present constitution, which was adopted in 1859, it is entirely omitted. In this the Washington constitution makes no provision whatsoever, but merely prescribes in the respective articles[23] the duties, powers and jurisdiction of the respective departments.[24]

Another matter which is almost universally provided for in the constitutions is the method of selecting a supreme court, not that Washington fails to have such a provision, but it is interesting to note the difference in the various states. The Washington constitution provides for five judges,[25] which has been changed to nine by the legislature, and they are elected by the voters for a period of six years. Supreme courts vary in their number of judges from three[26] to nine and in most states are elected as

[15]The following constitutions are also original ones: Maine 1819, Rhode Island 1842, and Connecticut 1818.

[16]Art. 3, California constitution of 1879.

[17]Art. 3 of Connecticut constitution.

[18]Art. 3 of Rhode Island constitution.

[19]Art. 3, South Dakota constitution.

[20]Art. 1, Sec. 2, Georgia constitution of 1877.

[21]Art. 1, Sec. 1, Virginia constitution.

[22]Constitutions of 1855, 1857 and 1859.

[23]Art. 2, Sec. 1, Washington constitution.

[24]In the case of Territorial v. Stuart, 1 Wash. 96, the Supreme Court has held that this limitation of the powers has been implied to some extent at least.

[25]Art. 4, Sec. 2, Washington constitution.

[26]Nevada, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, and Idaho still have only three judges

here, but in Georgia[67] and South Carolina[68] they are elected by the General Assemblies. In Connecticut,[69] Delaware,[70] Massachusetts[71] and Mississippi, they are appointed or nominated by the governor, which nominations are then ratified by the Senate. In Rhode Island the judges are appointed as in these states, but are appointed for life or until the office is declared vacant by the General Assembly.[72] Mississippi has the very unusual provision[73] that though the judges are appointed, the clerk of the supreme court is elected by the people. In most states it is just the reverse. In many states the court selects its own clerk, which is the case in Washington.[74] Many states, for instance Wyoming,[75] include a provison that a judge shall not try a case in which he is personally interested.

Passing from these general surveys, we will take up some of the individual sections which, owing to their peculiarity, are more interesting and, owing to their field, are more important in that they are the sections which are more often the subject of controversies.

Article 1, Section 1, of the present constitution of Alabama, adopted in 1901, reads as follows: "Immigration shall be encouraged. Immigration shall not be prohibited, and no person shall be exiled." Several states have the latter part of this stating that no person shall be exiled, but the part stating that immigration shall be encouraged and shall never be prohibited is very unusual. In fact, some states have provisions which, if not entirely contradictory, at least tend to give the opposite effect. Many constitutions give the legislature power to restrict immigration.[76]

The California constitution devotes an article[77] to matters which indirectly concern this same question, namely, that article which we frequently hear of as the "Chinese Article." Parts of it read as follows[78]: "No corporation formed in this state shall employ Chinese or Mongolian labor," attaching a penalty for so doing. Also: "State shall not employ Chinese or Mongolian labor except for convict labor."[79] Still other constitutions, as Virginia,[80] create departments of immigration, giving them power to control this matter.

Right along with the question of immigration comes the question of

[67]Art. 4, Sec. 1, Par. 4, Georgia constitution.
[68]Art. 5, Sec. 3, South Carolina constitution.
[69]Amendment 28, Connecticut constitution.
[70]Art. 4, Sec. 1, Delaware constitution.
[71]Part 2, Chap. 2, Art. 8, Massachusetts constitution.
[72]Art. 10, Sec. 4, Rhode Island constitution.
[73]Art. 6, Sec. 145, Mississippi constitution.
[74]Art. 4, Sec. 22, Washington constitution.
[75]Art. 5, Sec. 6, Wyoming constitution.
[76]Art. 1, California constitution.
[77]Art. 19, California constitution.
[78]Art. 19, Sec. 1, California constitution.
[79]Art. 19, Sec. 3, California constitution.
[80]Art. 10, Virginia constitution.

an alien's right to hold property. The West Virginia constitution says on this point[1]: "There shall be no distinction between a resident alien and a citizen as to the acquisition or tenure, disposition or descent of property." This is also the rule in Wisconsin, Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Florida, Nebraska and a few other states. Others are silent on this matter, while still others have the provision that aliens can hold property if acquired in certain ways, for instance by inheritance or by foreclosure on a mortgage debt. Washington and Montana[2] have this latter provision with the addition that aliens may hold land with valuable mineral deposits or land used for milling sites, irrespective of how it is acquired. California has the very unusual provision[3] that aliens of white or African descent may hold and enjoy property in that state. This is in effect another discrimination against the Chinese and Mongolian races.

Many of the states, especially those known as border states during the Civil War have constitutionally abolished or prohibited slavery, but these sections usually include the phrase, "Except for the punishment of crime."

Provisions which are more or less associated, not by law, but by circumstance, with the slavery question, are provisions of race distinction. According to the constitutions[4] of Kansas and Maryland, negroes are still denied the right of suffrage. These provisions have never been changed, but, of course, they are inoperative since the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States in 1870. Sections in the constitutions of Virginia, West Virginia and Missouri provide that white and colored children shall be taught in separate schools. Indiana had a provision reading: "No negro shall come into the state. Contracts with negroes are void and parties employing them or encouraging their stay are subject to a fine." This provision was taken out in 1881, but it is a good example for showing the trend of public opinion prior to that time. Florida[5] and Mississippi[6] have provisions declaring any marriage between a white person and a negro unlawful, null and void.

The Louisiana constitution, adopted in 1898, has the unusual provision[7] that no law shall be passed fixing the price to be paid for manual labor. Some constitutions provide for this rather than stating that even the legislature cannot regulate it.

1Art. 2, Sec. 6, West Virginia constitution of 1872.
2Art. 2, Sec. 33, of the Washington constitution and Art. 2, Sec. 31, of the Montana constitution.
3Art. 1, Sec. 17, California constitution.
4Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the Kansas constitution, and Art. 1, Sec. 1, of the Declaration of Rights of the Maryland constitution.
5Art. 16, Sec. 24, Florida constitution.
6Art. 14, Sec. 263, Mississippi constitution.
7Art. 31, Louisiana constitution.

A very important section[48] of the Wisconsin constitution is: "Fines or restraints on alienation of any kind shall be void." This question is very important in the law of property and in the question of determining titles, but is very seldom a matter of constitutional provision, and even where it is mentioned in the constitution, it is not so sweeping as in the Wisconsin constitution.

The West Virginia constitution provides[49] that no session of the General Assembly shall exceed forty-five days. The Washington constitution makes the limit sixty days.[50] This is a matter that is usually left for a legislature to control for itself. Another matter which is usually left for the legislature is a section[51] as the Alabama constitution providing that cities of over six thousand population cannot grant a franchise to any corporation for a period of over thirty years. While some constitutions have general provisions on this, most of them are not so definite.

In the manner and the methods of raising revenues, there are some very interesting differences. In Montana[52] and in Delaware[53] any bills for raising revenues or for levying taxes must originate in the House of Representatives, whereas most states allow them to originate in either house.[54] A section[55] of the Mississippi constitution reads as follows: "No revenue bill nor any bill providing for assessments of property for taxation, shall become a law, except by a vote of at least three-fifths of the members of each house present and voting." Requiring a three-fifths vote on revenue bills is very unusual, as in most states the usual majority controls this bill the same as any other bill. The Alabama constitution[56] gives its legislature power to levy an inheritance tax not exceeding two and one-half mills and only on property passing to any one except lineal descendants. A franchise tax provided for in the Virginia constitution[57] put a one per cent tax on the gross transportation receipts of all railroads. The Florida constitution[58] limits the capitation tax to one dollar per person. In California a section[59] provides that fruit and nut trees are exempt from taxation for the first four years, and any vines are exempt for the first three years, except that this shall not include nursery stocks. Such tax provisions as the above are very unusual for constitutional provisions, but

48Art. 1, Sec. 14, Wisconsin constitution.
49Art. 6, Sec. 32, West Virginia constitution.
50Art. 2, Sec. 12, Washington constitution.
51Art. 13, Sec. 216, Alabama constitution.
52Art. 5, Sec. 32, Montana constitution.
53Art. 2, Sec. 3, Delaware constitution.
54Art. 4, Sec. 1, Washington constitution.
55Art. 4, Sec. 70, Mississippi constitution.
56Art. 11, Sec. 218, Alabama constitution.
57Art. 13, Sec. 178, Virginia constitution.
58Art. 9, Sec. 1, Florida constitution.
59Art. 13, sec. 12 1-4, of the amendments to the constitution of California.

of the respective states, while some of them are peculiar in that they are not found in other states at all.

A few of the states[65] have provisions that taxes must be fully paid before the citizen is entitled to vote and a few more of the states[66] have the provision that all capitation taxes must be paid before the right of suffrage can be exercised. And on this question of suffrage, some states have even gone so far as to put a property qualification on a voter. In South Carolina,[67] for instance, the voter must show that he has paid taxes on at least three hundred dollars worth of property. In Rhode Island[68] the voter must have paid taxes on one hundred and thirty-four dollars worth of property before he can vote on any tax question or bond issue. The Virginia constitution[69] gives the General Assembly power to enact a law providing that voters at any county elections must have a property qualification not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars. Texas also has a provision[70] that no one but a taxpayer can vote on a tax question. On the contrary, the Idaho constitution[71] states specifically that there shall never be any property qualification for a voter in that state.

Other qualifications for a voter also differ in the various states, for instance the time which they must reside in the state, county and precinct. The South Carolina and Wyoming constitutions[72] provide that a voter must be able to read the constitution, unless he be physically unable to do so, while the Maine and Louisiana constitutions,[73] like our own,[74] provide that a voter must be able to read and write the English language. In Wisconsin[75] the fighting of a duel will disfranchise a voter. Provisions similar to this are found in many of the older constitutions which have been replaced now, omitting that provision. Many provisions of which this is a good example still exist, but are relics of bygone days rather than provisions which we ever have any occasion to use today. Nevertheless, they still exist and would still be operative if the occasion ever arose to call them into use. They were formed in times when such clauses were essential and now that they are not essential they have never been repealed. They continue to be the supreme law the name now as then.

[65]Among these are Connecticut, Florida, Texas, etc.
[66]Art. 2, Sec. 4, South Carolina constitution, and Art. 2, Sec. 18, Virginia constitution.
[67]Art. 2, Sec. 1, Par. 2, South Carolina constitution.
[68]Art. 2, Sec. 1, Rhode Island constitution.
[69]Art. 2, Sec. 18, Virginia constitution.
[70]Art. 6, Sec. 1, Texas constitution.
[71]Art. 6, Sec. 2, Idaho constitution.
[72]Art. 2, Sec. 4 (d) of the South Carolina constitution, and Art. 6, Sec. 6, of the Wyoming constitution.
[73]Amendment 23 to the constitution of Maine and Art. 197, Sec. 2, of the Louisiana constitution.
[74]Amendment 2 to Art. 6, Sec. 1, of the Washington constitution.
[75]Wisconsin constitution was adopted in 1848.

The rights of voters to control legislation or rather to legislate, is brought out in its most reformed condition in the Oklahoma constitution of 1907, which has the Initiative and Referendum article.[71] A petition from seven per cent of the voters will require a proposed statute to be put to a vote of the people, which, when carried, then becomes a law the same as one passed by the legislature. To amend the constitution the same result is obtained by a petition from fifteen per cent of the voters and an election of the people. A law which has been passed by the legislature must be put to a vote of the people if five per cent of the voters so petition within ninety days after its passage, thus giving the people the power to override the acts of the legislature. However, if at either the Initiative or Referendum election, the proposition is defeated, then any time within the next three years, it will take a petition from twenty-five per cent of the voters to again put the same proposition before the people by such a method.

Oklahoma has a provision[72] saying that no city council shall grant any franchise for a period of more than twenty-five years, and that upon a petition from twenty-five per cent of the voters, the granting of a franchise must be submitted to a vote of the people. Utah also has the Initiative clause[73] giving the people the power to enact laws when petitioned by a certain per cent, which per cent is governed by law. In regard to the enacting of laws by the legislature, the constitutions of Texas, Wyoming, Oklahoma and Montana have provisions stating that members of the legislature cannot vote on any bill in which they have a personal interest, which is also the case in Washington. In most states, as we know, the lieutenant governor presides over the senate, but neither Georgia, Arkansas nor Wyoming has a lieutenant governor, their constitutions providing that some member of the senate shall preside. In this way the president of the senate is not elected directly from the state at large, as he is in most states, but he is the representative from some particular district.

The powers of the legislature are usually defined in the constitution, most constitutions[74] enumerating a certain class of cases in which there shall be no special legislation. The Washington constitution,[75] for instance, provides that the legislature shall create no corporation, either private or municipal, by a special act. The Minnesota constitution differs from this in a very important way. The Minnesota section[76] reads as follows: "No corporation shall be formed under special acts, except for

[71]Art. 5, Oklahoma constitution, adopted in 1907.
[72]Art. 18, Sec. 9, Oklahoma constitution.
[73]Art. 6, as amended in 1900, of the Utah constitution.
[74]Art. 2, Sec. 28, Washington constitution.
[75]Art. 2, Sec. 28, and Art. 12, Sec. 1, of the Washington constitution.
[76]Art. 10, Sec. 2, Minnesota constitution.

municipal purposes." This very question of the method of creating a municipal corporation has arisen many times in our own supreme court.[71]

Some of the other powers given to, and the limitations set upon legislatures, are as follows: In Florida[72] the legislature shall create no office with a term of more than four years, while the Mississippi constitution[73] provides that there shall be no elective nor appointive office for life nor for good behavior. In Arkansas[74] and Florida[75] the legislature may deduct from the salary of any state officer for any neglect of duty. A section of the Michigan constitution[76] of 1850 provides that the legislature shall never establish a state paper. In California[77] the legislature has the power of pardon or reprieve when the governor has reported the case to the legislature. The enumeration of the powers of, and the limitations on legislatures, are so numerous that it is impossible to give all of them here, but those named are some of the more interesting ones.

Every state constitution[78] secures the right of religious freedom to its citizens, but nevertheless there are some very peculiar provisions which relate to this question indirectly. Article 19, Section 1, of the Arkansas constitution reads: "No person who denies the being of a God shall hold any office in the civil department of the state, nor be competent to testify as a witness in any court." The Tennessee constitution[79] also states that no person denying God shall ever hold any office in the civil department of the state. The constitutions of Mississippi,[80] and North[81] and South Carolina[82] all make their provisions broader by saying that "No person denying the existence of a Supreme Being shall ever hold any office in the state." The Tennessee constitution has a very peculiar provision[83] which denies any minister the right to ever hold a seat in the legislature, saying that their duties are such that they should not be allowed to divert any of their time to any other kind of work; that their duties are in their profession. In South Carolina[84] and Mississippi[85] a minister is given the right of suffrage after residing in the state six months, although no other person acquires the elective franchise in either state until he has resided there two years. The Mississippi constitution also has a very interesting

[71] Wash. 18 and cases cited there.
[72] Art. 16, Sec. 7, Florida constitution.
[73] Art. 3, Sec. 26, Mississippi constitution.
[74] Art. 19, Sec. 13, Arkansas constitution.
[75] Art. 3, Sec. 15, Florida constitution.
[76] Art. 5, Sec. 20, Michigan constitution of 1850.
[77] Art. 7, California constitution.
[78] Art. 1, Sec. 15, Washington constitution.
[79] Art. 11, Sec. 3, Tennessee constitution.
[80] Art. 14, Sec. 265, Mississippi constitution.
[81] Art. 6, Sec. 3, North Carolina constitution.
[82] Art. 17, Sec. 4, South Carolina constitution.
[83] Art. 9, Sec. 2, Tennessee constitution.
[84] Art. 2, Sec. 4, South Carolina constitution.
[85] Art. 12, Sec. 242, Mississippi constitution, and also Art. 3, Sec. 51, Maryland constitution.

provision prohibiting charitable bequests. The section is[92]: "Every legacy, gift or bequest of money or personal property or of any interest, benefit or use therein, either direct or indirect,—in any will and testament or codicil in favor of any religious or ecclesiastical society, denomination, association, or corporation, either for its own use or to be appropriated to charitable uses, shall be null and void and the distributees shall take the same as though no such testamentary disposition had been made."

Article I, Section 17, of our own constitution reads: "There shall be no imprisonment for debt except in case of absconding debtors." A few of the states omit the qualifying phrase to similar sections. The constitutions of Florida, Wyoming and Idaho use the phrase, "except in case of fraud." The North Dakota section[93] reads: "No person shall be imprisoned for debt unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such a manner as shall be prescribed by law; or in case of tort; or where there is strong presumption of fraud." The Kentucky sections says[94]: "The person of a debtor, where there is no strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such a manner as shall be prescribed by law."

Nearly all constitutions[95] have some constitutional provisions in regard to the regulation of private corporations, some of which are nearly universal, but a few of them are exceptional for being constitutional provisions. The North Dakota constitution[96] prohibits the exchange of black lists between corporations. South Dakota, Montana and Michigan constitutions have provisions providing that parallel railroad lines shall not consolidate. Texas has the provision[97] that no railroad company organized under the laws of that state shall consolidate with any railroad company organized under the laws of any other state or under the laws of the United States. Most constitutions prohibit the giving of railroad passes to officials of the state, but in Virginia[98] the roads are required to furnish free transportation to the railroad commissioners while they are on their official duty. The same section also states that at least one of the three commissioners must have the same qualifications as a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Oklahoma constitution[99] prohibits any railroad, except street railways, from charging more than two cents per mile for passenger fare. An Idaho section[100] says that corporations shall not agree to fix a price of

[92]Art. 74, Sec. 209, Mississippi constitution.
[93]Art. 2, Sec. 16, North Dakota constitution.
[94]Art. 13, Sec. 54, Kentucky constitution.
[95]Art. 12, Washington constitution.
[96]Art. 17, Sec. 212, North Dakota constitution.
[97]Art. 10, Sec. 4, Texas constitution.
[98]Art. 12, Sec. 156, Virginia constitution.
[99]Art. 9, Sec. 20, Oklahoma constitution.
[100]Art. 11, Sec. 18, Idaho constitution.

any commodity or privilege sold to the public in general. A section[101] of the Indiana constitution says: "Every bank shall be required to cease all banking operations within twenty years from the time of organizing and promptly thereafter to close its business." The Texas constitution[102] says that in that state there shall be no foreign banks exercising banking or discounting privileges except such National banks as are organized under the federal laws. In regard to the creditors of a bank, the Alabama constitution has the following provision[103]: "Holders of bank notes and depositors not getting interest shall have preference over other depositors in case of insolvency of a bank." The New York constitution also has a provision[104] stating that bill holders shall be preferred in case of the insolvency of a bank. The same is true in Michigan.[105] According to the Oklahoma constitution, Article Nine, Section Forty, no corporation organized or doing business in that state shall be permitted to influence elections nor officers in their official duty, by contributions of money or anything of value. The same constitution also provides[106] that there shall be no corporation formed in that state for the purpose of dealing in land, except such land as is situated in incorporated cities or towns. The Michigan constitution of 1850 says[107]: "No corporation shall hold any real estate hereafter acquired for a longer period than ten years, except such real estate as shall be actually occupied by such corporation in the exercise of its franchise."

Labor provisions are also very common, but like the corporation provisions, some of them are more interesting than others because of their scarcity. Many constitutions, like our own,[108] provide that convict labor shall not be let out by contract, but we know that this is still the practice in states where the law is silent on that point. The Michigan constitution of 1850 has a very interesting provision[109] in regard to convict labor: "No mechanical trade shall hereafter be taught to convicts in the state prison of this state, except the manufacture of those articles of which the chief supply for home consumption is imported from other states or countries." This, as we see, protects the home producers and laborers in that it does not make them compete with convict labor. A section in the Kentucky constitution[110] says: "All wage earners in this state employed in factories, mines or work shops or by corporations shall be paid for their labor

101Art. 11, Sec. 19, Indiana constitution.
102Texas constitution, Art. 16, Sec. 16, as amended in 1904.
103Art. 4, Sec. 34, Alabama constitution.
104Art. 8, Sec. 1, Par. 4, New York constitution.
105Art. 15, Sec. 5, Michigan constitution of 1850.
106Art. 9, Sec. 40, Oklahoma constitution.
107Art. 15, Sec. 12, Michigan constitution of 1850.
108Art. 15, Sec. 2, Oklahoma constitution.
109Art. 18, Sec. 3, Michigan constitution of 1850.

tration commissions to decide any disputes between labor and capital, and the Idaho constitution also gives the legislature the power to establish such a commission.[107]. Various constitutions prohibit child labor in certain kinds of work,[108] and likewise a per diem minimum is frequently named as the amount of wages to be paid to laborers.

From a political standpoint, the question of prohibition has been the cause of many heated campaigns, of which the 1911 Maine election is a very good instance. As a result of this election, Maine still retains the prohibition article[109] in its constitution. Prohibition articles are also contained in the constitutions of North[110] and South Dakota[111] and Rhode Island.[112] The Virginia, Florida and Delaware constitutions have provisions for local option, and of course several of the states have provided for local option by statutes, though it may not be contained in their constitution.

By many of the constitutions lottery is absolutely prohibited. Article 2, Section 24, of our own constitution provides that the legislature shall never authorize any lottery. A section[113] of the Rhode Island constitution, which is practically the opposite, says: "All lotteries shall be prohibited except those authorized by the legislature."

The Oklahoma constitution has a very important provision[114] in regard to legislation, which states that repealing a statute does not put a previous statute into effect. Under the common law[115] as it prevails in nearly all jurisdictions this is not the case, so necessarily this provision would be quite a factor in determining many controversies. Under this provision there would be no statute on such a point unless enacted later.

Several of the constitutions provide that no law shall be passed limiting the amount of damages to be recovered for the causing of injury or death. The Wyoming constitution gives the provision, but also adds another important feature, as follows[116]: "Any agreement waiving or limiting the recovery of damages for the causing of injury or death shall be null and void."

[107]Sec. 244, Kentucky constitution.
[108]Art. 15, Sec. 1, Idaho constitution.
[109]Art. 17, Sec. 20, of the North Dakota constitution and Art. 23, Sec. 7, of the South Dakota constitution.
[110]Art. 24, adopted as an amendment to the Maine constitution in 1846.
[111]Art. 28, Sec. 217, North Dakota constitution.
[112]Art. 24, South Dakota constitution.
[113]Art. 5 of the amendments to the Rhode Island constitution.
[114]Art. 5, Sec. 12, Rhode Island constitution.
[115]Ex parte Wall, 48 Oklahoma constitution.
[116]20 U. S. Ct. 47 Ind. 283; 63 Mass. 318; 18 Ill. 233; 24 Wis. 239; 66 N. Y. 7.
[117]Art. 19, Sec. 1, Wyoming constitution.

An amendment[101] adopted in 1903 to the Rhode Island constitution provides that: "Judges of the Supreme Court shall give their written opinions on points of law when requested so to do by the governor or by either house of the legislature." Article I in the original and present constitution of Massachusetts adopted in 1780, in the chapter on judicial powers, provides: "Each branch of the legislature, as well as the governor and council, shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions." The New Hampshire constitution has the provision[102] that "No person shall hold the office of judge or sheriff after he has attained the age of seventy years."

Very unusual divorce laws are found in the Georgia and South Carolina constitutions. The section in the Georgia constitution[103] reads: "No total divorce shall be granted except on the concurrent verdicts of two juries at different terms of court." And the South Carolina section reads[104]: "Divorces from the bonds of matrimony shall not be allowed."

Vermont and a few of the other older constitutions[105] provide that the estate of a suicide shall no longer escheat to the state, as in the case at common law[106] in those states, but that it shall be subject to distribution the same as the property of any other deceased person.

Maryland has a very interesting provision respecting criminal trials, something that is not found in any other jurisdiction and is certainly a very radical departure from the generally accepted method of procedure. It reads[107]: "In all trials of criminal cases the jury shall be the judges of law as well as of facts."

In Colorado[108] neither the state treasurer nor the state auditor are permitted to be their own immediate successors, that is they cannot hold two terms in succession. In Maryland[109] the office of secretary is made appointive, giving the governor this power, and in New Hampshire[110] both the secretary of state and the treasurer of state are elected by the general assembly.

The Iowa constitution provides[111] that there shall be no lease of agricultural lands for a period longer than twenty years.

The Georgia constitution still retains a relic of former days in the provision[112] which states: "Whipping as a punishment for crime shall

101Art. 12, Sec. 2, Rhode Island constitution, amendment of 1903.
102Part 2, Art. 75, New Hampshire constitution.
103Art. 6, Sec. 11, Par. 1, Georgia constitution.
104Art. 3, Sec. 21, South Carolina constitution.
105Sec. 78, Vermont constitution.
106121 Mass. 422.
107Art. 15, Sec. 5, Maryland constitution.
108Art. 4, Sec. 21, Colorado constitution.
109Art. 2, Sec. 22, Maryland constitution.
110Sec. 71, constitution of New Hampshire.
111Art. 1, Sec. 20, Iowa constitution.

not be allowed." The same constitution also has another unusual provision[117] on a more modern and very important matter. The provision is: "Where a county line divides any tract of land, the court of either county shall have jurisdiction over the entire tract."

In the article[118] on Water and Water Rights in the Idaho constitution, we find a section on the rights of riparian owners and giving the order of preference where the stream is not large enough for all the owners. The preference is as follows:

1. Those using for domestic purposes;
2. Those using for mining purposes;
3. Those using for agricultural purposes;
4. Those using for manufacturing purposes.

According to the Wisconsin[119] and New York[120] constitutions, betting on an election disqualifies a voter for that election. The absence of the provision that all political power is inherent in the people is noticeable in the Michigan and New York constitutions, as these are the only two state constitutions that omit the provision.

In regard to the method of amending a constitution the following are some of the interesting provisions. The most common method is by either a majority or two-thirds vote of the legislature and then a majority of the people. The Alabama constitution provides that the proposed amendment must pass the legislature by a three-fifths vote before it be submitted to the people. The Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa and Virginia constitutions provide that the proposed amendment must pass two sessions of the legislature before it be submitted to the people. The Rhode Island constitution also provides for this and then states that the vote of the people must be by a three-fifths majority, while the Connecticut constitution provides that the second vote of the legislature must be a two-thirds majority in order to have it submitted. The Arkansas constitution provides that not more than three amendments shall be proposed at a time, and the Illinois constitution provides that not more than one amendment shall be voted on at any one session of the legislature.

A thorough study of the history and framing of constitutions, as well as of the provisions, as they are now found, is indeed interesting. Some of the states have had several constitutions,[121] and to study the changes in the successive ones discloses the important part that public opinion of the

[117]Art. 2, Sec. 1, Par. 7, Georgia constitution.
[118]Art. 15, Sec. 3, Idaho constitution.
[119]Art. 13, Idaho constitution.
[120]Art. 2, Sec. 8, Wisconsin constitution.
[121]Art. 2, Sec. 1, New York constitution.
[122]Louisiana has the record with seven constitutions, while South Carolina and Virginia are both close seconds with six each.

different times plays in the framing. In a speech at the Washington State Bar Association's meeting of 1911, this remark was made about the United States constitution: "The constitution speaks as of the age in which it was written, more than a century ago. The court expounds it as the language of its own age, holding fast to the old words and powers, but expanding them to keep pace with the expansion of our country, our people, our enterprises, industries and civilization." And the same might be said of the state constitutions where they have been revised or changed. They have been made broader to keep up with the pace of our civilization, and wherever we do not find a prevision in a constitution, we frequently find that provision in a statute of that state.

The mission of a constitution has been very well summed up in a paragraph by Stimson in his book entitled "Federal and State Constitutions."

"The object of government is declared to be for the security, benefit and protection of the people, for the preservation and protection of our liberties; to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property and to secure to them their individual rights." Stimson suggets a division of rights into civil and criminal, but this is merely for convenience. We are assured many rights which might be classed as secondary, among which would come religious freedom, freedom of speech, right to petition, etc., but above these the prime motive of every constitution is to secure to its citizens the four cardinal rights; the right of property, the right of labor and trade, the right to law and the right to liberty, and failing in these, the cardinal rights, a constitution has failed in its real purpose.

BEN DRIFTMIER.

WALLA WALLA AND MISSOULA

There exist some very interesting relationships, almost of consanguinity, between the well known valleys of Bitter Root in Montana and Walla Walla in the State of Washington; valleys which are noted for their beauty of location, benignity of climate, fertility of soil and abundance of historic incident. Each claims priority of date of settlement in their respective states.

Politically Walla Walla is heralded as the "Mother of Counties," and it has become almost trite to call attention to the fact that once upon a time Butte in Montana was a part of Walla Walla county; surprise at that announcement now gives way to a smile. But few have called attention to a fact stated by the biographer of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, that when that official with his party in the Fall of 1853 reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains at Cadotte's Pass, Montana, he made official proclamation of the fact and welcomed the gentlemen of his company within the borders of the Territory of Washington. This proclamation was, of course, repeated after his arrival at Olympia, the capital When the county of Walla Walla was legally defined by act of the first legislature of the Territory of Washington the officials designated to temporary control and organized the county were named by Governor Stevens himself and consisted of A. D. (Dominique) Pamburn, the resident agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, and George C. Bumford, a stockman residing on the Walla Walla river, and Mr. John Owens, then residing at Fort Owens, so called, formerly the St. Mary's Misson, in the Bitter Root valley. That these officials never met for formal organization was due to the sparse settlement of the vast extent of the county and the Indian troubles that followed so closely after.

Commercially speaking, the foundations for business in the commercial center of the Bitter Root valley were laid by people who emigrated from the Walla Walla valley. This is particularly so as to the large lumbering enterprise in the Hell Gate Canon, and the pioneer mercantile corporation of the city of Missoula. The founders of both these were originally residents of Walla Walla.

Individually speaking, the early families of the Bitter Root went there from Walla Walla. Among those connected with the party of Governor Stevens upon the journey already mentioned was Mr. C. P. Higgins, a man of large executive capacity, as well as frame, and well able to adapt himself to any circumstance in life or trust. Mr. Higgins was one

of the most dependable of Governor Stevens' assistants in holding the various councils with the Indians in the year 1855 and 1856, and became well acquainted with the interior region between Fort Benton and the Cascade Mountains, and after the interior was declared open for settlement in 1858 became a land owner in the Walla Walla valley, but later, with Frank Worden, who was the postmaster and a merchant at Walla Walla, removed to the Forks of the Hell Gate and Missoula rivers, where they together established a trading post for business with the Indians. This was the commencement of the Missoula Mercantile Company of the present day. Mr. Higgins took for his wife a daughter of Mr. Richard Grant, who had been in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company establishment known as Fort Hall in Southern Idaho, and their descendants include some of the leading families of Missoula.

Employed in the store of Mr. Worden at Walla Walla was a young man named Frank H. Woody, who assisted in the removal to the Bitter Root valley and settled there about the year 1860, who has since occupied many positions of trust and confidence in that valley and continues to be one of its well known and respected citizens, and prominent in the Historical Society of the State of Montana. Strange to say, Mr. Woody had reached Walla Walla by way of the Flathead country, and it is by way of introduction to his interesting article entitled "From Missoula to Walla Walla in 1852 on Horseback," which appears in this number of the Quarterly, that this brief sketch is written. In coming to Walla Walla alone and on horseback from Missoula late in the Fall of 1857 Judge Woody followed for considerable of the way the line of what afterward became the Military Road, surveyed and laid out by Captain John Mullan as a highway between Fort Benton and The Dalles. At the present day by transferring from one system to another it would be possible to travel nearly all of this route upon railway trains; another instance of the prominent fact that the old Indian trails have generally become the railway lines of the west.

In the Fall of 1911, after a lapse of fifty years, Judge Woody for the first time revisited the scene of his three years' activity at Walla Walla and renewed acquaintance with the few he remembered there. Among the historic spots of the city, he pointed out the site of the Craig house mentioned in his narrative, which stood at the extreme southeast corner of what is now the city park of Walla Walla and was the first home known to have been built and occupied within the present corporate limits of the city. This also became the first government postoffice in the valley, for Colonel Craig was appointed by Governor Stevens as agent over the Indian tribes inhabiting this region, and for that purpose removed from Lapwai for a

short time about the spring of 1856. He had been in Walla Walla during the Indian council of 1855 as one of the interpreters for Governor Stevens. Mr. Craig was a retired American Free Trapper or Mountain Man, a Virginian by birth, a companion of Joseph Meek and Robert Newell on the plains. The title of Colonel was attached to him because of his organizing a band of Nez Perce warriors to escort Governor Stevens through the Walla Walla country in the winter of 1855-6. The quarter section of land upon which the log house was erected was afterward acquired by his son-in-law, Mr. A. H. Robie, as a homestead.

Judge Woody's ride in one day from some point on Latah Creek (perhaps near Waverly) through to Snake river below the mouth of the Palouse was attended by one remarkable occurrence in that he crossed over no stream of water during the entire day: a fact then noted and ever since remembered by him with wonder. Can anyone solve this problem of topography?

T. C. ELLIOTT.

FROM MISSOULA TO WALLA WALLA IN 1857, ON HORSEBACK

In the fall (November) of the year 1857, I found myself in the Flathead Indian country, then in the Territory of Washington, where I had drifted with some Mormon Indian traders in October, 1856. At that time, 1856, there were in that country no white people except a few traders, a small Catholic Mission (the St. Ignatius), and a small Indian agency near the mouth of the Jocko river, and which was occupied by a white man named Henry G. Miller and Minnie Miller, his wife, a white woman, she being the first white woman ever in the present State of Montana, and being the only white woman then in that country. Miller and his wife came from Utah in the summer of 1856 and remained near the mouth of the Jocko river until the summer of 1857. I had remained in that country from about the middle of October, 1856, up to about the first of November, 1857, without seeing this white woman, or any other white woman during all of that time.

During all of the aforesaid time I had led something of a vagabond life, doing a little work for one or two of the Indian traders, and in hunting, fishing and trapping with the Indians and half breeds. Late in the fall of 1857, I became tired of my isolation from the white settlements, and became quite anxious to again mix with people of my own race and color, but how to do so was a serious question. The nearest place inhabited by white people was at Fort Walla Walla, in the Walla Walla Valley, about five hundred miles west of the place where I was then living, and the country intervening, being an Indian country inhabited by different tribes of Indians, many of said tribes being anything but friendly to the whites, and some of them actually in a state of hostility.

In the early fall of 1857, two men, one named Hugh O'Niel, and the other named Ranney, came into the Flathead country from Fort Colville, where they had been gold mining on the bars of the Columbia river. These men had been at Fort Walla Walla, and gave me a glowing account of that country, which made me more anxious to go there, but how to reach this land of promise was difficult to determine. About the first of November, of 1857, I had occasion to visit the Catholic Mission at Saint Ignatius, some thirty-eight miles north of the place where I was then stopping, and while there, I met a lay brother of the Cœur d'Alene Mission, who had come up from the last named Mission with a number of large pack mules, and with several half-breed men and their wives to pack down to that Mission from the Saint Ignatius Mission, the wheels, axes, etc.,

of a couple of wagons, which were taken apart, and made into packs and loaded on the mules.

The said lay brother was a good natured old Irishman, named McGeen. Brother McGeen told me that if I wanted to go to Walla Walla that he was going to start from Saint Ignatius on a day certain, within the next week, and would take a short trail to the mouth of the St. Regis Deboin river where it joined the Bitter Root or Missoula river, and if I would meet him there on a day he named, I could travel with him and his half-breeds to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, and which would be on my direct way to Fort Walla Walla. The point of meeting was about eighty miles down the Missoula river below where I was then staying.

I returned to my stopping place, fully determined to attempt the trip, full well considering the dangers to be encountered.

When the time came to make the start, it did not take a great while to make all necessary arrangements. I had two riding horses. On one of them I put a pack-saddle, and on it packed my small belongings, consisting of a single pair of blankets, a small quantity of bread and dried buffalo meat, a smal flour sack containing two extra shirts, a few old letters, a few keepsakes from my distant home, a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, and a few "ic-tas" with which to pay Indians for ferriage, etc.

Upon the other horse I placed my riding saddle, and I was then ready for my journey. I must not forget to mention my riding horse, for I remember him with gratitude and fond recollection for the noble service that he rendered me on the trip. He was a strawberry roan of Spanish breed, and was a horse formerly owned and ridden by Pearson, Governor Stevens' noted express rider, on his long trips from The Dalles to Fort Benton and other distant points in 1855-6, when Governor Stevens was holding councils and negotiating treaties with the various Indian tribes in the Northwest, and from this fact the horse was always known and called Pearson.

In those days we had no riding bridles, but rode our horses with a hair rope made by the Indians of buffalo hair, the rope being placed around the lower jaw of the horse. My pack horse was led by a rope of the same kind placed around his nose and head in the form of a halter. Thus equipped, I commenced my long and dangerous journey, carrying no arms except one small butcher knife. The first day I travelled about forty miles and camped under a large pine tree without tent or fire. I hobbled my horses and turned them out to feed, grass of the finest quality being plentiful. Early on the following morning I saddled up my horses and resumed my journey, and late in the afternoon arrived on the bank of the Missoula river, opposite the mouth of the Saint Regis De Borgia river, the place

where I was to meet Brother McGeen with his Indian half-breeds with their pack animals. It seems that some mistake had been made as to the time of our starting, and that he had started one day earlier than he had intended, or that I had started one day too late, for we failed to meet at the designated point. I could see the remains of his camp fire on the opposite side of the river where he had encamped the night before, but not a man or horse was in sight.

The Missoula river at this point was, and is quite a large river, and fordable only at a very few places. I rode up and down the stream for a considerable distance, endeavoring to find the place where Brother McGeen with his pack animals had crossed, but failed to find any sign of where they had entered the river. I then turned to the place where I had first reached the river, undetermined whether to attempt to cross the stream or return again to my starting place via the Flathead agency. I knew that it was a dangerous undertaking to attempt to cross, being alone. At the same time I did not want to retrace my steps, not knowing when I would have another opportunity to get out of that country. After deliberating on the matter for a short time, I determined to take the chances, and make the attempt to ford the river. I then took off all of my clothes except two woolen shirts, and tied them upon the top of my pack saddle, mounted my riding horse, leading my pack-horse, and started in.

At the place where I entered the water, it was quite shallow, but as I proceeded it gradually increased in depth, until I was about half way across the stream, where my horses struck swimming water. I kept my seat on my horse, until I was about two-thirds of the way across the stream, when, to relieve my horse of his load so as to enable him to swim with greater ease, I slipped out of my saddle on the lower side of my horse into the ice-cold water, retaining my riding rope in my hand, and catching hold of his mane with my left hand, and at the same time letting loose of the rope with which I was leading the pack-horse, and in this way swam on the lower side of my riding horse until near the shore. At this point, the water was very deep and running against a high cut bank. When my horse attempted to put his front feet on the bank, the water was so deep that his hind feet could not touch the bottom, and he reared up and fell back and came near falling upon me. I continued to hold on to my rope, and swam ashore, and then swam my horse down the stream until I found a place where he could get out; my pack-horse having swam down until he found a place where he could land. I then led my horses up to the fire of logs left burning by the McGeen party, and dry wood being plentiful, I made a large fire and warmed and dried and dressed myself, unpacked and unsaddled my horses, hobbled them and turned them out to feed and made

camp for the night, and after eating my supper of bread and dried meat, turned into my blankets, and slept as soundly as I ever did in the old farm house at my distant home down in "Dixie Land."

The next morning I made my breakfast on my bread and dried meat, packed and saddled my horses and started to overtake the McGeen party, which I did to my great relief before noon of that day.

I travelled with the party until we reached the Coeur d'Alene Mission, which took us from the crossing of the river about five or six days. Our way followed an old Indian trail which led up the Saint Regis river, crossing it many times, and which, for the most of the way, was through a forest of heavy pine, tamarack and cedar timber, and was obstructed by fallen timber, much of it of very large trees. I have seen many Indian trails, but never one so bad as this one. After following this trail for a long distance up the Saint Regis river, we left the river and crossed over the mountain on to the Coeur d'Alene river, and followed that stream down to the Mission. From the time I overtook the McGeen party until we reached the Mission, it snowed and rained nearly all of the time. The party had with them two small buffalo skin Indian lodges, in which we slept at night, which was some comfort.

Arriving at the Coeur d'Alene Mission, I was very hospitably received by the fathers then there, and I remained there two or three days to rest and recruit myself for the remainder and most dangerous part of my journey. I counselled with the fathers as to the best course to take, and they endeavored to tell me the route to take, and advised me to hire an Indian at the Mission to guide me to Snake river, and at a point above the Palouse Crossing. As I had two horses with me, I finally made a bargain with a Coeur d'Alene Indian to act as my guide, giving him one of my horses for so doing. Here I made a mistake in then and there turning the horse over to the Indian, and trusting to his honesty to do as he agreed to do. I obtained from the fathers at the Mission some bread, the shank-bone of a ham and some dried salmon, and tied my belongings and provisions on behind my riding saddle, and with my Indian guide, resumed my journey. That night we camped at a small prairie in the mountains, called "Wolf's Lodge," and the next day about noon, arrived at the foot of the Coeur d'Alene Lake, about where Fort Sherman was afterward located, where we found eight or ten lodges of Coeur d'Alene Indians in camp. Here my guide told me he could go no further, as one of his children back at the Mission was sick, and that he must return, but said he would get his brother to go on with me. After a long parley with his brother, the brother agreed to go, but had to go out on the range and get his horse. After a long delay he procured his horse, and an-

nounced himself ready to proceed. I did not like this arrangement, but as the Indian had my horse, I was forced to submit to the change of guides. We started from the Indian camp and went down the Spokane river two or three miles, and then crossed it by fording. At that time it was nearly night and time to camp. The Indian said some of his people were camped a short distance from the river, and that we would go to their camp and stay all night with them, and I, seeing nothing better, agreed to his suggestion. About one or two miles from the river, we found five or six lodges of Coeur d'Alene Indians. We rode up to the lodge of the chief, and my guide and he talked a little while, and the chief then told us to get off of our horses and unsaddle them, and he then gave them to an Indian boy to take out and put them in the Indian herd of horses, and then invited us into his lodge. The first thing after going into the lodge was to have a smoke Indian fashion, passing the pipe from one to another, from right to left, each person taking two or three draws, and then passing it to the person sitting next to him on his left. He then directed his squaw to get us some supper, which she did by baking some bread out of some coarse flour from the Mission, and giving us the bread, some dried salmon and cooked camas roots. The first thing after we had eaten our supper was to have another smoke. After the smoke was ended, the chief asked me what I had in a small flour sack that I had; when I told him he directed me to empty out its contents that he might see what was in it, and, of course, I complied with his request, as it would have been folly to have refused.

When I placed the contents on a buffalo robe, and he saw several letters, old and badly worn by carriage, he asked me what they were. I gave him to understand that they were old letters that I had received from my people back in the States, and seeing that they were old and much worn, he evidently believed me, and directed me to put all of the things back into the sack. He then told me the reason why he had made me show him what I had in the sack. He said there were a lot of white men at Fort Colville, and also soldiers at Walla Walla, and that the chief of the Colville Indians had told him that if any white men passed through his country to search them and see if they were carrying any letters from the soldiers at one place to the white men at the other place, and if they had any to take them from them.

The next morning we had a breakfast similar to the supper of the night before. Our horses were brought in, and we saddled up and resumed our journey. It was quite cloudy, and soon after we started commenced snowing lightly, but melted as it fell. We followed a very dim old Indian trail through a hilly country, sparsely timbered with pine trees. Some time

after noon, we came to a lake, and as I now remember, it was rather a narrow lake between a quarter and a half mile wide and something more than a mile long. We followed down the side of it where we first struck it to the other end. Where we first struck it, the shores of it were rough and rocky, but when we reached the other end of it, it terminated in a rather sandy plain. Here we found, where ten or fifteen lodges of Indians had been encamped, and from the indications that we saw, it appeared as though the Indians had moved from the place quite recently. I asked my guide what Indians they were that had been encamped there, and he said he did not know. Said maybe they were Spokanes or Palouses, "and if they are Palouses and catch us they will kill you, but if they kill you, they will kill me, too." This was not very consoling to me. I did not care very much if they killed my guide, but I did not really want to be killed. Some times in the following night, I was only sorry that they did not catch and kill my guide, as he really needed killing.

At the lower end of this lake, where the Indians had been encamped, there was a plain, well-worn old Indian trail, which we followed. Immediately after leaving this old Indian encampment, and in the trail which we were following, I saw something which was then a puzzle to me, and it was a puzzle that I have never been able to solve. In the trail leading from the Indian camp, were the tracks of a white man, who evidently wore a No. 10 shoe, and a rather light make of shoe. The tracks had the appearance of being quite recently made. What white man could possibly have been on foot in the country at that time was something I could not then understand, nor have I ever been able to fathom the mystery. That the tracks were made by a white man was plainly evident by the way the man walked. There were never made by an Indian. We followed this trail, leading, as I supposed in the direction of Snake river, the man's track still appearing in the trail, going in the same direction that we were going. When I left the Coeur d' aene Mission the fathers told me there was a well known landmark called St. Joseph's Mountain, to the right of which I should go. After we left the lake we commenced to go up onto an elevated prairie. It was very cloudy, and we could tell nothing about the points of the compass. A short time before night, the guide stopped and said we must have a smoke, and after we had smoked, he told me to untie a white blanket that was tied on behind my saddle, and I did as he requested. He took the blanket and spread it out on the ground, gathered up a little snow that had remained at the roots of the burch grass, and poured a little gunpowder into his hand on the snow and made a black mixture, and then took the blanket and with the paint made a rough map on it, showing the way we should go, at the same time claiming that one of his children was sick, and

that he wanted to go back home. I told him he must go on to Snake river. I could see that he was not in a good humor. We mounted our horses and rode on until nearly dark, when we came to a creek, with a few quite large pine trees standing near the stream, and here we camped. We unsaddled our horses, hobbled them and turned them out to feed. We then built a small fire, ate our scant supper, had a smoke and rolled up in our blankets and went to sleep. I rolled up in my blanket and went to sleep under one of the pine trees, and the guide did likewise, but at some little distance from me. I slept quite soundly until probably some time after midnight, when I woke up, and found my horse standing beside me, and the Indian and his horse gone, the scoundrel having deliberately deserted me. I looked around, but could find no trace of the Indian or his horse. I went to sleep again, and slept soundly until morning, when I ate my scanty breakfast, saddled my horse and resumed my journey. After crossing the creek I again saw this white man's track in the trail. After going two or three miles, I came to a dry valley about a half a mile wide, and as I remember it, leading off from it to my right, with a large number of Indian trails running parallel with each other, and worn down deep, and here I lost all trace of the white man's track. Looking down this valley, I saw large bands of horses, and believing that these trails led down to the Palouse Crossing, which I was endeavoring to avoid, I crossed over them, and took to the prairie without any trail, going in the direction which I believed would lead me to Snake river. I was going up all the time in an elevated grass country, and about noon I came to a spring in the hills, and stopped, watered my horse, and ate my lunch. After resting myself and horse, I resumed my journey, and just about sundown (it having cleared up partially), I arrived on top of a hill on the prairie, from which point I could see a piece of water far down below me. I was at a loss to tell if it was Snake river, or a small lake. Nevertheless, I started down the hill toward it, as I needed some water, as did also my horse. A portion of the way was too steep to ride, so I walked and led my horse. After going some distance, I could hear the water roaring; then I was satisfied that it was no lake, and as I knew in reason, there could be no other river there than the Snake, I felt better. I proceeded down towards the river, following a small ravine that led down to the river. Just as I reached the mouth of the ravine, at a point where an Indian trail passed up the river, I very unexpectedly met an Indian and a squaw coming on the trail going up the river. They semed as much surprised as I was, and the Indian, who could talk a little English, and a smattering of Chinook jargon, hailed me with the usual salutation of "How," and I replied in the same manner. He asked me from whence I came, and I told him from the

Flathead country. He then asked me where I was going, and I told him to Walla Walla. He then asked me if I was alone, and I put on a bold face and told him "No," that there was a party of about fifteen white men with we who were a short distance behind.

He then told me there was a camp of some eight or ten lodges of Nez Perce Indians camped a short distance down the river, and told me to go down and camp with them, which I promised to do, without, however, intending to do so. The Indian and his squaw then rode on up the trail and I rode down to the river and watered my horse and obtained a drink myself, and waited and watched the two Indians go up the river about a half a mile, where they camped, turned their horses loose, and built a fire. I then returned to the mouth of the ravine, down which I had come, and rode back up it about a quarter of a mile, and turned up on a small depression of the prairie, and went into camp. I unsaddled my horse and turned him loose to feed. I then made a meal on my small stock of provisions, and after letting my horse feed a while, I spread down my blankets and prepared to go to sleep, but before doing so I brought my horse up near my bed, and with my hair rope put a halter on him, and tied the other end of the rope around my waist and went to sleep, and slept as sound as I ever did in my life. In the morning early, I arose, ate my breakfast out of my fast disappearing commissary, saddled my horse and started down toward the river, intending to ride down to the Indian camp and get them to put me over the river, as I knew that all of the Indians on the lower part of Snake river had good canoes. I rode to the camp and rode up to the lodge of the chief, and asked him to have some one take a canoe and put me over the river, but he absolutely refused, and told me to swim it, which to my mind was an impossibility to do. I was in a quandary, as I had reason to believe that I was only a short distance above the Palouse crossing, which I was endeavoring to avoid, believing that if I went there I would in all probability be killed. Here I was in a dilemma, as I did not want to retrace my steps back to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, and the only show I had was to cross the river, but how to do it was the question. However, I soon made up my mind to take a desperate chance, and attempt to cross. I noticed that there was considerable driftwood on the banks of the river, and at that point there was very little current in the stream, and as I had two hair ropes with me I determined to get two large sticks of driftwood and lash them together so as to make a raft, turn my horse loose and make him swim, and attempt to cross on my raft, a decidedly dangerous and desperate undertaking. While looking for a good place to make the attempt, I came on to two Indian boys with a large canoe gathering driftwood on the bank of the stream. I rode up to them

and after taking a look at them saw that they were slaves—this I could tell from the fact that their hair had been cut short. I had seen the Nez Perce Indians passing through the Flathead country going to the buffalo country and had noticed Indians of this description with them, and learned that they were slaves, being captives taken in Southern Oregon and California, and when captured their hair was cut short, and kept cut in that manner. I rode up to them and asked them to put me over the river, offering them some Indian goods which I had brought with me, consisting of a few yards of calico, Indian paint, brass tacks, etc., which I had brought with me to trade to Indians for forrigne and provisions. I showed them the goods and offered them all I had if they would put me over. At first they absolutely refused, but after talking with each other, one of them went around a bend in the river, evidently to see if they put me over if they would be seen from the Indian lodges above. When he came back they held a short conversation between themselves, and then made signs that they would cross me. They took my saddle and little pack off my horse and put them in the canoe, and told me to get it, and started across leading my horse, he swimming below the canoe. In a few minutes we were over, and a happier tenderfoot you never saw. I saddled up and started without any trail, and when I climbed to the top of the hill, I looked down the river and saw an Indian camp about three or four miles below the point where I crossed.

I travelled all that day in the direction, as I supposed of Fort Walla Walla, and over a high grass covered country, devoid of trees, streams or trails, and at night camped at a spring that I found in the hills. The next morning the country was covered with a very heavy fog, that continued clearly all that day. After traveling some distance I fell into a large Indian trail, and later in the day saw through the fog, the tops of trees, and soon came to a stream of water, which I have since learned was the Touchet river. Here I stopped and let my horse rest and feed for a while, while I consumed the remainder of my provisions.

Before leaving the Flathead country the men, O'Neil and Ramsey, had told me that the soldiers at Fort Walla Walla had been in the habit of making hay out on Dry Creek, some six or seven miles from the Fort.

After resting my horse, I resumed my journey, still following the Indian trail, and after going some distance I again saw some trees, and on arriving at them found a stream, or the bed of a stream, but do not now remember whether or no there was any water in it. After passing over this steam for a short distance, I saw where some person had been cutting grass, and going a little further I found waggon tracks where some persons had been hauling hay. I then knew that I was near the promised land, and a happier mortal never lived.

By this time the fog had lifted and I was enabled to see for quite a distance. I rode on a few miles, and saw a band of horses off some distance from the trail. The horses looked to be too large for Indian horses, and as I drew nearer to them, I saw two mounted men, apparently herding them. I rode towards them and soon discovered that the two men were blue overcoats. I rode up to them, and found that they were two soldiers herding dragoon horses. Then I felt that my troubles and fears for personal safety were all over. I asked them how far it was to the Fort, and they told me about two miles. I rode on and soon came in sight of the Dragoon Cantonment, and as I came to Mill Creek, just above the Suttler's Store, I met Col. William Craig, Henry G. Miller and William Scott. I had a letter for Col. Craig, which had been given me by Henri M. Chase, which I handed to Col. Craig, and, after reading it, he told me the road leading to his house, about one mile distant, and told me to go there and stop, and that he would soon be at home. I went to the house, turned my horse out and prepared to take a rest, being nearly tired out, and that night had the first good square meal, the first that I had had for many days, and to which I did full justice. This ended one of the most venturesome and dangerous journeys ever taken by a young tenderfoot.

NOTE—I went to Spokane in August, 1911, and went out to Liberty Lake, some twelve miles from the City of Spokane, and feel satisfied that the lake that I found on my journey was Liberty Lake, and as I crossed no stream after leaving the lake, except the stream on which I camped when my Indian guide left me, I am constrained to believe that stream was what is now called "Hangman's Creek."

FRANK H. WOODY.

THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY*

268 Jayne Street, Oakland, Cal., July 1st, 1912.

Mr. Thomas W. Prosch,
621 Ninth Avenue,
Seattle, Wash.

My dear Friend:

In your letter of June 24th you said you would be glad to receive the papers printed in the Sunday School Times of Philadelphia, Pa., relating to the Whitman controversy. I have been looking them up, and will send them to you, although I have no doubt but that you have already seen them. Pardon my accompanying them with my comments.

Take the one from Professor Bourne first, as he is the principal one who has ever opposed the claim of the friends of Dr. Whitman. I once prepared a reply to his criticism as set forth in his "Legend of Marcus Whitman," and went to Portland, Oregon, at the time of the Fair in 1905, intending to have a public discussion with him, but it happened, unfortunately, that while there I was invited to accompany a niece of mine on a pleasure trip to Alaska; we were gone twelve days, and during that time Professor Bourne had been there and gone. I was very sorry, for I wanted very much to meet him.

I was prepared to show that in his "Legend of Marcus Whitman" he had been very unfair, as he had quoted everything he could find, or could twist, to bear against Doctor Whitman, and omitted to quote anything that could possibly be construed in his favor,, although there was much within his reach. I was prepared to show where he had done this in many places, and if I now had my copy of his book I could give the pages. I remember one expression he made—I do not remember the exact words, but give the substance—that he could not understand why so many people of sound mind could be so deceived in regard to Doctor Whitman. I wrote on the margin of the leaf: "This reminds me of the story of the lone

*The following letter, from General J. C. Strong, one of the early pioneers of Washington (1858), now living in Oakland, Cal., at the age of over 80 years, is given to the readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly for publication. It is one more and the latest, of a vast number of papers and books published for or against the legends of Oregon, beginning in the United States by the efforts and representations of Doctor Marcus Whitman, in the year 1842, and continuing to the present day. We are interested from the facts of the personal acquaintance of its author, and his kinsman, Doctor Strong, with the married Whitman seventy years ago. Readers of the Quarterly will be glad to see it. T. W. P.

juror, who, when the judge asked the jury why they couldn't agree, said, 'Judge, there isn't any use, eleven men on this jury haven't any brains.'"

I feel confident that if Professor Bourne had not occupied the high position he did, his "Legend of Marcus Whitman" would have fallen flat. When a person who claims to be a searcher after truth in history—as Professor Bourne does—finds a disputed point, he is expected to examine both sides fairly, and weigh the evidence with honest scales; if he does not, his conclusions are of little value and should be considered unfair and unreliable.

When I went to Portland in 1905, I was prepared with facts to show that he had been unfair in his criticisms, and with some questions which I think would have troubled him to answer even to his own satisfaction.

First: Why did Doctor Whitman go to Washington before going to Boston to see the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions if his errand was not political? For a long time the Anti-Whitmanites declared that he did not go to Washington at all, and not until it began to look too absurd to deny, did they admit it; knowing that the government at Washington had nothing whatever to do with the missions; and even then, Mrs. Frances F. Victor, who was one of their best writers, assumed to put into the Doctor's mouth just the words he used to the President and Mr. Webster.

Second: Why did Dr. Whitman never speak of going East until after Doctor White's visit?

Third: And if settling Oregon with American families was not a part of his errand, why did he get Mr. Lovejoy, who had just come to Oregon with Doctor White, to go immediately back with him?

It certainly could not have been for his influence in getting the A. B. C. F. M. to change its order; and why did Mr. Lovejoy stop at Fort Boise and work strenuously to get Americans with families to go to Oregon, unless that was just what Doctor Whitman and he had agreed upon before starting? It seems to me that when the friends of Doctor Whitman reenforce their direct proof that his main errand East was political, with the fact that he went to Washington before going to Boston, it establishes the fact that he went East on some political errand, and throws the burden of proving what that errand was upon those who deny it, and they should prove what it was, not negatively, but positively.

Professor Bourne, in his letter published in the "Sunday School Times," after asking the question, "Was there any danger in 1842-3 that the United States would give up or lose what we now know as Oregon?" says, under the head of "Attitude of President and Senate":

"President Tyler wrote his son December 11, 1845" (two years after Doctor Whitman had been to Washington). "I looked exclusively to an adjustment by the forty-ninth degree, and never dreamed for a moment of surrendering the free navigation of the Columbia—I never dreamed of ceding this country." (that is between the Columbia and 49th parallel) "unless, for the greater equivalent of California, which I fancied Great Britain might be able to obtain for us through her influence in Mexico."

Here is one of the many instances of Professor Bourne's unfairness. Why does he not say,—to account for the foregoing:—unless, that at the time Doctor Whitman went to Washington there was in existence a tri-party agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Mexico, by which the United States had bound itself to cede all her interests in the Oregon Country to Great Britain for the greater equivalent of California, and the only reason it had not been done was because Mexico was slow; and that after Doctor Whitman had been to Washington and convinced the government of the great value of the Oregon Country, our government stopped urging Great Britain to use her influence with Mexico, and the matter was dropped to give the government further time to look into it, which resulted in keeping Oregon as part of the United States.

Of course, Professor Bourne knew of the Triparty Agreement, but does not mention it. Why? Because that being the case, the Oregon Country was really in danger, and that would tend to favor the claim of Doctor Whitman's friends.

Again he says: "Second. As to the attitude of the Senate. On February 3rd, 1843, the Senate passed the Linn bill, providing for the immediate extension of the laws of the United States over the entire Oregon territory, the erection of courts, and the granting of lands to settlers."

This is another instance of unfairness. Professor Bourne knew that the Linn bill hung fire, and did not become a law until seven years after Doctor Whitman visited Washington.

Again, under the head of "Why did Whitman come East?" he says: "If Oregon was not in danger of being surrendered to England, what then was Doctor Whitman's motive for his journey?"

He then makes such extracts from the contemporary records, diaries, and letters, as he thinks will best air the trouble of the Mission with the A. B. C. F. M. No friend of Doctor Whitman denies that the mission was having trouble with the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M., and that that trouble was one of his objects in going East; but if that was his only object, or his main one, why did he give the Board in Boston the go by, and go on to Washington, where he knew he would not, and could not, get relief?

Professor Bourne concludes his letter by saying: "And that was the reason for Marcus Whitman's journey East," (as if he could not have but one reason, or object) "to induce the American Board not to abandon, but to re-enforce, his Mission Station."

Then why did he go to Washington first? It is not natural for a man to go miles out of his way to reach persons, who, as I have said, he knew had nothing whatever to do with his grievance; and if he had two reasons or objects in view, and that he had is conclusively proven by his friends, would it not be in accordance with all natural law, that he should attend to the one he deemed of most importance first.

Professor John Porter Lamberton sends two letters to the Sunday School Times. He advances nothing new, but relies entirely upon Professor Bourne's criticisms as absolutely conclusive; and as I have replied to Professor Bourne, I will only notice one item in his letters. He says: "There is record that very few in Oregon believe it, and the officers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions discountenances it. The early numbers of the "Missionary Herald" are silent about it. The record of Whitman's life there given is very brief."

He was probably not aware of the fact that the answer to that criticism tended strongly to prove the political nature of the Doctor's journey, as I will show later on.

Rev. Edward E. Strong, DD., (who is a cousin of mine, and with whom I have often talked on this subject, was the Editorial Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions at the time Doctor Whitman came East in 1842-3), sends a letter to the Sunday School Times, from which I quote in part:

"The chief argument against the claim in behalf of Whitman is based on the incompleteness of contemporaneous accounts. There is a reason for this incompleteness. Whitman was well aware, as were the supporters of the American Board at that time, that the officers of the Board had a strong feeling that he was devoting his attention to political rather than missionary ends. He came from Oregon without permission of the Committee, and was well aware that his scheme did not have the full sympathy of those at the missionary rooms. It was most natural, therefore, that he did not say much in his letters or in his personal interviews about his convictions or his plans. He was more far-seeing than his directors, and notwithstanding the divergence in their views, he held to his convictions. This certainly would be enough to account for the meagerness of the records of our Board in regard to this incident; but I think I can say that in what records we have, there is nothing to contradict the common version of the Whitman story. The fact that that story is not told in our records is far

from furnishing convincing evidence that the story was not true." Does not this fully answer Professor Lamberton's criticism on this point?

The Editor of the Sunday School Times wrote to Doctor Strong for a second letter, to which he replied as follows:

"In response to your letter of December 31st, I may add a little to the statements made in my letter which was presented in the Sunday School Times, affirming that there is nothing in the records of our American Board which militates against the claim made that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the Union. The records of the Board show that Doctor Whitman came to Washington, and that he subsequently appeared in Boston, very much to the surprise of the Secretaries, having left his mission without the authorization of the Committee. He had his own plans for the Board's mission in Oregon, and for conducting a party across the mountains to settle in that territory. Though the Prudential Committee had not favored the scheme which he had proposed, it is evident from the records of the Committee, at its meeting of April 4th, 1843, that Whitman's personal statements carried conviction in regard to most of the points he had on his mind. They approved of Doctor Whitman's ideas respecting the conduct of the Mission. The minutes of that day also mention the presentation by Doctor Whitman of his plans for taking with him, on his return to the Mission, a company of 'intelligent and pious laymen to settle at or near the Mission Station, but without expense to the Board or in connection with it.' This plan is given approval if the right men can be found."

The reluctance of the Prudential Committee to connect the Board with any political movement, or any enterprise not strictly missionary in its character, was doubtless the reason why as little is said in its records about that side of Whitman's work. But the action taken on that 4th of April, 1843, is conclusive as to what Whitman's plan was, and especially of his purpose to take the company of immigrants across the mountains to Oregon. That he carried out this plan and took such a company is a fact sufficiently established. The feat was a most remarkable one, but the American Board never discussed the political side of it. How much the plans and achievements of the heroic missionary had to do with saving Oregon to the United States is a point which, of course, could not be decided by reference to the documents at the missionary rooms."

Professor C. W. Darrow, of Tacoma, sends a letter to the Sunday School Times against the claim made by the friends of Doctor Whitman. He merely quotes from Reverend H. K. Hines, D. D., who says: "Whitman's coming and work was antedated by two years by those of Jason Lee, Cyrus Shephard, and P. S. Edwards. Their place as the pioneers of American life in Oregon can never be disputed by any fair historian.

Whether their services or his were the greater after his arrival in Oregon it is not the object of this article to discuss. Those who claim that his were such as to enable him to be exalted as the one man who "saved Oregon to the United States," rest that claim on two assumed facts, namely: First—The influence he had on the course and conclusion of the negotiations between England and the United States, commenced with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842." He then asks: "What then did Doctor Whitman actually have to do with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty?" Here it were Doctor Hines made a great mistake. It is not claimed by the friends of Doctor Whitman that he ever had anything whatever to do with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Why should he? That treaty had nothing whatever to do with the Oregon Country. It only settled the northeastern boundary line between England and the State of Maine, New Brunswick et al., as can be seen by reference to the treaty, which can be found among the Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers' in any reference library. The treaty that settled the title to the Oregon Country was the James Buchanan and Richard Packenham Treaty made June 15th, 1846. Doctor Hines is also mistaken in thinking that any friend of Doctor Whitman would for a moment think of detracting one iota from the services of those noble and self-sacrificing missionaries, or of depriving them of the honor of being the pioneers of American life in Oregon.

But that is not the question. The claim made for Doctor Whitman by his friends must stand or fall upon the one question, i. e., Did his going to Washington in the spring of 1842-3 have any effect upon the action of the government in regard to the Oregon Country?

Then again,—as to his having anything to do with the immigration of 1843, no friend of Doctor Whitman ever claimed that he was the only man who raised the immigration of 1843; there were many working for the same object; but that he originated the idea, planned the arrangements, and was General-in-Chief of it, is proved conclusively.

Principal William I. Marshall in the Portland Oregonian of August 24th, 1906, claimed that the statements made by some of the Whitmanites were untrue, and if he quotes them correctly, they certainly were untrue. If human testimony can be relied upon to establish a fact, if upon reliable evidence a man can know anything to be true of which he has no personal knowledge, it certainly is a truth that the Hudson Bay Company never opposed the coming of missionaries, regardless of denomination or nationality, but always assisted them in getting a start at self support.

The Company, however, did not like to see the country filling up with American traders or settlers, which feeling caused much friction between it and the early settlers and made it many enemies.

In 1906 Marshall wrote a book in which he says that "Whitman could have given no essential information in 1843 not already in the hands of the government at Washington." It is not claimed by the friends of Doctor Whitman that he went to Washington for any other purpose than to amplify the value of the Oregon Country. The extravagant and unreliable writings of Spalding and Gray—and some others—were of great detriment to the Whitman claim. Mr. Eells could not admit that Doctor Whitman did not originate the immigration of 1843, as stated, as that is contrary to all the proofs. It is claimed by the Anti-Whitmanites that Oregon was not in danger, but none of them mention the Triparty Agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Mexico that was in existence at that time. If, as claimed by some of the Doctor's opponents, Whitman must rest his title to fame not upon any political services rendered, but upon his work as a pioneer, then he has none, as he was antedated two years by Jason Lee, Cyrus Shepherd, and P. S. Edwards, good and faithful missionaries, who did as good work among the Indians as Doctor Whitman.

But the letters of Reverend Doctor Strong, hereinbefore quoted, who was the Editorial Secretary of the American Board, and who was a highly educated man, prove conclusively that Doctor Whitman had two objects in view in coming East, one political and the other for the benefit of his Mission; and Dr. Strong explains why the records are silent upon the political side of the question, and he, being Secretary, had a much better opportunity to know the truth than any outsider.

Professor Henry W. Baker, son of Reverend Samuel Parker, who enlisted Whitman as his associate missionary to Oregon, sends a letter to the Sunday School Times, from which I quote in part:—

"There is one incidental fact that has been overlooked by others and myself as bearing on what Doctor Whitman accomplished in Washington. A part of his report, as given by him to many worthy witnesses, was President Tyler's promise to send Colonel Fremont to accompany or follow the migration of 1843. The significant fact is that the orders to Fremont were countermanded just as he was leaving the frontier. Why so, if it was only a scientific expedition that merely happened to start that year? Why, unless the opponents of Oregon, in those years of fierce controversy about it, secured the countermand in connection with the migration? Mrs. Fremont, true to her pro-Oregon father, Colonel Benton, suppressed by delay the countermand. We have the facts that Fremont made his first expedition beyond the mountains that year; that he left the frontier with his armed escort only a week after the great migration; that he went to Doctor Whitman's Station and down the Columbia, and a second time to

Doctor Whitman's. All this, confirmed by the countermand, agrees with the Doctor's report after visiting the National Capitol. Such incidental facts go far to substantiate the whole story, already sustained by indubitable direct testimonies. The fact that the Secretary of War did recommend military posts on the route, and that Senator Linn's bill for encouragement of settlers passed the Senate, do not show that Oregon was in no danger of being lost. There is abundance of documentary proof in Congressional Records and in contemporary newspapers that efforts for Oregon were fiercely contested for many years. Columns could be filled with quotations, if at all necessary. As to Linn's bill, why suppress the fact that it hung fire until seven years after Doctor Whitman's ride to Washington?

In regard to merely negative evidence marshalled forth in long extracts from missionary letters, it is not only susceptible of quite another interpretation, but it has another, according to their testimonies. They avoid any reference to Doctor Whitman's chief purpose for the reasons they mention,—sensitiveness to reproach for anything outside of their religious work, and prudence in regard to the Hudson Bay Company; not to speak of presumable prudence, at that stage of the matter, in writing to friends of the American Board. These facts illustrate the fallacy of confining the questions to documents written at the time, and that happened to survive after sixty or seventy years. That method would throw out much of well settled history. The numerous testimonies of persons who knew Doctor Whitman and were familiar with him, and others of no less high character whom he met, are first hand testimony, agreeing in all important respects, and all together constitute a mass of the best possible proof, and go back to Doctor Whitman's return to Oregon, and thence onward.

William A. Mowry sends the Sunday School Times the following statement from the pen of Rev. Myron Eells, D. D., son of Reverend Doctor Cushing Eells, from which I quote in part:

"As to the danger of losing Oregon, or a part of it, from the diary of J. Q. Adams, and the Life of President Tyler, we learn that there was a tripartite plan on hand for which Tyler and Webster were working in 1842 and 1843. England, Mexico, and the United States were the three parties to it. If carried out, England would have taken all Oregon north of the Columbia River; the United States was to obtain California, so far south as thirty-six degrees; Texas was to become independent; and England was to furnish certain sums to help the United States purchase the land from Mexico. England and the United States had agreed to this, but Mexico was slow, not giving her consent until about the time, or after, Doctor Whitman was in Washington. Tyler wrote about it evidently

early in 1843:—"The assent of Mexico to such a treaty is all that is necessary as to all its parts, a surrender of her title is all that is wanting." (Tyler's Life, Vol. II., page 261.) Again: In February, 1843, President Tyler had made such propositions to England as would make it impossible to have signed a bill granting any lands to settlers in Oregon."

Professor Wilder Fairbank of Boston sends a letter to the Sunday School Times containing an affidavit from Reverend Cushing Eells, D. D., who was the associate of Doctor Whitman in his missionary work in Oregon, and who was one of the men who authorized Whitman's leaving his Mission to go East: "September, 1842, a letter written by Doctor Whitman addressed to the Reverend Messrs. E. Walker and C. Eells at Tshimakin, reached its destination, and was received by the parties to whom it was written. By the contents of said letter a meeting of the Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. was invited to be held at Wailatpu. The object of said meeting, as stated in the letter named, was to approve of a purpose formed by Doctor Whitman, that he go East in behalf of Oregon as related to the United States. In the judgment of Mr. Walker and myself, that object was foreign to our assigned work. With troubled thoughts we anticipated the proposed meeting. On the following day, Wednesday, we started, and on Saturday afternoon camped on the Touchet at the ford near the Mullan Bridge. We were pleased with the prospect of enjoying a period of rest, reflection, and prayer, needful preparation for the antagonism of opposing ideas. On Monday we arrived at Wailatpu and met the two resident families of Messrs. Whitman and Gray. The Reverend H. H. Spalding was there. All the male members of the Mission were thus together. In the discussion the opinion of Mr. Walker and myself remained unchanged. The purpose of Doctor Whitman was fixed. In his estimation, the saving of Oregon to the United States was of paramount importance, and he would make the attempt to do so, even if he had to withdraw from the Mission in order to accomplish his purpose. In reply to considerations intended to hold Doctor Whitman to his assigned work, he said: 'I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary.' The idea of his withdrawal could not be entertained; therefore, to retain him in the Mission, a vote to approve of his making the perilous endeavor prevailed. Record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of their massacre, November 29th, 1847, it disappeared. I solemnly affirm that the foregoing statements are true and correct according to the best of my knowledge and belief, so help me God. (Signed) Cushing Eells."

"Sworn and subscribed before me this 25th day of August, 1883. (Signed) S. E. Kellogg, Notary Public, Spokane County, Washington Territory."

Query: Was such a meeting held at the Mission, and did Doctor Whitman say, "I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary," and did he look upon the saving of Oregon to the United States as of paramount importance and say he would make the attempt to save it, even if he had to withdraw from the Mission; or has Reverend Cushing Eells deliberately sworn to a falsehood (which is unthinkable)?

If then it is true—accompanied by the fact that when he arrived in the States he went immediately to Washington—does it not prove beyond question that the saving of Oregon to the United States was one of the objects he had in view, and the main one for going east in the winter of 1842-3.

Doctor Whitman personally interested me in Oregon and influenced my coming, which was in 1850, and having known his mother and his relatives in Rushville, N. Y., the town where we all then lived, I became very much interested when I heard of the controversy and took great pains to examine all the evidence, pro and con, relating to the saved Oregon story, and have come to the conclusion that he is entitled to all that his friends claim for him.

I send you with this all the papers I have that were sent to the Sunday School Times during the Whitman controversy; also a letter from a relative of his giving some interesting information in regard to Doctor Whitman's family.

JAMES CLARK STRONG.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1911*

Foster, Joseph.—Born in Canada, April 10, 1828; died near Seattle, Jan. 16th, aged almost 83 years. He came with his parents in 1833 to Ohio. In 1852 he removed to the Pacific coast, and the year following settled in Duwamish valley, where for fifty-eight years he made his home, engaged in farming. He was a member of the Legislature many times, more, it is said, than any other Washingtonian. He was survived by a wife (Martha J. Steele, married 1865) and one son.

Coombs, Rachel.—Born in Canada, died in Seattle, Feb. 20th, aged 79 years. Mrs. Coombs, as Rachel Boyd, was married to Samuel Fuller Coombs in 1855. In 1859 he came to Puget Sound, and she followed him in 1862. Except for a few months at Port Madison, all her subsequent life was spent in Seattle. She had six children, three of whom yet live. Mr. Coombs died in 1908.

Chehobs, Henry.—He was a Cowlitz Indian, who died Feb. 22d. He was the son of a chief. He used to say that he remembered the coming of Lewis and Clark in 1805-06. He was reported to be 116 years old. He was given a white man's funeral and burial by one of his pioneer friends, Mr. T. W. Rabin.

Cooper, Mary.—Mrs. Cooper is said to have been born in California in 1831, and to have lived all her life on the Pacific coast. She was the wife of John Cooper, a pioneer of 1848. He died several years ago. She died at Port Ludlow early in March, leaving six sons and daughters.

Thomas, John M.—Born in Kentucky, July 8th, 1829; died in Okanogan county in March. Mr. Thomas was a Pacific coast pioneer of 1852. The following year he was at Alki in King county. In 1854 he and Nancy Russell were married. In the Indian war of 1855-56 he was a volunteer. Until a few years before his death the family home was on their donation claim in White River valley, where the Northern Pacific station called Thomas is now located. His wife preceded him. He left six daughters and three sons.

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*In the matter following the biographer has drawn his information from the newspapers of the day. In some cases the statements were meager, and thereby was prevented the uniformity and consistency desired. There were other pioneers, no doubt, of whose going to hold no newspaper account, or other knowledge; hence, their absence here. For the purposes of this record, a pioneer is one who came to Washington Territory or the Pacific Coast forty years or more ago, and who also lived in the Territory of Washington. T. W. P.

Savage, Bessie Isaacs.—Born in Walla Walla in January, 1861; died in Seattle, March 10, aged 50 years and 2 months. Mrs. Savage was the daughter of Henry P. Isaacs, who came to the Pacific in 1849, and was long a prominent citizen of Walla Walla. She was a graduate both of Whitman College and Mills College. Her husband was George M. Savage. She was one of the longest time and most prominent of women club members, belonging to several different organizations, and being officer a number of times. Her death unexpectedly occurred at one of the Century Club meetings.

Logan, Mary P.—Mrs. Logan was born in Missouri, the daughter of Daniel Waldo. The family came to Oregon in 1843, and settled in Marion county. Her father was one of the most prominent of early Oregonians. The Waldo hills get their name from him. Mrs. Logan owned property and lived for a time in Seattle, where several relatives reside. She died at Salem on the 8th of March.

Wallis, Nellie.—As the wife of Thomas McNatt she crossed the plains in 1852. From that time to the end she lived at different places in Oregon and Washington. In 1861 Mr. McNatt died, and twenty years later she married W. M. Wallis, with whom she lived at Port Ludlow until her death in March. She was 80 years of age.

Snyder, Sarah Elizabeth. She crossed the plains with her husband, Samuel Snyder, in 1857, her marriage with whom extended over a period of fifty years. They lived at various places in Oregon and Washington, but finally in Dawamish valley, where both died, she in March. Mrs. Snyder was the mother of twelve children, ten of whom survive her. Her age was 75 years.

Spinning, Charles Hadley. Born in Indiana, Jan. 23d, 1821; died at Prosser, April 1st, aged 90 years. He crossed the continent sixty years ago, settling first in Lewis county and then in Pierce, where for fifty-two years he dwelt. Dr. Spinning was husband of Mildred D. Stewart. He was a Territorial Legislator, U. S. Indian official, and for years the only practicing physician in Pierce county.

Lane, Timothy. Born in Ohio, died in Pierce county in April, aged 72 years. Mr. Lane was a member of the Daniel E. Lane family, which crossed the plains and over the Naches Pass in 1853. From that time on Timothy Lane was a farmer, either in Pierce county or Eastern Washington. A widow, three daughters and three sons survive him. All the original lane family—five members—are now gone but William, who lives in Pierce county.

Eldridge, Teresa.—Born in Ireland, June 24, 1832; died at Bellingham, May 10, aged 79 years. She came to New York in 1850, and in 1851 to San Francisco. Among those on the ship was Edward Eldridge, second mate. They became acquainted, and in 1852 were married. In 1853 they came north and settled in Whatcom, where both remained to the end of their days on earth. She was the first white woman to live in the present city of Bellingham. Their donation claim included 320 acres, worth now many millions of dollars. Their son, Edward (1855), was the first white child born in Whatcom county. Hugh Eldridge, of their children, alone survives this worthy couple.

Reynolds, John N.—Born in Kentucky, died in Tacoma, May 18th, aged 78 years. He came to Olympia in 1859, thence going to Oregon, and finally coming to Tacoma in 1880. He was a widower, but had two daughters, Mrs. Fremont Campbell and Mrs. P. A. Page.

Thompson, John A.—Born in Maine; died at Port Gamble, May 21st, aged 74 years. He came to the Pacific coast in 1858, and was in the employ of the Puget Mill Company during the fifty-three years following. Could there be a stronger testimonial to his reliability and faithfulness? His wife, Sarah V., followed him from Maine, and she, too, spent the entire remainder of her days at Port Gamble. She died in Seattle, July 20th, aged 70. They left one son and three daughters.

Meyer, Frederick. Born in Germany; died in Pierce county, June 23d, aged 86 years. Mr. Meyer came as a soldier in Captain Bennett H. Hill's company, in 1849, when the military post of Fort Steilacoom was established. He remained there sixty-two years. He was twice married, having several children by his first wife. His second wife was Agnetta, widow of Thomas M. Chambers, who was a pioneer of 1852. She also soon followed her second husband to the grave, her death occurring Dec. 24th. She left a son and a daughter.

Robinson, Reuben S.—Born in New York, April 27th, 1823; died in Seattle, June 27th. He came to California among the first of the gold-seekers, but soon moved on to Puget Sound, locating in Jefferson county. He took prominent part in the Indian war of 1855-56. He was twice a member of the Territorial Legislature, and for many years was county commissioner. His wife died in 1908. He left five children.

Bullard, Joh.—Born in Vermont; died in Pacific county, July 3d, aged 84 years. In 1852 he came to Washington Territory. For a time he lived in Chehalis county, which he represented in the Legislature of 1856-57. In 1857 he married Martha E. Wilson. He did some lumbering, but was a farmer in Willapa valley. He left two children.

Greenwood, George.—Born in England; died in Snohomish, July 9th, aged 94 years. He had lived on Puget Sound more than fifty years, mostly in Snohomish county. A wife and daughter and several grandchildren survive him.

Maple, Eli B.—Born in Ohio, Nov. 12, 1831; died in Oregon, July 19th. Mr. Maple came in 1852, taking a donation claim at the mouth of the Duwamish river, near the claims of his brother, Samuel, and the other first residents, taken the year before. He served as a volunteer in the 1855-56 Indian war, during the whole period, twice enlisting. A widow, four sons and one daughter were left.

Doyle, Chloe A.—Born in New York in 1827; died in Seattle, Aug. 6th, aged 84 years. She came across the plains with her brother-in-law, Dr. J. C. Kellogg, in 1852. The next year she married Reuben L. Doyle, one of the first printers and publishers of Washington Territory. They settled on Whidby Island in 1853. He died many years ago. She left a number of relatives.

Crenap, Robert Vinton.—Died in Clark county, Sept. 1st, aged 75 years. He was said to be a pioneer, gold hunter and Indian war fighter. He served in an Oregon regiment from 1861 to 1864. After that he made his home on a farm in Clark county. He left one son.

White, Deborah.—Died at Port Gamble in September, aged 73 years. She had lived there since 1862. James White, her husband, was blacksmith for the mill company more than half a century. He died in 1910. They left no children.

Prosser, William Farrand.—Born in Pennsylvania; died in Seattle, Sept. 23d, aged 77 years. Colonel Prosser came to California in 1854 and stayed there until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he went East and entered the military service in defense of the Union. After the war he represented the Nashville (Tenn.) district in Congress. In 1878 he came to Washington Territory as special agent of the Interior Department. Thenceforth he lived in Seattle, North Yakima and Prosser, the latter town, at Benton county, being named after him. He held numerous public offices, municipal, county, state and national, and was engaged in many private and public works of importance to the people and credit to himself. In 1880 he was married to Miss Flora Thornton. They had three children, with the mother, all surviving.

Morse, Mrs. G. W.—Born in Australia in 1839; died on Whidby Island, Oct. 3d. She and her husband came to Puget Sound in 1860, and settled on Whidby. She left many relatives—three brothers, two sisters, a husband, three daughters, five sons and twenty grandchildren.

Ferguson, Emory Canda.—Born in New York, March 5, 1833; died at Snohomish, Oct. 8th. He came to California in 1854, and to Puget Sound in 1858. He did some gold mining, worked in a sawmill, and labored wherever and whenever he could to advantage. He went to Snohomish, took a land claim and started the town. Thereafter he was postmaster, mayor, legislator, merchant and leading citizen to the time of his physical breaking down. His wife was Lucetta G. Morgan. They had four children, three of whom survived both him and her.

Willard, Sarah J.—Born in Missouri, Nov. 12, 1841; died in Seattle, Oct. 16th. She came to Oregon in 1850, and a year later was living at what is now Centralia with her grandparents. She afterwards went to school in Olympia, and there in due time was married to Dr. Rufus Willard. Her family name was Fletcher. The Willards left Olympia for Fort Steilacoom, where the doctor was superintendent of the hospital. From there, after a number of years, they moved on to Seattle. He died in 1905. They left two children.

Boatman, Mary Ann.—Born in 1833; died at Puyallup, Oct. 24th. Mrs. Boatman and her husband, Willis Boatman, came to Oregon in 1852 from Illinois. After a few weeks overlooking the country, they settled in Pierce county. There they remained, farming, rearing their family, and living the lives of good citizens. A few days before her death Mr. and Mrs. Boatman celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of their wedding. Mr. Boatman and six children survive.

Walters, Jane A.—Born in Canada in 1830; died at Tacoma, Nov. 29th. She and her husband, Augustus Walters, came to California in 1852, and to Washington in 1873. Mr. Walters died several years before his wife. They left three grandchildren.

Jeffs, Mary.—Born in Washington in 1838; died at Thomas, in King county, Nov. 24th. She was an Indian woman. About fifty years before she married Richard Jeffs, a White river farmer. They became wealthy, their property attaining a value of several hundred thousand dollars. Having no children and direct heirs, they wanted and tried to leave their property for the establishment and endowment of an orphan's home. He died three years before. Subsequently efforts were made by other persons to defeat the benevolent intentions of Jeffs and his Indian wife, with a view to acquiring the estate, or parts of it, by the individuals referred to, efforts that, happily, experienced only a small measure of success.

Hyg, May.—Born in Oregon in 1862; died at Seattle, Dec. 6th. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry G. Thornton, both de-

ceased. She married Dr. Elmer E. Heg. She left a husband and two sons, and a number of other relatives.

White, Margaret I.—Born in Missouri in 1836; died at Oakland, Cal., Dec. 16th. She came to California in 1852, her mother dying on the overland route. Upon arrival, she learned that her father, who had preceded them, was also dead. Thus—a 16-year-old girl—as the oldest member, she became at once the head of a family of children. She married William W. White, and in 1858 they came to Seattle. She left five sons and three daughters.

Chambers, Margaret White.—Born in Indiana in 1833; died in Seattle, Dec. 22d. Mrs. Chambers lost both parents when seven years old, and lived thereafter with her brothers and sisters until she acquired a home of her own. In 1851 she, with her three brothers, came West, and in 1852 she was living in Thurston county. In 1853 she married Andrew J. Chambers, a member of one of the largest and best known families of early Oregon and Washington pioneers, coming to Willamette valley in 1845 and to Puget Sound in 1847. They lived together nearly fifty-five years. He died in 1908. They left six children, all daughters.

Biles, George W.—Born in 1839 in Kentucky; died in Olympia, Dec. 31st. He came with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Biles, to Washington Territory in 1853, they being a part of the large and historic company of immigrants who that year crossed the Cascade Mountains by the Naches Pass, James Biles being the leader and captain. This company included many families who afterwards became distinguished in the affairs of King, Pierce, Thurston and Chehalis counties, and of the Territory. The family located at Tumwater, where Mr. Biles engaged in the business of tanning hides, or making leather. George W. Biles was married in 1864, his wife being a member of the Crosby family. She and two sons survive him.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

BOOK REVIEWS

FIFTY YEARS IN OREGON. By T. T. Geer. (New York. The Neal Publishing Company, 1912. Pp. 536, $3.)

The title of this book indicates its character. The period named might have been extended, as the author was born in Oregon in 1851, has always lived there, and has made his work cover all the seventy or eighty years prior to 1912. He was the son of parents who came from the Mississippi Valley in 1847. They were among those who lived under the Provisional Government, who secured a mile-square donation claim, who were contemporary with the fur traders, the missionaries and the first American settlers. They saw Oregon change into a territory in 1849, and ten years later into a state, and from that time on witnessed the development and progress of a great commonwealth. With such antecedents the son—Theodore Thurston—could not be other than interested in the first things and first people of his native, home state. He is as proud of it as a man can be, and that there is the kindest possible feeling entertained for him in return is evident from the many public endorsements and honors he has received—repeated elections to the Legislature, election as Governor, and a primary election majority of thirteen thousand votes for United States Senator. With him no climate elsewhere, no scenery, no natural resources, no anything that is good and great, no matter where, surpasses Oregon, and when summed up altogether no other locality equals it. The writer hereof is constrained to believe that Governor Geer includes Washington in this generous appraisement, as a part of Old Oregon. If he doesn't, it is because he isn't so well acquainted with Washington as with Oregon, or so well acquainted with Washington as I am.

From start to finish Governor Geer's book relates to the men and women who have made Oregon—to Dr. John McLoughlin, Jason Lee, F. X. Matthieu, Ewing Young, Jo Meek, Jo Lane, James W. Nesmith, Lafayette Grover, Harvey W. Scott, John H. Mitchell, Asahel Bush, and the host of others—merchants, farmers, politicians, preachers, lawyers and the like—down to the present day. Having known these people in most cases long and intimately, and having himself been a prominent actor in Oregon events, he was well qualified for the task he attempted. He is a man of large physical frame, with a full grown heart, well-balanced mind, and a disposition to do all men justice. These traits, coupled with

good nature and a great fund of entertaining information of personal character, with fair literary ability, have enabled him to get out a book that is not only valuable, but delightful.

His attachment to the Oregon Institute—now the Willamette University—which he attended as a student in 1863, '64, '65, is pleasant to witness. He has good words for all connected with it, including the trustees, those good Methodist brethren, Leslie, Roberts, Abernethy, Willson, Pearne, Waller, Driver, Wilbur and Flinn, as well as the laymen and the members of the faculty and the students. L. J. Powell and Thomas M. Gatch, who later were in turn President of the Washington State University, are most kindly referred to. Gatch, who yet lives in Seattle, is declared by Geer "by common consent to stand at the head of the list of men who have devoted their lives to the upbuilding of the cause of education in Oregon." Fifty years Gatch toiled and served the cause of education in California, Oregon and Washington, during which time he was at the head of several now great institutions of learning of the Pacific Coast.

Author Geer is not only a good Republican, a good neighbor, a good friend and a good American, but he is plainly a good kinsman. He has much to say of his parents and grandparents, his cousins, uncles and aunts, as well as of those who are or have been nearer to him. None of them can take exceptions to what he has said of them; none of them could ask for more. He is possessed not only of a fine sense of humor, but also of a vast fund of anecdotes. He has drawn liberally upon this fund for the book under review, but has carefully refrained from saying anything in any but the happiest manner that cannot be other than pleasing either to the persons referred to or their relatives and friends.

Governor Geer's Fifty Years in Oregon is reminiscent, personal and pleasant. It is of things, events and people that he has seen and known. As an adjunct to Oregon history it is of much worth. It is well that he wrote it.

On the technical side the book, unfortunately, is injured by the presence of a considerable number of errors, the results of carelessness either on the part of the author or publisher, which, however, are generally of palpable character. It is also injured by the absence of table of contents and index, which, while not affecting the reading, certainly diminishes its value for purposes of reference. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

GUARDIANS OF THE COLUMBIA. By John H. Williams. (Tacoma, Williams, 1912. Pp. 142. $1.50.)

The present volume is the second of a series of books upon Western mountain scenery. It contains a collection of remarkable photographs relating to Mount Hood, Mount Adams and Mount St. Helens and the forests, valleys and rivers that lie between. While not purporting to be a history of the region described, it furnishes a most realistic background to the events that have here transpired. The photographic reproductions are of a high order of excellence and the work as a whole will be a serviceable guide to an understanding of the geographic conditions that have moulded the history of the Columbia-Cascade region.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE TERTIARY PALEONTOLOGY OF WESTERN WASHINGTON. By Charles E. Weaver. (Olympia, E. L. Boardman, Public Printer, 1912. Pp. 80+22.)

This is Bulletin Number 15 of the Washington Geological Survey, supervised by Henry Landes, State Geologist. Like the other bulletins, this one is of real and permanent value to those who would understand thoroughly the geologic history of the Pacific Northwest. While the work is technical, the descriptions are clear and easily followed. Professor Weaver has embellished the report with a preliminary areal geographical map, and with fifteen full-page plates illustrating one hundred and thirty-seven specimens, most of which are species new to science. Nearly all of the specific names selected for these discoveries are for geographical features such as Washingtoniana, Olequahensis, Cowlitzensis and Lewisiana. In a few instances personal honors have been conferred in the naming of species for such well known scientists as Professor Landes and Professor Trevor Kincaid.

The work will undoubtedly be received as a distinct and valuable addition to the scientific literature of the Pacific Northwest.

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF MAPS OF THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1520-1820. By Woodbury Lowery; edited with notes by Philip Lee Phillips. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 567.)

This beautiful book from the Library of Congress, besides the high value of its contents, is a fine and deserved tribute to the late Woodbury Lowery. That ripe scholar gave his life to work in a relatively neglected field of American history and at death bequeathed valuable manuscripts, books, and maps to the National Library. This book is therefore an acknowledgment of the gift, as well as an effort to make the new riches more available to workers in the field concerned.

The work bears on the Pacific Northwest, as there are a number of items in the descriptive list relating to Spanish maps of the coast north of Mexico and California. It would be wise for every library in the Pacific Northwest to secure a copy of this valuable reference book before it is marked "out of print," as happens all too soon with many such works.

A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839. By F. A. Wislizenus. (Saint Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 162.)

This is a rare western item first published in German at Saint Louis in 1840. It is here translated by Frederick A. Wislizenus and there is added a portrait and sketch of the author's life.

While the whole journal is interesting to lovers of western history, chapter fourteen is of especial value to readers of this Quarterly. That chapter is headed: "The Columbia River—The Hudson's Bay Company." The author, though writing in 1839, shows familiarity with the palpable diplomacy of the Hudson's Bay Company in trying to hold all of Old Oregon and at the worst to them to hold the Columbia River as the boundary. He speaks of the value of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which the British would try to hold, concluding his remarks with: "But the United States will not submit to such an infraction of its rights, and again the problem of the Gordian Knot will not be solved without the sword."

He could not then foresee the diplomatic triumph the Americans were to win in the treaty of 1846, seven years after his book was written. The Missouri Historical Society has done a real service to make this rare book available in its present attractive form.

Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society. (Concord, The Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 132.)

This book is sumptuously printed on large paper and is beautifully illustrated, each plate on bevelled paper with tissue cover. The handsome and serviceable building was the gift of Edward Tuck, which fact is made prominent, but with becoming good taste and dignity. The contents of the book give the history of the building and its dedication, as well as sketches of the society and its work. Pioneer workers in the history fields of the Pacific coast rejoice over the good fortune of their distant colleagues on the Atlantic coast. It is perfectly natural also to hope that the Pacific centers may some time publish a book approaching this one from New Hampshire in purpose, scope, and beauty.

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. By Edmond S. Meany. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. xii, 406.)

The appearance of Professor Meany's book, while the publication of the Quarterly was temporarily suspended, prevented a more timely notice of its publication. It occupies, however, so important a place in the field of history covered by this journal that adequate notice is imperatively demanded.

The text is arranged under five heads, as follows: Part I., The Period of Discovery, includes four short chapters (forty-four pages); Part II., The Period of Exploration (thirty-four pages) carries the narration through the explorations of Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, Wyeth, and closes with the Wilkes Expedition.

Part III., The Period of Occupation (forty-seven pages) opens with the settlement at Astoria and the joint occupancy of the Territory by England and the United States and ends with the settlement of the northwestern boundary of the United States by the treaty of 1846. Part IV., Territorial Days (one hundred and forty-one pages) by far the longest section of the work deals with the history of the Territory proper and leads directly to the last division. Part V. (forty-eight pages), which in a similar way brings the history of the state to the time of publication. In this latter section two chapters trace the evolution of the state government, and other chapters set forth the economic, political and social achievements. A final and distinctly noteworthy chapter presents the federal activity in the state.

The book throughout bears abundant evidence of the thorough mastery of the subject matter to which Professor Meany has devoted a life time of earnest and conscientious endeavor. The narrative is written with an enthusiasm and spirit born of intimate acquaintance with and love of the work. Additional insight is gained by the fact that the author knew and was to some extent himself one of the actors in the story.

The controverted phases are handled with fairness and good judgment, and no where else, so far as the reviewer knows, can one turn for light on these controversies with such complete satisfaction.

The book is well made and attractive in appearance. Useful and well executed political and physiographic maps make for the usefulness of the book, as also does an adequate index. About fifty illustrations of historical interest and four appendixes complete the volume.

The work has been so well done in every way that it will long remain the final word in its field. EDWARD M'MAHON.

THE COLUMBIA RIVER, ITS HISTORY, ITS MYTHS, ITS SCENERY, ITS COMMERCE. By William Denuson Lyman. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Pp. 409. $1.75.)

The original edition of this volume in The American Waterway Series deals with the great river and the parts of the Northwest about it, viz., Oregon, Washington, Idaho and British Columbia. The present edition is cheaper in price and suitable for use in teachers' reading circles. The author's purpose, "To convey to his reader a lively sense of the romance, the heroism, and the adventure" of the region, together with something of the sentiment and spirit which is called "Western," has been well done. The work is popular in character, avoids all attempts at settling controverted points, and, while aiming at historical accuracy, cites no authorities in the fashion approved by historical scholars. This seems to the reviewer the greatest weakness in the work. Not a few of the general readers, for whom the book is planned, are especially interested and well informed on the history of the Northwest. These will challenge many of the views expressed and regret that the author has offered no definite citations to his authorities. This problem is faced, of course, by every popular series, and no doubt the author and his publisher have decided to meet the popular view and ignore the other.

The first seven chapters, a little more than two-thirds of the book, deal with the history of the region running through the periods of discovery, exploration, fur trading, missionary endeavor, pioneering, mining, farming, etc.

Part II. consists of six chapters describing a journey down the river, which the author hopes will fill the minds of the readers "with a longing to see it face to face." In this he is successful.

Keeping in mind the reader for whom the book is intended, the narrative is written with spirit and insight, and on the whole appears exceedingly well done. EDWARD M'MAHON.

Other Books Received

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Retrospection, Political and Personal. (New York, The Bancroft Company. Pp. 562. $2.00.)

BEARD, CHARLES A. The Supreme Court and the Constitution. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 127. $1.00 net.)

CHANNING, EDWARD. A History of the United States, Volume III. The American Revolution, 1761-1789. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 585. $2.50 net.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Joint Seminar in Northwestern Problems

Three important departments in the University of Washington have united in the organization of a joint seminar for the study of problems in the Pacific Northwest pertaining to law, political and social development, and history. It is designed primarily for post-graduate work, but a few well prepared seniors are also admitted.

The seminar is conducted by John T. Condon, Dean of the Law School; J. Allen Smith, Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Political and Social Science; and Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History.

The first session of the academic year of 1912-913 was devoted to a discussion of the many problems, direct and indirect, associated with the utilization of logged-off lands in Washington, by H. K. Benson, Associate Professor of Industrial Chemistry in the University of Washington.

The papers presented at this seminar will, in the nature of things, be reports of progress in extensive studies, but some of them will be complete enough for publication. For many of these this Quarterly will be the vehicle for publication. In this number is given one of those papers: "The Comparative Study of Constitutions for Provisions Not Found in Our Own" by Ben Driftmier. Mr. Driftmier graduated from the Law School in the class of 1912 and has begun active practice in Anacortes, Washington. Laymen, as well as lawyers, will find his paper of interest and value.

Historians Banquetted

During the Summer Session of the University of Washington, the Department of History gave a banquet to a number of visiting colleagues of their craft. The guests were: Professor J. N. Bowman, of the University of California; Professor John L. Conger, of Knox College, Illinois; Professor Frank A. Golder, of the Washington State College; Edward S. Curtis, author of the monumental work on The North American Indian; Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian of the University of Washington; and Mr. G. W. Soliday, of Seattle, who is interested in the collection of historical materials.

Transfer of Professors

In the last issue of the Quarterly mention was made of an exchange for the Summer Session of Professor William Morris of the University of Washington and Professor J. N. Bowman of the University of California, both being specialists in the Mediæval field. Since that time the exchange or transfer has been made permanent, and each is now settled contentedly in his new position.

The North American Indian

Edward S. Curtis of Seattle has just closed a very successful season of his research work among the Indians on the west coast of British Columbia. He reports having obtained a fine collection of unusual photographs and a vast amount of ethnological records of great value. The materials are now being prepared for publication in a forthcoming volume of his well known work.

University Extension

The new Department of University Extension in the University of Washington was inaugurated in Everett, Washington, on the evening of Tuesday, October 8. Director E. A. Start of the new department explained the purposes of the work. The first lecture was by Professor Edmond S. Meany on "Early Life and History of Puget Sound." Interest in the occasion was enhanced by the presence in the audience of a large delegation from the Tulalip Indian School.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

III. Russian Voyages of Discovery

1. Russia's Approach to the Pacific:
   a. Michael Romanoff's accession to power, 1613.
   b. Cossacks roaming the Siberian steppes.
   c. Hunting the ermine.
   d. Search for fossil ivory.
   e. The Pacific reached, 1700.
2. Peter the Great (1682-1725).
   a. "It is not land we want, but water."
   b. Ambitious plans.
3. Discovery of Bering Strait, 1728.
   a. Vitus Bering.
   b. Long journey to Avacha Bay.
   c. Voyage in the "Gabriel."
4. The Okotsk Sea.
   a. Discovered to be an arm of the Pacific, 1739.
5. The Great Expedition, 1741.
   a. Building the ships "St. Peter" and "St. Paul."
   b. Bering and Cherikoff.
   c. Mount St. Elias discovered and named.
   d. Schumagin Islands.
   e. Landing on Bering Island.
   f. Death of Bering.
   g. Discovery of four new beasts.
   h. Dr. George Wilhelm Steller.
   i. Rescue of the survivors.
   j. Men lost by Cherikoff.
6. Lieutenant Synd, 1766-1767.
   a. Explorations along the "Fox Islands."

7. Captain Krenitzen and Levashef, 1768-1769.
   a. Adventures and misfortunes.
   b. Fur-trade methods reported.
8. Count Maurice de Benyowsky, 1771.
   a. Escape from Siberian prison.
   b. Explored Bering Strait.
9. Master Gerassim Pribilof.
   a. Discovery of seal rookeries, 1786.
   b. Wonderful harvest of furs.
10. Russian Fur Trade Monopoly.
11. Alexandr Andreievich Baranof.
   a. Founding of Sitka, 1799.
   b. Practicaly a Czar in Russian America.
   c. His rule extended over three decades.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—It is not likely that many volumes on the history of Russia in Alaska will be found available in the libraries of the Northwest. There is a large and growing supply of literature on Alaska since the time of its purchase by the United State. However, a few books may be cited with the hope that they will be found quite generally accessible.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 27-31; Vol. XXXIII. (Alaska). These books are found in many western libraries. The volume devoted to Alaska will be found of great help on the field here outlined.

BENYOWSKY, MAURITIUS AUGUSTUS, COUNT DE. Memoirs of. Published in London in 1790. This work is relatively rare, but it is one of the sources. The Count escaped from exile in Siberia and had remarkable experiences in the North Pacific, being the first man to behold land on both sides while sailing through Bering Strait.

FUR SEAL ARBITRATION. Published in sixteen volumes by the United States Government in 1895. It contains the full proceedings of the arbitration in Paris between the United States and Great Britain under the treaty of February 29, 1892, over the jurisdictional rights of the United States in Bering Sea. The documents reproduced make these books a storehouse of historical sources. The books ought to be in all the larger libraries.

LAURIDSON, PETER. Vitus Bering. Translated by Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin. This inexpensive book

gives a most graphic account of Bering's work which laid the foundation for Russian claims in America.

Lisiansky, Urey. Voyage Around the World in 1803 to 1806. This is another interesting source book. It was published in London in 1814 and though long "out of print" is now available in a number of libraries in this state. His voyage was made by order of Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, and his journal is full of valuable information.

Schafer, Joseph. History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 16, 20, 22, 25. Though brief references, these will be especially helpful because the book is accessible everywhere throughout the Northwest.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

The committee applied to a Frenchman, named Pappa, who had a log house and a little spot of ground in cultivation at the crossing, and endeavored to hire his platform. But the old fellow insisting on the most unreasonable terms, no arrangement could be made with him, so the convention between Pappa and the plenipotentiaries of our republic, was broken abruptly off, and we were obliged to commence construction of a raft upon our own account. This proceeding brought the old curmudgeon to his senses, but not being able to regain the committee, he threw himself open to the impatience of a section of our party, who availed themselves of his reduced offers, and commenced crossing before the main body. This gave great dissatisfaction to the rest of the company, and inflamed the elements of discord anew in the camp. On the 28th, Pappa's platform while crossing with an inordinate load, suddenly sank, and several women and children came very near being drowned; but some dozen or two of sturdy arms, soon brought them to the shore, and the mishap was confined to the loss of some property alone. Pappa's platform was then suffered to float down the stream, and our own being now finished, we all resolved to cross over afterwards upon a common footing. On the following morning, 29th, the general crossing commenced, but in consequence of the great number of our cattle, it was not finished until the 31st. The want of organization was the great object which retarded our movements. While we were lingering on the banks of this river, a number of wagons from the Platte country, came in to join the expedition. On the 30th, two Catholic missionaries arrived at the ford. They were pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith to the Flathead Indians. We treated them with every observance of respect, and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft.

The Kansas river is at this point about a quarter of a mile wide, with

sandy banks and bottom, and its waters are muddy like those of the Missouri. The crossing, as I said before, was completed on the 31st, and the whole party were encamped safely on the other side, at Black Warrior Creek.

Having now tested to our heart's content the evils of too large an exercise of the "largest liberty," the desire became universal for the election of an absolute commander of arrangements. Accordingly, a general meeting was held, and the organization was consummated by the election of Peter H. Burnett, as commander in chief, and Mr. Nesmith as orderly sergeant.

This election took place on the 1st June, and on the 2d we left our quarters for an onward movement. Right glad were we to get away, for our situation had been very uncomfortable during the whole time from the 26th, and our stock kept constantly sticking in the mud on the banks of this miserable creek. On the 3d, we travelled a distance of fifteen miles, (more than all accomplished during the previous eleven days,) and on the following day seventeen miles more through a section of the most beautiful prairie lands that had as yet ever met my eye. This day's journey took us across a large creek with high banks, called "Big Sandy," but in consequence of the thorough organization which had already been effected by our commander, and his prompt measures, it offered but little obstacle to our progress. We encamped at close of day, some miles beyond its western bank. While stationing our wagons in their quadrangular order, and pitching our tents, we received a visit from some Kanzas chiefs, much to the terror of the women and children, who gazed with any feelings but those of admiration upon the grim visages of the warriors, made more grim by the bars of black and red paint drawn across them; or who looked with any thing but a serene sensation upon the threatening tomahawks and scalping knives which grinned beneath their girdles. These lords of the soil, however, were by no means disposed to be savage with us, and after a temporary stay, during which they received some tobacco and a few loads of powder and shot, they retired in an opposite direction from whence they came. On the fifth, we crossed the east fork of the Blue, a large creek which is a tributary to the Kanzas, accomplishing this day over twenty miles. On the afternoon of the sixth, we arrived at the west fork of the Blue, fifteen miles west of the branch we passed the day before. We found it to be a small river about fifty yards wide, and contrary to our expectations, it was fordable, a rain during the previous night having excited our apprehensions that we should find it swelled into a torrent. First driving in our cattle, we next propped up our wagon beds with large blocks of wood, and thus conveyed them over safe and sound. The prairie on the

ether side was level and dry, and we encamped quite content with the day's performance.

Alas, our satisfaction was bound to be of short endurance; for about ten o'clock at night, the sky was covered with a darkness so dense as to fairly ache the sight that peered upward in the vain attempt to pierce it. A close heaviness oppressed the air that postponed the coming of a thunder storm. A signal was given to us by the guards, and every one was up in a moment to make all secure about his tent or wagon as the case might be; but while yet bustling about, the inky pall was rent in twain, and a tremendous burst exploded over our very heads, that absolutely struck some of us to the ground. A sullen moan followed, increasing gradually into a wild shriek of the elements, as if every demon of the night was lending to the moment his croak or horror. At length the howling tempest struck us, and before we had fairly recovered from our first stupefaction, several tents were blown down, and two or three which had been carelessly staked were lifted in the air, and passed off on the breath of the hurricane like puffs of down. I stood near the scene of one of these mishaps, and could not restrain from a burst of laughter when, as the canvass departed, a husband and wife jumped up in their scanty night clothes, and on their hands and knees chased the fugitive sheets which curled over and over provokingly before them. My merriment startled the female pursuer, who on discovering me and my roaring companions made a rapid retreat and crept under the mattress.

These were not the worst of the visitations of the storm, for the wind was accompanied by a tremendous deluge of rain that flooded the whole surface of the prairie, and the entire platform of our encampment; and it is not too much to say that there was scarcely a dry inch of skin in it. Our condition during the night was, consequently, very uncomfortable, and it was not until a pretty advanced hour in the morning, that we had recovered from our condition. This learnt us a new lesson of precaution, which was to dig a trench around the tents on pitching them, so as to lead the water off.

On this days (6th.) we were encountered on our march by a party of Osage and Kanzas, or Caw Indians, in all the horrid accouterments of war. They numbered about ninety in all, and had evidently studied every means of making themselves disgusting and terrible. They all rode ponies, and had their heads closely shaven, with the exception of the stiff lock in the centre, which their politeness to their foes reserves for the scalping knife. The advantages of this international regulation of courtesy is obvious, for when a warrior has conquered a foe, instead of being obliged to rip off his scalp in a tedious operation with his teeth, he relieves him of it gracefully and

easily by the assistance of his top knot. He is thus allowed to pay attention to a greater number of foes, and the natural increase which thus takes place in deeds of arms, encourages the martial spirit of both nations. The exploit of this party had not been highly creditable to their character, for they had waged destruction only on one brave Pawnee, whom they had surprised and run down like a wild beast, but who, however, had wounded two of his pursuers badly before he was overcome. The miserable devils had his scalp with them, and they had also secured portions of his cheeks and nose, which were distributed among the chiefs. They had ripped the former from the head of their victim with considerable skill, the ears being attached to it, and upon inspection, I perceived they still contained their unfortunate owner's wampum ornaments.

The Kanzas and Osages are the most miserable and filthy Indians we saw east of the Rocky mountains, and they annoyed us excessively whenever we fell in with them, through their mendicant propensities. We gave to this party a calf and some bread, as they importuned us with great earnestness, stating, to strengthen their application, that they had not tasted food for three days. One of the chiefs with an ear of the slaughtered Pawnee swinging around his neck, approached Green, a strapping Missourian, who stood leaning on his rifle, and gazing at the crew with a stern expression of mingled scorn and abhorrence. The savage importuned him by a sign for some powder and ball.

"Some powder and ball you want, eh?" said Green, slowly rising from his slightly incumbent position. "Some powder and ball, eh? Well, I can spare you jist one load out o' here!" saying which he significantly touched the muzzle of his gun with his finger, and then slowly raised it to his sight. The savage hesitated for a moment, uncertain of the white man's purpose, but perceiving that the weapon gradually travelled to a level, he stepped back and opened his hands, as if to explain the friendliness of his purpose.

But the hoosher's blood was up, and advancing as the Caw retired, he raised the butt of his rifle in a threatening manner, exclaiming in an imperative tone: "Out o' my sight, you d—d nigger, or by—, I'll spile your scalpin' for ever." The Indian slouched sullenly away, and Green, when tired of chasing him with his eye, turned off in another direction growling: "I'd like to spend a few private moments with that fellow in the open prairie."

In addition to their other bad qualities, these Indians have the reputation of being the most arrant thieves in the world. They satisfied us as to their rascally propensities on taking their departure, by the theft of a couple of horses, which disappeared from the time of their leaving us. One

of the animals was the property of the indignant Missourian.

On the 7th, we removed our camp to the distance of half a mile further on, and resolved to pause the whole day in order to dry our goods and repair the injuries done by the previous storm. The night, however, ended most of our labor, for we were visited by another severe shower, which again flooded the whole camp. On the following morning we started off in the rain, which was falling in torrents, with the determination of finding ground high enough to prevent our camp from being continually swamped. After a weary and miserable peregrination of five miles, we came to a grove of young elms on a slightly elevated knoll, which secured us just the advantages we sought. The rain still kept coming down, but after our tents were pitched, we were able to defy it.

Several of us had caught severe colds by the drenching we had received, and among the rest, Mr. Burnet was badly attacked with so serious an indisposition, that he was forced to resign the command.

On the 9th the clouds dispersed, the sun broke through them with its enlivening rays, and we started off at an early hour to reach a grove about five miles distant, where we would have superior facilities in wood and water, for drying our clothes and recruiting ourselves. We reached it about twelve o'clock, and making a halt, in less than half an hour, forty or fifty huge fires were roaring and crackling in the plain. After we had thoroughly dried our garments and recovered our things from their previous confusion, we turned our attention to supplying the vacancy in the office of commander. A council was held which resulted in a separation of the two divisions, one under the command of Captain Jesse Applegate, and the other, after adopting a new organization, elected William Martin commander. The latter division was the largest of the two, having in it seventy-two wagons and one hundred and seventy-five men.

On the 10th, we started out under this new arrangement with fine weather, and a beautifully undulating landscape beckoned us on into its fertile depths. I rode on amongst the advanced guard on the look out for buffola, and yielding to the spirit of gaiety and spirit in my horse, I suffered him to carry me far beyond the rest. Halting at length to turn back to my companions, I paused to take a momentary scrutiny of the horizon, when I suddenly perceived in the extreme south west, two or three little dots just waving on its edge. "Buffalo, Buffalo!" shouted I, waving my hand to those behind, and dashing off with a dozen clattering fast behind me in the direction of the objects. We were not long left in doubt as to the nature of the new comers, for we were approaching each other, and in a few minutes were shaking hands with the mounted outposts of a trading caravan from Fort Larimie, on its way to Independence with furs and pelteries.

When the wagons came up, they were cheered by our people, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm that hails a sail upon the ocean after a joyless solitude of months. It being noon, and a brook running hard by, we insisted on a pause, and we accordingly spent a couple of happy hours together, after which we separated, and both moved on again. Surely there is something good in human nature! Such scenes as this go very far to destroy the injustice of the assertion, that man's heart is continually evil, and that he naturaly inclines to it as the sparks fly upward. The converse is the rule.

Upon our start, I resumed my position as a scout, and falling in with Green, the sturdy Missourian, we kept company together. As we led the advance with Capt. Gant, our attention was attracted simultaneously by a flock of large birds hovering over some object on the plain, and occasionally stooping down towards it. For the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their operations, we rode toward them, and, on approaching the scene, found them to be feasting upon the dead body of a man. Upon a close inspection, we discovered it to be the body of an Indian, whose dissevered head, badly scalped, lay within a few feet of his body. It was evidently the victim of the war party of the Kanzas and Osages whom we had encountered a few days before.

"I'd give another horse to have a turn with one of the niggers who helped in that!" said Green, as we turned away.

The road was smooth all the way to-day; nothing within eye-shot, but a gently undulating landscape, relieved occasionally by little colonies of saplings, and covered with a generous crop of grass, in which our cattle found an elysium of provender. We had another fall of rain on the evening of the 11th, but it was slight, and so far from doing damage, it scarcely occasioned inconvenience.

On the 12th, as we were jogging along at a comfortable pace, the whole camp was suddenly thrown into a fever of excitement by shouts of: "Buffalo! Buffalo!" At the welcome and long wished for cry, several of us who were mounted, galloped ahead to take a share in the sport. On reaching the advance, our erroneous impressions were corrected by the information that the sport was over, and that Capt. Gant and others had just killed a large buffalo, and were waiting until the caravan arrived at the scene of the exploit, to take charge of the carcase. It turned out to be a veteran bull who had been discovered by the hunters grazing by himself him, discharging their rifles to stop his career, and when they had sufficiently about two miles distant on the lead. The horsemen immediately run upon shortened their distance, drew on him their large horse pistols. This proved effectual, and the old soldier bit the dust a victim to seven balls. He ap-

pearcd worn with grief at his desolate condition, and his flesh, toughened with age, proved hardly an enviable refreshment. The old fellow had probably been left there in the spring when sick, by the other buffaloes. Those animals come down to Blue river in great numbers to spend the winter among the rushes, which are abundant in the bottoms near the stream, but leave in the spring.

On the 14th, we entered and passed over a broad district of prairie land, equal for farming purposes to any soil in the world; but it was all solitary wild prairie, and scarcely relieved by the slightest rise or fall.

For the last three or four days, we had every now and then seen an antelope, but in consequence of the extreme shyness of the animals none of us had been able to get a shot at one. To-day, however, Jim Wayne, who to his character of humorist and musician, added the qualities of a capital huntsman and woodsman, brought in a young doe slung across the saddle of his horse, singing—

"Merrily the wild stag bounds!"

with his gun crossed in the hollow of his arm, and his hat cocked more gaily than ever.

"Hollo, Jim!" shouted McFarley, who had just came up, "so you've had some luck, I see!"

"Yes, and I have discovered a new method of making cheap bread."

"Say it, my hearty!"

"By finding doe to my hand in the prairie."

"Faith an' you'll find it well *kneaded*, too, (needed,) or my stomach's no judge," said the politician with a moistening mouth.

That last execrable pun entitles you to one of her rump stakes, and I'll see that it is bestowed upon you if it should be the last official act of my life," replied the humorist with dignity as he moved on.

On the following day, 16th, I had agreed with Jim that he and I should take a skirt together, to see if we could not fall upon another animal of the same species; but an incident occurred in the course of the morning that diverted our attention. A shout from the rear turned our attention in that direction, and spitting away at top speed, we saw a splendid buck antelope coming towards us, followed by some of our dogs in full chase. He had been hiding in a little thicket on our trail, and just as the last wagon passed, some loitering hound had caught the scent and started him up. Instead of striking away from us across the prairie, the frightened animal came direct along the line, and ran down its whole length, extending over two miles, at a distance of not more than two hundred yards. It was a most beautiful, and at the same time a most exciting sight. Away he flew like the wind, at every moment the pack scouring in

his rear, receiving new accessions as the chase advanced, and at the distance of every few hundred yards a rifle would send its ineffectual messenger to arrest his course. At length, however, a large hound from one of the foremost wagons seeing the quagga approaching, ran down to meet them. The affrighted buck, terrified out of his wits, though plainly headed off, did not sheer an inch from his course, and the dog meeting him with a spring, seized him by the throat and tumbled him to the ground. The animal contrived to raise and shake him off before the rest of the pack arrived, but a rifle ball caught him in the shoulder, and he yielded to his fate by dropping first on his knees and then rolling over on his side upon the plain.

The antelope is a most beautiful animal, and perhaps there is no other creature in creation capable of an equal degree of speed. He is tall, graceful, and stately; shaped something like a deer, clothed in a hide of the same color; and like deer, the bucks have branching horns, though blacker and smaller in their size.

I had a conversation over the body of the animal, with an old backwoodsman, who told me in instancing the animal's fleetness, that he had once a very superior grey hound, which was brought into contest with one of the species in the following manner. The antelope and dog were running at right angles towards each other, the former not discovering the hound until they were within twenty feet of each other. The struggle then commenced, but the antelope shot away from the dog with the most astonishing swiftness. The race lasted for a quarter of a mile, each doing his best, but the antelope had thus outrun the dog so far, that the latter actually stood still and gazed after him in utter astonishment. Yet this hound had often run down deer and wolves with ease. The antelope is a very wary animal, and consequently extremely difficult to approach. His curiosity is, however, very great; and the hunter adapting himself to the habits of the animal, conceals himself behind a hillock of sand, or some other object, and putting his hat, cap, or handkerchief upon the end of his ram rod, waves it gently to and fro to attract his attention. As soon as the antelope sees it, he slowly approaches, occasionally pausing with a snort; then gradually advancing again, snifts the air with the utmost suspicion, and though no breath is heard above the humming of a mosquito, will sometimes turn and dash off several yards, to return in like manner again. At length, however, his fate exacts him within reach of the trusty rifle—a crack follows, and down he goes. He is not very tenacious of life, and a slight wound will bring him to an almost immediate surrender. Notwithstanding his exceeding fleetness, he can be run down when very fat, on horseback, if the chase is continued for twenty miles. My communicant, who had spent several

years in the region of the Rocky Mountains, informed me that they were frequently dun down by wolves, and that he had often snatched the jaded prey from these carnivorous banditti at the conclusion of a long chase, and appropriated it to himself. I found the flesh of the antelope very delicious eating. It is very juicy, and is generally prized above venison.

CHAPTER IV

Visit of Pawnees—Arrival at the Platte—Its Valley—Its Stream—Buffalo Paths—Climate—Dodging a Sleeper—Buffalo Hunts—Buffalo Hunting—Directions How to Follow It—Buffalo Meat.

Our course from the 13th to the 17th lay up the Republican fork of the Blue, and at the close of the latter day we had accomplished two hundred and fifty miles from the rendezvous, giving an average of ten miles a day from the start; stoppages and all included. The Kanzas country, which is the section through which we had passed, is nineteen-twentieths very fertile prairie, but scantily furnished with timber, except upon the streams. This consists generally of elm, low bur oak, cotton wood, small swamp ash, and a few willows, and these, as I said before, only grow (with a few solitary exceptions) on the margin of the streams. In consequence of this defect, there are but few portions of it suitable for farming purposes. The whole country is very scarce in game, and we saw none (barring the veteran buffalo) but a few deer and antelope.

The only description of smaller game we saw was a small kind of snipe, and a very few small birds of other descriptions. The carcass of a half-starved wild cat, killed by one of the company, attested the paucity of her range, among this description of prey. The streams also were very niggard in their yield of fish. The road from Independence to this point (the crossing point to the line of the Platte) is through prairie almost altogether, interrupted only by occasional swells, which are far from being an obstacle to travel. The only difficulties are experienced at the fords upon the streams, which are miry, abrupt, and as I have shown, sometimes difficult to cross. You will, nevertheless, not be driven more than once to a raft.

In the afternoon we encamped for the last time upon the Blue river, and this circumstance in connection with the rapid progress of the last three days, put us in a most excellent humor with ourselves. While we were employed in the usual duties and amusements of such a pause, we received the visit of a large party of Pawnees, who approached us from the south, in which direction they had been on a hunt. They had with them several packs of buffalo meat; the reward of their expedition. They cut this when

they butcher it, into long, thin, and wide slices, with the grain of the meat, and then cure it by drying it in the sun. After it is thus dried, they have a mode of pressing it between two pieces of wood, which gives it a very smooth and regular appearance. They gave us of it very liberally, and asked for nothing in return. These Indians are a much superior race to the Kansas and Osages; they wear their hair like the whites; their stature is athletic, and their men noble. While with us, they straggled freely through the camp, and amused themselves very much by imitating our mode of driving the teams. We informed them, before they left, of the massacre of their brother by the Sioux and Cawe, upon which they set up a howl of wo, and swore revenge with the most violent gesticulations. They left us as they met us, in the most friendly manner, and we did not suffer from their depredations as we had from those of their enemies.

"Hurrah for the Platte! tira la! tira la!" cried Jim Wayne from his mouth, and blew Jim Wayne on his bugle, as he galloped up and down the line, on the morning of the 18th. "Hurrah for the Platte! Good evening, Mrs. Robbins!—murnin', Mr. Farley—come, stir about, bustle, bustle, we must reach the Platte today! tira la! tira la!" and away went the mad devil repeating the summons in every quarter. All was stir and bustle; the Platte had long been sighed for as the direct line of route that was to lead us straight to the passage of the mountains, and on its banks we had been assured of finding a constant and abundant supply of game. Being twenty miles or more away, it was necessary we should bestir ourselves at an early hour, to reach it before night-fall. We accordingly got an early breakfast, and soon the long line of the caravan unwound itself over the undulating fields, to span the main dividing ridge between this tributary of the Kanzas and the Great Platte. We travelled all day without any interruption, over the finest road imaginable, and just as the sun was going down behind the blue land-hills on its northern bank, we caught our first view of the wide and beautiful valley of the American Nile. Being yet two miles distant from its bank, we halted in the fertile bottom land, after having accomplished a distance of twenty-five miles, congratulating ourselves with the prospect of plain sailing, and plenty of fresh provender, until we struck the mountains. This was all we had to console us for a cold supper, in consequence of the complete absence of fuel where we were. In the morning (19th) we had to start without breakfast, in consequence of this want, but after travelling a few miles, we found plenty of dry willows to serve our purpose, and then made a most voracious meal. We struck the Great Platte near the head of Grand Island.

This was a beautiful island, lying in the center of the stream (very wide at this place), seventy-five miles in length, and covered with the finest

timber, while not a solitary tree grew on the south side of the river, where we were.

Having now brought the reader to the grand avenue, which leads the emigrant direct to his future destination, I will not trespass upon his patience by a description of every day's journeys and proceedings, but shall content myself with giving him a general view of the route, its characteristics, facilities and extent; thus advancing with greater rapidity to the main subject of inquiry—Oregon itself; and thus avoiding the unnecessary repetitions of diurnal trips, nine-tenths of which would be in their description mere counterparts of those that went before.

The Great Platte is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world, and when considered with a view to the facility its level banks afford for intercommunication with our Pacific territories, its value is immense. It takes its rise in Wind River Mountain (in latitude 42½), a little north of, and near the Great Southern Pass, and runs due east, with scarcely a perceptible deviation of course to the traveller along its banks, for a distance of 600 miles, to its junction with its southern branch, and from that point 300 miles more, when it disembogues into the Missouri, in latitude about 41°, 30'. Like the Nile, it runs hundreds of miles through a sterile wilderness, and like the Nile it unrolls its strip of green across the vastness of the desert, and is the father of all the vegetation near it. In the way of navigation, it is useless; its waters being too shallow in great portions of it even to float a canoe, and in the winter it is bound in ice. Its banks are low and sandy, its waters muddy like the Missouri, and its current very rapid. In consequence of its shallowness it is very easy to ford, except when rains have swollen the stream, and then its additional force makes it in places extremely dangerous. Though it varies greatly as to width, its average breadth is about two miles, and its center is frequently diversified with most beautiful islands, large and small, covered with the finest trees whose rich and clustering foliage contrast splendidly with the sand-hills and wide prairie plains on either side. On each side of the river and at the distance of about three miles from either bank, runs a continuous line of sand-hills. From the foot of these, to the water's edge, is spread a sheet of lively verdure, and on the other side, the boundless level is only lost in the line of the horizon.

The banks of the Platte are generally devoid of trees, and we suffered a great scarcity of wood previous to reaching Fort Larimie in consequence; but we frequently found bunches of willows, and more than once, the remains of Indian wigwams of the same material, eked out a substitute for cooking purposes. Our general expedient was to pick up pieces of drift wood from the river, during the day. These we could get at the

expense of wading to our knees, and they supplied all our necessities with a little care. But little fuel is required if proper means are used in consuming it; and to proceed correctly, with a view to saving, a narrow ditch should first be dug in the earth about eight inches wide, a foot deep, and about a yard long; this arrangement confines the heat, and prevents the wind from scattering and wasting the fire.

The valley of the Great Platte is from fifteen to twenty miles wide, beyond which line, on either side, the prairies lose a portion of these fertility, and gradually extend towards the west in arid and cheerless wastes. The strip along the banks, of which I spoke before, is filled with the most luxuriant herbage, the sand-hills which bar it from the plain beyond, are about three miles through, and the outer prairie interminable. Within these sand hills you will find numerous valleys covered with a profuse bottom vegetation, and leading by easy tracks from plain to plain. Upon the outer plain, and sometimes in the sand hills, you will find the buffaloes and numbers of white wolves, and upon the inner one, range the antelope and deer. When the season is wet, the buffalo find plenty of water in the ponds or puddles of the outer plain, and, consequently, are not forced to the inner one, or to the river on its edge, for water. As the summer advances, and the ponds dry up, these animals gradually approach the stream, and are found in numbers in the inner section. As you go along the edge of the river, you are struck with the numerous beaten paths diverging in the direction of the sand hills, and leading across the surface of the farther plain. A stranger is at a loss, at first, to account for such signs of population in a wilderness; but, upon inquiry, they are found to be the tracks made by the buffalo, in their journey to the banks of the stream for water. These paths are cut to the depth of six or eight inches in the soil, and indicate by their narrowness, the habit of the animals in these excursions to proceed in narrow file. In traveling up the Platte, we crossed one of these paths at almost every thirty yards, and they were about the only annoyance we met with upon the surface of the plain. They are serviceable in a high degree in one view; for they afford a perfect security against your getting lost, your simple resource when having strayed far away on a hunt, being merely to strike a buffalo track, and you are sure to be in a road leading directly to the river, by the nearest route.

The whole road along the line of this stream is doubtless the best in the world, considering its length. The greatest inconvenience attendant on its travel that I know of is the unconquerable propensity it occasions in one to sleep in the day time. The air is so bland, the road so smooth, and the motion of the vehicle so regular, that I have known many a teamster to go to sleep while he team stood winking idly in the road without budging

a step. The usual custom with us when such a case as this would occur was for each wagon in turn to drive cautiously around the sluggard, and leave him to have his nap out in the middle of the road. It would sometimes happen the sleeper would not awake for two or three hours, and when he arrived that time behind in camp he would either swing around in a towering passion, or slink out of reach of our merciless tauntings, heartily ashamed.

On the 22d of June we saw the first band of buffalo on the plain near the river. There were about fifty altogether—and they were on their road through the sand hills to the river to drink. We immediately mounted and gave chase, and being fortunately to the leeward, they did not scent of us until we were well down upon them; then by pushing our horses to their utmost speed, we managed to get near enough for a shot, and a general discharge succeeded in bringing down two of the finest of the lot.

As the buffalo is sometimes a very important item in the emigrant's calculations for food, it will not be improper for me here to devote a few remarks upon the manner of obtaining them.

There is perhaps no chase so exciting to a sportsman as a buffalo hunt, and the reader can readily imagine the tremendous addition its interest receives when the stomach has been in rebellion for hours, perhaps for days, from the insidious excitements of the fresh prairie air. The mode of hunting these noble animals is very simple. They are most generally found upon the outer range, grazing near the head of some hollow, leading up towards the sand hills. The sight of the buffalo is very dull, but their scent, by its superior acuteness, compensates for this defect. You must, therefore, always manage, if possible, to get to the leeward of them, or you are almost certain to see the whole herd scamper off before you arrive in pulling distance. As an instance of this, I one day saw a band of about a hundred buffaloes at two miles distance on the opposite side of the river running up its line on a parallel with our train. They did not see us, but the wind being from our side, they caught the scent when about opposite our center, upon which they turned off instantly at a right angle and scoured away like mad. Approach them to the leeward, however, and you are almost certain to get within easy shooting distance. When you have discovered a herd close up to the line of the hills, you should station your horses in some hollow near at hand (but out of sight), and then creep cautiously up to your position, pick out your animals, and fire, one at a time, in slow succession. If you give them a volley, they directly scamper off, and a rapid succession of shots is followed by the same result; but if you load and fire slowly, you may kill several before the whole herd take alarm. I have seen three or four reel down, or bound into the air and fall, without exciting

any attention from their indifferent companions. When you have fired as often as you can, with effect, from the position you have taken, and the animals have moved beyond your reach, you should hasten to your horses, mount with all speed, and approach as near as possible without showing yourselves: but when you do, put your horses up to the top of their speed and away after the game as fast as you can go. You may dash at a band of buffaloes not more than a hundred yards off, and though you my think you are about to plunge into the very midst of them in a moment, you will find, if your horse is not well down to his work, that they will slip away like legerdemain. Though they appear to run awkwardly, they contrive to "let the links out" in pretty quick succession, and if you suffer them to get any kind of a start, you must expect to have a hard run to overtake them. The better plan, therefore, is to put your horse to the top of his speed at once, and thus by bringing the matter to a climax, you obviate the inconvenience of being drawn to a distance from the camps, and of making your jaded steed carry a wearisome load several miles back.

If you hit a bull from cover and he sees no enemy, he will at once lie down, but if you press him on the open plain, when injured, he will resent the wrong, turn short round, bow his neck and waving his tail to and fro ever his back, face you for a fight. At this crisis of affairs, it is well to show him some respect, and keep at a convenient distance. If you will content yourself with fifty yards he will stand and receive your fire all day. As soon as you bring him once at bay you are sure of him, for you may fire as often as you please, and the only indication he gives before going down, of having received a wound, is by a furious kicking at the assaults of his deadly visitant. You must not attempt to kill him by shooting at his head, for you will only scatter your ineffectual lead upon his frontal bone, but shoot him behind the shoulder at the bulge of the ribs, or just below the backbone in the same latitude, and you will pass your ball directly through the thick part of the lungs. This is the most deadly of all shots, for the flow of blood stifles his respiration and suffocates him at once. When excited these animals are very hard to kill, and unless when wounded in this fatal spot, I have seen them so tenacious of existence as to live for hours, even with two or three bullets through their hearts.

The animal, though it generally flies pursuit, is capable of the most romantic deeds of daring. An instance of this kind occurred on the 27th of June. We had stopped our wagons at noon within half a mile of the river, and while enjoying the comforts of our mid-day meal, we discovered seven large buffalo bulls slowly moving up the opposite shore of the river. When they got directly opposite our encampment, they turned and plunged suddenly into the stream and swam directly towards us as straight as they could come, in the face of wagons, teams, cattle, horses, men and all.

Every man prepared his gun, and those on the extreme ends of the line, stretched down to the bank of the river, thus forming a complete semicircle of death for their reception. Notwithstanding we were thus prepared for their approach, we all felt certain they would turn tail and recross the river; but to our complete astonishment, on they came, regardless of our grim and threatening array. They were received with tremendous bombardment, and down went every bellowing vagabond to the ground. Several of them rose to their feet, but the storm of death bore them back again upon the sod and not a single one escaped to profit by this lesson of imprudence.

There is perhaps no flesh more delicious to a traveller's appetite than buffalo meat, particularly that cut from a fat young buffalo cow; and it has the peculiar advantage of allowing you to eat as much as you please without either surfeit or oppression. I shall never forget the exquisite meal I made on the evening of the first of June. I had been out hunting all day, was very weary, and as hungry as a whole wilderness of tigers. Out of compassion for my complete fatigue, Mrs. Burnett cooked six large slices from a fat young buffalo for my supper. My extravagant hunger induced me to believe when I first saw the formidable array served up, that I could readily dispose of three of them. I *did* eat three of them, but I found they were but the prologue to the fourth, the fourth to the fifth, and that to the sixth, and I verily believe that had the line stretched out to the crack of doom, I should have staked my fate upon another and another collop of the prairie king. This story hardly does me credit, but the worst is yet to come, for two hours afterward, I shared the supper of Dumberton, and on passing Captain Gant's tent on my way *home*, I accepted an invitation from him to a bit of broiled tongue; yet even after this, I went to bed with an unsatisfied appetite. I am no cormorant, though I must admit I acted very much like one on this occasion. My only consolation and excuse, however, is that I was not a single instance of voracity in my attacks upon broiled buffalo meat.

CHAPTER V.

Progress of Travel—Grand Complimentary Ball to the Rocky Mountains —Route Through the Mountains—Its Points—Its General Character—Passage Through the Pass—Arrival in Oregon.

On the 29th of June we crossed the south fork of the Platte. On the 1st of July we crossed the north fork at a distance of thirty-one miles from the passage the day but one before, and then proceeded along its northern bank for a period of nine days, passing in succession the points on the route known as "Cedar Grove," "the Solitary Tower," "the Chimney",

and "Scott's Bluffs," until we arrived at Fort Laramie on the 9th; thus averaging, from the time of our crossing the south fork on the morning of the 29th of June, about sixteen miles a day. During this period, and this space of march, the weather was uninterruptedly fine, the thermometer ranging from 74° to 83°, and the face of the road suffering no sensible variation. We paused for a day at Fort Laramie, and resumed our march on the morning of the 11th. From this point thereout, we suffered no further scarcity of timber, but we now began to encounter a few more difficulties from the surface of the road. This we found to be interrupted by bolder undulations, and after we had travelled eight miles further westward, we came to the *debris*, as it may be called, of the Black Hills, whose occasional abrupt inclinations now and then caused our teams a little extra straining, but did not require us to resort to double ones. This lasted but for a short distance, however, and we were soon on a level route again. On the 16th we struck the Sweetwater, a beautiful little tributary of the Platte, and following its course for one hundred miles, at last came in view, on the afternoon of the 30th, of the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains. We still had an open route before us, and a portion of the day remained to avail ourselves of it if we pleased; but this event was worthy of the commemoration of an encampment, and we accordingly wound up the line two hours earlier than usual. The hunters of our party had been fortunate this day in obtaining some fine antelope and two fat young buffaloes, and we set out for a regular feast. When the meal was over, and when the prospective perils which lay in the entrails of those grim giants had been canvassed again and again, we broke from all grave considerations to consecrate the evening to merriment. The night was beautiful, scarcely a breath stirred the air, and the bright stars in the blue vault above looked brighter than ever. The camp fires streaming upwards from the prairie plains flooded the tents with their mellow light, and made the tops of the quadrangular barricade of wagons looks like a fortification of molten gold. Jim Wayne's fiddle was at once in request, and set after set went in upon the sward to foot a measure to its notes. McFarley and the representative of Big Pigeon forgot in the moment all the bickerings of their ambition, and formed two of a party (amongst whom was my old friend, Garret the Mesmerian), who listened to the Indian traditions of Captain Gant, and then told their own wonderful stories in return. The revelry was kept up till a late hour, and the result was that the whole party went to bed worn out with pleasure and fatigue. From this point we pursued a directly westerly course, crossing in our route two creeks called "Big Sandy" and "Little Sandy," and three or four others, until we struck Green river, a tributary of the Colorado, which empties its waters into the Pacific, in the Mexican

bay of San Francisco. We followed Green river down its course through the mountains for twenty miles, where we struck a branch of it called Black's fork. From thence we turned off in a westerly direction for thirty miles, to Fort Bridger. Still west we proceeded for twenty more, to a branch of the Great Bear river, called Big Muddy, and down this branch for thirty-seven miles of fine travel, in a nerth westerly direction to Great Bear river itself. We now took up the course of Great Bear river, and following it in a north westerly direction for fifty-seven miles, passed a range of hills which run down nearly to its bank; and continuing our course for thirty-eight miles more, arrived at the Great Soda Springs. From the Great Soda Springs, which we left on the 27th August, we took the course of a valley leading to the great dividing ridge between us and Oregon, and after passing up it to the distance of about forty-five or fifty miles, came upon the wide depression of the mountains that was to lead us into the promised land. This remarkable pass is so gentle in its slope, as to afford no obstacle for the heaviest loaded wagons; and, without any difficulty at all, our most cumbrous teams passed through it into the valley of the Satpin, the southern branch of the Columbia. This natural avenue, though surrounded, nay, almost overhung, in parts, with immense crags of frowning desolation, was covered, generally, with the softest and most delightful verdure that had for a long time met our eyes. A beautiful little brook meandered through it; flowers and trees were flourishing along it in profusion, and the sweet scent and soft air that floated in our faces off its fields half persuaded us that we were suffering the delusion of some fairy dream. Impatient of delay, some dozen or two of us on horseback plunged into the inviting scene, and led the way at a gallop to a view of the region beyond.

(To be continued.)

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jurisdiction a jury shall consist of four jurors. In criminal cases the verdict shall be unanimous. In civil cases three-fourths of the jurors may find a verdict." The bill was indefinitely postponed.

Practically the same bill was introduced four years later (1903) by Representative C. D. King. There was the further provision that a grand jury shall consist of twelve jurors. This amendment passed the House by a vote of 64 to 11, but was never voted on by the Senate.

The same bill was introduced at the 1905 session by Representative E. L. Minard, and indefinitely postponed.

In 1907 Senator George U. Piper proposed to change the section relating to trial by jury so as to read: "Trial by jury in all criminal and civil cases is hereby abolished. The legislature shall provide that all criminal and civil cases shall be heard and determined by judges, and the legislature shall further provide a system of procedure to carry this provision into effect." No action was ever taken on this bill.

Section 26 of Article I. provides that "no grand jury shall be drawn or summoned in any county, except the superior court thereof shall so order." Senator George Cottrell in 1909 submitted an amendment to this section, providing that a grand jury shall be drawn in each county at least once a year. The bill was placed on the general file, but was never voted upon.

Senator Daniel Landon introduced in the Senate in 1911 the first bill that was ever introduced in the legislature providing for the recall. This bill provided for the adding of two sections, 33 and 34, to Article I., to contain substantially the following: Every elective officer in the state is subject to recall and discharge by the voters of the state or smaller subdivisions. The recall petition must contain the reasons for the demand and be signed by not less than 25 per cent of the voters of the state or subdivision. Upon the filing of the required petition a special election is held and the result determined, as provided by the general election laws. No action was taken on this bill, but the House bill containing the same provisions, except that judicial officers were specifically exempt, was introduced by Messrs. Govenar Teats and Hugh Todd and passed by the House 74 to 6 and by the Senate 29 to 7. The amendment was voted on by the people at the November election, 1912, and approved.

Amendments to Article II.

Section 1 of Article II. provides that "The legislative powers shall be vested in a senate and house of representatives, which shall be called the legislature of the State of Washington." As early as 1895 an attempt was made to amend this section by providing for the initiative and

referendum. The bill was introduced by Representative L. E. Rader, and provided that the legislative power of the state shall also be vested in the electors of the state, and that the legislative power of any municipal division of the state (such as county, city, town, township, etc.) shall be exercised by the legislative body thereof, and by the senate and house of representatives and by the qualified electors in such division. To propose a measure requires 5 per cent of the qualified electors of the state if the measure affects the whole state, and 5 per cent of the electors of the municipal division if the measure affects less than the whole state. The legislature may provide that measures for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety shall take effect immediately. No other measure shall go into effect until the expiration of a specified period, during which petitions calling for a vote on the measure may be filed. Five per cent of the electors may require the submission of a law passed by the legislature to the popular vote.

The committee to which this amendment was referred recommended its indefinite postponement. No action was taken.

In 1907 Representative C. P. Bush proposed an amendment similar in nearly every respect to the preceding amendment. This bill passed the House by a vote of 63 to 12. It failed to pass the Senate. The vote was: Yeas 15, nays 7, absent 12.

The next amendment providing for the initiative and referendum was proposed in 1901 in the House by Representative T. C. Miles. The initiative or referendum could be invoked by 10 per cent of the qualified electors of the state. Laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, or support of the state government and its existing public institutions were not subject to the referendum. The veto power could not be exercised as to measures referred to the people. Also the initiative might be used as to future amendments to the constitution. The bill proposing this amendment was indefinitely postponed.

Senator L. C. Crow introduced the same measure in the Senate, and it was likewise disposed of there.

In 1903 the attempt of Representative J. J. Cameron to get a similar bill through the House failed.

Senator George Cotterill in 1907 introduced a long bill providing for an elaborate plan for the initiative and referendum. The amendment provided for both a state and local initiative and referendum. For the state initiative 8 per cent of the legal voters was required and for the local initiative for all local, special, and municipal legislation, 15 per cent; the state referendum, 8 per cent, the local referendum, 10 per cent. Amendments to the constitution could be proposed by the initiative as ordinary bills.

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EXPLORATION OF THE UPPER COLUMBIA

Of the five earliest transcontinental expeditions to the Pacific, students of Northwest history know two by heart: the second (Lewis and Clark, 1805-06) and the fifth (the Overland Astorians, 1811-12). The first (Mackenzie, 1793) and the third (Fraser 1808) are also familiar to us in never varying detail. But an unkind fate, aided by a journal too voluminous for publication (40 vol. foolscap, 100 pp. per vol.) has almost buried in obscurity the knowledge of the fourth, that by the astronomer and geographer, David Thompson (1810-11); and when even the bare outlines have at times emerged, the sketch has been fragmentary and inaccurate, and the details (attempted by Bancroft and others) imaginary. This is all the more to be regretted by the people of Washington, because Thompson's was the only party of the five to cross our state entirely. This it accomplished both by river and by land. David Thompson discovered the sources of the Columbia, explored the Upper Columbia, and was the first to voyage over every foot of this, the Pacific Coast's mightiest river.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Aubrey White, Deputy Minister Lands and Forests, Toronto, I have been furnished a copy of Bk. 27, Vol. II., of Thompson's journal, detailing his "Voyage to the Mouth of the Columbia; by D. Thompson and 7 men on the part of the New Company." As Dr. Coues says of the entire journal, the manuscript "consists of astronomical calculations, traverse tables and other mathematical data," which makes it "largely unreadable"; but this did not deter me from an attempt to put before the people of the Northwest a readable account, which should at the same time be as accurate in time and place as could be made out by his "watch of little worth" and his "compass always vibrating, caused by the many eddys and whirlpools which continually turned the canoe from side to side."

June 27, 1807. Thompson crossed Howise Pass in the Canadian Rockies and came to a little rill "whose current," he wrote without hesitation, "descends to the Pacific Ocean—may God in his mercy give me to

see where its waters flow into the ocean and return in safety." Little did he dream then of the 1,150 miles of Columbia, the interminable maze of lakes connected by the windings of the Kootenay, Clark's Fork, and Upper Columbia, or of the four and a quarter years of hardships verging at times on starvation, that lay between Howse Pass and his finished work. He built a raft and descended the tumultuous Blaeberry Creek; but when he reached the Columbia he was surprised to find the great river flowing northeast instead of southwest; his McKenzie had described the Tacouche Tesse (Frazer had not yet explored the Tacouche Tesse to the sea, thus showing that it was not the Columbia). From the Indians Thompson learned that the river made a great detour to the north; so instead of going down, he went up stream, i. e., south, to Lake Windermere, at the foot of which he established a post, Kootenay House, on the west bank of the Columbia. In 1808 he returned from east of the Rockies to this post, arriving November 10, after a horseback journey of sixteen days. Here he wintered till April 27, 1809.

During the summer of 1809 he explored the Kootenay south into Montana and Idaho, and struck across country on horseback to Clark's Fork. September 9, he arrived at Pend d'Oreille and built a post on the lake. September 28 he started on an expidition down Clark's Fork some 7 distance into Washington. October 2 he started back up the river, evidently bewildered by the fact that all the tributaries of the great river turned and continued northward. He returned to Pend d'Oreille, continued up Clark's Fork into Montana, swung north again to the Kooteney, back again to his post on Pend d'Oreille, and up Clark's Fork again into Montana, where he built Saleesh House and wintered, 1809-10. During the winter he made three exploring trips, on ore of which he ascended Clark's Fork to its formation by the Missoula and Flathead rivers. He left Saleesh House April 19, reached Pend d'Oreille April 21, sent his canoes north the 23d, explored south to the Spokane by the 25th, turned north again, and by way of the Kootenay, the Columbia, and Blaeberry Creek reached Howse Pass June 18, where he crossed in snow four feet deep. He had left his packs of fur behind in charge of McMillan, to wait for horses.

From July 22 to October 29, 1810, occurs one of the very few blanks in his remarkable journal of fifty years. From the journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, however, we learn that Thompson went east; as far as Montreal, according to Henry, but this is surely a mistake. At whatever place he stopped he learned of the preparations for the Astor expeditions by sea and land. This news started him out once more, on the crowning achievement of his life.

Obstacles came thick and fast, but he did not flinch the task. In October, 1810, his Columbia canoes on ahead were turned back from Howse Pass by the Piegan Indians, who had constituted themselves guardians of the pass, to keep Thompson from taking firearms to their enemies, the Flatheads, and to capture the rich store of furs which his posts west of the mountains were sending east. For once all of Alexander Henry's resources in debauching Indians with liquor failed; they would not decamp. The only other northern pass then known across the Rockies was Peace River, which would take Thompson's expedition a thousand miles out of his way and put him on the upper Fraser instead of the Columbia. Though his provisions were short and winter was coming on, he decided to force a new road across the Rockies. He struck northward towards the Athabaska, "cutting his way," as Henry reports, "through a wretched, thick woody country, over mountains and gloomy muskagoes, and nearly starving, animals being scare in that quarter." * * Their case was pitiful. December 5, on the Athabasca, he began building sleds, the thermometer registering 4 below zero. December 14, in dire extremities, he dispatched seven men to Henry for supplies. His men were distracted and suffering to the verge of mutiny. December 18 the thermometer stood 36 below zero. December 29 he started again, his two dogs to each sled swimming through a deep snow road beaten down by the snowshoes of his men. New Year's Day, 1811, the poor dogs were unable to move their loads. A cache was made, and with light loads they struggled on. January 8, Du Nord, one of his men, "beat a dog useless and the sled we made got broke and was with the dog thrown aside." January 10, he discovered Athabaska Pass. Next day, in the court of holding down a little brook, he called Du Nord "a poor, spiritless wretch," and ordered him back, but relented. January 12 he wrote his pitiful plight on boards, to be carried back to Henry's post, there copied, and forwarded to the Northwest Partners. January 14 his dogs could no longer haul their loads. He abandoned everything not absolutely necessary, including his tent; "courage of the men sinking fast, though the snow was only 3 to 3½ feet deep; and they were told it was no matter if it was 20 feet deep, provided they could get over it; but when men are in a strange country fears gather in them from every object." January 20 Du Nord deserted under critical circumstances: January 21 the expedition reached the Columbia. Thompson wanted to go up the river to Kootenay House, but his men were dispirited, "useless as old women." January 26 Le Tendre and Deaw deserted, overcome with fear at the prospect before them. Thompson moved down the river, northward a few miles, to Canoe River, the very

northernmost point of the Columbia. Here the great river doubles on itself and turns south. Thompson's puzzle of the last three years was solved.

At Canoe Camp he built boats, and April 17, with four men, started south up the Columbia, traversed Windermere Lake, portaged to the Kootenay, descended that river to Idaho, crossed to Clark's Fork, and then crossed south to Spokane House, which his men had built in advance of him. He reached here June 15. He had by this swing visited every one of his posts except Saleesh House. At Spokane he took to the canoe again, going down the Spokane to the Columbia, and up the Columbia to Kettle Falls, whence he intended to start on his dash for the Pacific.

It is this part of the trip that holds greatest interest for us. With seven men and two Simpoil Indians, he started from Kettle Falls July 3, "down the Columbia river to explore this river in order to open out a passage for the interior trade with the Pacific Ocean." The first night was spent with the Simpoil Indians, three-quarters of a mile up the San Poil river from the Columbia. Thompson gives the following account of his reception:

"On our arrival at the Simpoil camp, we pitched our tents. No one approached us till we sent for them to come and smoke. The chief then made a speech, and then the men all followed him in file and sat down round the tent, bringing a present of two dried salmon, with about half a bushel of various roots and berries for food. The chief again made a speech in a more singing loud smart tone; smoking, with four pipes. When all the tobacco I had given for this purpose was done, during the last pipes being smoked, one of the Simpoil Indians who had come with me related in a low voice all the news he had heard and seen, which the chief in his speech told again to his people. At the end of every three or four sentences he made a step, which was answered by all the people calling in a loud voice, OY! The smoking being done and the news being all told, I then told the chief what I had to say of my voyage to the sea. Each six or seven sentences I also made a step, which the chief in his relation to his people punctually followed, and they also regularly answered as before. I took notice that good and bad news, life and death, were always pronounced in the same manner, and that the answer was always the same. A few pipes were now lighted, and they were told this was enough for the present. They gave a long thankful OY, continuing a few minutes.

"After, a man came asking permission for the women to come and see us and make us a small present. To this we consented, provided they brought us no ectoway, as we found these roots bring on the colic. They came, accompanied by all the men, and altogether formed a circle round

us, the women placing themselves directly opposite us, half being on the right and half on the left of a man painted as if for war, with black and red, and his head highly ornamented with feathers. The rest of the men extended to the women on either hand. The men brought their presents and placed them before me, which consisted wholly of native and white and ectoway roots, with a few arrow-root berries. The women had all painted themselves; although there were a few tolerable faces among them, yet from the paint, etc., not one could be pronounced bearable. The men are all of a middling size, moderately muscular, well limbed, and of a tolerably good mien.

The women, we thought, were all of rather small stature, clean made; and none of them seemed to labor under any bodily defects. Having smoked a few pipes, we said the visit was long enough. This was received as usual with a thankful OY, and they withdrew except a few old men, who stayed a few minutes longer and then went away. As the chief was going, my men wished to see them dance. I told the chief, who was highly pleased with the request. He instantly made a short speech to them; and all of them, young and old, men, women, and children, began a dance to the sound of their own voices only, having no instrument of any kind whatever. The song was a mild, simple music; the cadence measured, but the figure of the dance quite mild and irregular. On one side stood all the old people of both sexes. They formed groups of 4 to 10, who danced in time, hardly stirring out of the same spot. All the young and active formed a great large group on the other side, men, women, and children mixed, dancing, first up as far as the line of the old people extended, then turning round and dancing down to the same extent, each of this large group touching each other with closeness. This continued for about eight minutes, when, the song being finished, each person sat down on the ground in the spot he happened to be when the song was done. The chief made a speech of about one or two minutes long. As soon as this was ended the song directly began; and each person starting up filed to dancing the same figure as before. They observed no order in their places, but mingled as chance brought them together. We remarked a young, active woman who always danced out of the crowd and kept in close along us, and always left the others far behind. This was noticed by the chief, who at length called her to order, either to dance with the others or take a partner. She chose both, but still kept close to us, with her partner leading up the dance. Having danced twice in this way, the chief told them to dance a third time for that we might be preserved on the strong rapids we had to run down on our way to the sea. This they seemingly performed with great good will. Having danced about an hour, they finished and

returned. The dust of their feet fairly obscured the dancers, although we stood only four feet from them, as they danced on a piece of dusty ground in the open air. Their huts are of slight poles tied together, covered with mats of slight rushes,—sufficient defense in this season; and they are considered altogether as moderately cleanly: although very poorly clothed, especially the men, as animals are very scarce, and they are too poorly armed to obtain any spoil of worth from the chase."

July 4, in running the rapids above Bridgeport, "they run too close to a drift tree on a rock, which tore partly the top lath away and struck Ignace out of the stem of the canoe. Although he had never swam before in his life, he swam so as to keep himself above the waves till they turned the canoe around and took him up." The river was now at its flood time.

Next morning they came upon an Oschenawagan [Okonogan] chief and sixty men, with their women and children, who made them "a present of a good roasted salmon, and a bushel of arrow-root berries, and two bunhels of bitter white roots." A rain coming up, Thompson made presents of tobacco, rings, and hawk's bells, and sent the Indians away. At 2½ P. M. they returned singing; smoked again, and discoursed of the country to the Okonogan River. Thompson continues:

"They offered to dance for our good voyage and preservation to the sea and back again, and that they might be as well every way as at the present. We accepted the offer. They all, both men, women, and children, formed a line in ellipsis. They danced with the sun in a mingled manner. An old man who did not dance set the song, and the others danced running, but passing over a very small space of ground, their arms also keeping time, although hardly stirring from their sides. Some few danced apart, but they were all old women and seemed to dance much better than the others. Having danced three sets, each beginning with a speech from the chief and ending with a kind of prayer for our safety, and turning their faces up the river, and quickly lifting their hands high, and striking their palms together, and then letting them fall quickly and bringing them to the same action till the prayer was done. The men are slightly ornamented, but the women more profusely, especially about their hair, and their faces daubed with paint. Some few of them have copper ornaments hanging either to their girdles or the upper part of their petticoat. The women appeared of all sizes, but none corpulent, none handsome. The men, though many are quite ordinary, yet several were well looking and almost all well made, though not stout.—I may here remark that all their dances are a kind of religious prayer for some end. They in their dances never assume a gay, joyous countenance, but always one of serious turn, with often a trait of

enthusiasm. The step must almost always resemble the semblance of running, as if people pursuing and being pursued."

July 6 the party arrived at the Smeethowe [Methow river]. "On our approaching they gave several long thankful OYs. I sent my Simpoil to invite them to smoke. The chief received the message thankfully, and they began to collect a small present; having done which, I again invited them and they came forward and sat down in a ring and began smoking without any ceremony. The women then advanced, all ornamented with fillets and small feathers, dancing in a body to a tune of a mild song which they sang. When close to the men, an old man directed them to sit down all around the men on the outside, with the children, etc. When in place they smoked with the men: only the women were permitted. Women had a single whiff of the calumet, whilst the met took from three to six whiffs. Having smoked awhile, I explained to the chief by means of the Simpoil my intention of going to the sea to open out a road to bring merchandize to trade with them; which they thankfully received and wished a good voyage."

July 7 they saw the Cascade Mountains, as they looked up the Pisqouse [Wenatchee] valley, and the snow-topped Wenatchee range to the south. That afternoon they were received by the Wenatchee Indians. "They received us all dancing in their huts, one of which was about 209 yards long and the others 20 yards. There were about 120 families. I invited them to smoke and the 5 most respectable men advanced and smoked a few pipes.—They put down their little presents of roots, etc., and then continually kept blessing us and wishing us all manner of good for visiting them, with clapping their hands and extending them to the skies.—A very old respectable man often felt my shoes and legs gently, as if to know whether I was like themselves. A chief of the countries below offered to accompany us, as he understood the language of the people below, which I gladly accepted. We had much trouble to get away, as they very much wished to detain us all night. When we went they all stretched out their hands to Heaven, wishing us a good voyage and a safe return."

July 9 Thompson reached the mouth of the Snake, or Lewis river, and erected a pole with a half sheet of paper on it, claiming the country for Great Britain and declaring the intention of the New Company [Northwesters] to erect a factory there. The chief of the Nez Percés showed a small medal and a small American flag, which he had been given by Lewis and Clark. He was intelligent and friendly; "he ordered all the women to dance, which they did as usual; he gave me two salmon, and I made him a present of two feet of tobacco." Later in the day, the party came in sight of Mt. Hood.

For July 10 Thompson's observations for latitude and longitude are unintelligible; but they probably did not advance very far, as they had a "strong head gale all day; but it increased to a storm; the water swept away like snow." The Indians with whom they spent the night danced "by much the best I have ever seen, all the young of both sexes in two canoes. They made much of this hour. The dance, song, and step were measured by an old chief. Sometimes they sat down at the end. They gently sank down as it were; and rose up as regularly, the whole as usual in grand style." On this day he "heard news of the American ship's arrival."

July 11 records an all day trip with nothing but latitude and longitude, and that imperfectly taken. July 12 they passed the Dalles and the Cascades, and took a few shots without effect at the many grey colored seals. Though the Indians spoke a new and unintelligible language, the chief "jabbered a few words of broken English he had learned from the ships." Here, for the first time, he reports that the Indians, both women and men, are all naked. July 13 he camped "a little above Point Vancouver." July 15, at 1 P. M., he reached Astoria, where the Astorians in their journals give a well known account of his doings for a week.

July 22, at 1:24 P. M., his expedition left Astoria for the return, in company with the Stuart party, destined for the Okonogan. July 24 they reached the mouth of the Willamette; by July 31 they were at the Cascades. At this point Stuart's party lagged behind and Thompson and his men pushed on ahead. The geographic record of his progress has been rubbed out. His descriptions of geological features are preserved in detail. August 6 he reached the forks at Lewis river, and (all other accounts but one to the contrary), went up the Lewis river instead of the Columbia proper. At the forks he dispatched a letter to Finley, at Spokane House, telling him to send and meet him with horses. August 8, he saw the Blue Mountains to the southeast. That night he writes: "Put ashore at the mouth of a small brook [Can the Palouse river be called a small brook?], and camped, as this is the road to my first post on the Spokane lands. Here [on the Lewis river] is a village of fifty men. They danced till they were fairly tired and the chiefs had bawled themselves hoarse. They forced a present of eight horses on me, with a war garment." As there were just eight in his party, this scores once again for the historical generosity of the Nez Percés. With such treatment it is no wonder that Thompson had exclaimed two days before, "Thank Heaven for the favors we find among these numerous people!"

August 13 he writes: "Arrived at Spokane House. Thank God for his mercy to us on this journey. Found all safe; but Joco [Finley] was

with the horses sent to meet me. Late in the evening he arrived." Thompson went immediately down the Spokane and up the Columbia to Kettle Falls, reaching there August 28. One more dash of a few days' duration, from Kettle Falls to Canoe Camp, which he reached at the beginning of October, and Thompson had completed exploring every foot of the Columbia.

In the thirty two months just passed, he had spent barely two months sheltered by a rude hut; the remaining thirty he had lived out; forcing his way with the explorer's hardihood through the New World's greatest mountains and forests; finding the mountain passes, tracing the Pacific slope's greatest river; and (especially by failing to beat Astor's ship to Astoria) making history. Hasn't the failure been emphasized long enough? Shouldn't history now turn its attention to what he accomplished?

Tacoma, December 4, 1912 O. B. SPERLIN.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE STATE CONSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

Since statehood a total of one hundred and sixty-four bills proposing amendments have been introduced in the legislature. Of these bills eighty-one originated in the House of Representatives and seventy-three in the Senate. Of these one hundred and sixty-four bills, only fifteen were passed by the legislature and submitted to the people. Of the fifteen submitted to the people, five have been rejected and ten adopted.

In order to amend the constitution of Washington, it is necessary, first, that the bill providing for the amendment pass both houses of the legislature by a two-thirds vote of the members elected, and, second, that the amendment be approved and ratified by a majority of the electors of the state voting thereon. If more than one amendment is submitted at the same time, they must be submitted so as to permit the people to vote separately upon them. The proposed amendments must be published for at least three months preceding the election in some weekly newspaper in every county in the state.

The constitution can also be amended or revised by a constitutional convention called for that purpose. Two-thirds of the members elected to each house of the legislature can submit to the people the question of whether or not the convention shall be called. If a majority of the electors vote to call the convention, the next legislature must provide for calling the same. The convention must have at least as many members as the House of Representatives. Before the amendments or new constitution adopted by the constitutional convention become valid they must be submitted to and adopted by the people.

Several of the proposed amendments consist of complete laws on the subjects covered in the amendments. In fact, the tendency has been to embody as much of the law of the state as possible in the constitution. The original constitution itself is much more than a mere outline of principles and contains very many provisions that could have been very well left to the legislature. If all of the proposed amendments had been adopted, the constitution would more resemble a code than a constitution. In some cases the amendments proposed were not even contrary to existing provisions in the constitution, but dealt with subjects of ordinary legislation. Later, laws were passed by the legislature putting into force some of the same measures.

I did not find any record of amendments proposed at the first and

second sessions of the legislature in 1889 and 1891, but at every one of the subsequent sessions a considerable number of bills were introduced providing for constitutional amendments. I shall consider together all of the amendments bearing on the same sections and subjects.

Amendments to Article I.

At the session of the legislature in 1903, Senator W. R. Reser introduced in the Senate a bill providing for the amendment of Section 11 of Article I. Among other things, this section provides that "no public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise, or instruction, or the support of any religious establishment." The amendment sought to change this section by adding a proviso to the above words to the effect that "this article shall not be so construed as to forbid the employment by the state of a chaplain for the state penitentiary and for such of the state reformatories as in the discretion of the legislature may seem justified." This amendment passed the Senate by a unanimous vote of all members present and passed the House by a vote of 77 to 3. It was approved by the people in 1904 by a vote of 17,060 to 11,371.

In 1909 another attempt was made to amend this section. This amendment, proposed by Representative Alex. N. Sayre in the House, provided that the hospitals for the insane or feeble-minded and such other state charitable and reformatory institutions as the legislators may designate, as well as the state penitentiary, shall be permitted to employ a chaplain. The committee on constitutional revision, to which the bill was referred, recommended its passage, but no action was taken.

The next section of Article I. to which amendments have been proposed is section 16, relating to eminent domain. This section says: "Private property shall not be taken for private use, except for private ways of necessity, and for drains, flumes, or ditches on or across the lands of others for agricultural, domestic, or sanitary purposes." The section then sets forth the manner of determining the compensation for taking property for public and private use, etc. A bill proposing an amendment to this section was introduced in 1905 by Senator John T. Welsh. Its purpose was to define private ways of necessity. According to the amendment, "a private way of necessity shall be held to include a right-of-way over the lands of others, whether the title to the same be or be not derived from a common grantor, for the purpose of conveniently removing any saw logs, shingle bolts, timber, lumber, stone, crops, and other agricultural products, or the product of any mine" to a convenient point from which the commodities could reach the market. The private way might be taken for a year or a term of years or permanently. The main object of this amendment was to

give the logging companies a way of getting their logs, shingle bolts, etc., across the lands of others to a convenient place for transportation. The bill was never reported out of the hands of the committee.

Twenty days later Senator Welsh introduced another bill for an amendment to the same section, which was probably intended as a substitute for the first bill. This amendment provided that the use of property for right-of-way for agricultural, mining, milling, manufacturing, irrigation, domestic, lumbering or sanitary purposes, or for the removal of timber or timber products, is a *public use*, even though the benefit may inure to a private individual or corporation. At the end of the original section is this provision: "Whenever an attempt is made to take private property for the use alleged to be public, the question whether the contemplated use be really public shall be a judicial question, and determined as such, without regard to any legislative assertion that the use is public." This second amendment added these words: "except as to the uses which are herein declared to be public." The reason for this addition is obvious—to remove the power from the courts of declaring that the private uses enumerated were not public uses—to make it easier to secure the desired right-of-way. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 1, but was never voted on by the House.

At the same session (1905) in the House, Representative Joseph Irving introduced a bill amending Section 16 of Article I, by including in the list of private uses for which private property may be taken a right-of-way for the removal of timber products.

A few weeks later he introduced another bill, which was identical with Senator Welsh's second bill. This bill was slightly amended, passed the House 85 to 1 and the Senate 39 to 1 and was approved by the governor. It was voted on by the people in November, 1906, and was rejected by a vote of 15,257 for the amendment, 20,984 against the amendment.

The same amendment was proposed in 1907 by Representative E. M. Stephens, was passed almost unanimously, approved by the governor and again rejected by the people in 1908 by the following vote: for the amendment 26,849, against the amendment 32,721.

At the session of 1895 Representative Nelson proposed an amendment to Section 21 of Article I., relating to trial by jury and providing that the legislature may provide for a verdict by ten or more jurors in criminal cases in courts of record. The bill was indefinitely postponed.

In 1899 Representative G. B. Canderson proposed the following amendment to the same section: "In courts of general jurisdiction, except in capital cases, a jury shall consist of eight jurors. In courts of inferior

A two-thirds vote of the House and Senate was necessary to declare that the law was of immediate necessity and should take effect at once. The legislature could reject any measure proposed by the initiative and propose a different one for the same purpose, in which case both measures were to be submitted to the people and the one receiving the highest number of votes was to become law. All initiative petitions must contain the full text of the proposed bill. No veto was allowed on measures submitted to the people. This amendment was in the form of a complete law covering the initiative and referendum, and it provied that it was self-executing, although the legislature might pass laws to facilitate its operation. The bill never came to a final vote, although a majority of the committee to which it was referred recommended its passage.

The Cotterill amendment was introduced at the same session in the House by Representative Glenn N. Rauck. It passed the House by a vote of 66 to 26, but was indefinitely postponed by the Senate, only twelve voting against postponement.

In 1909 a bill identical with the Cotterill bill was introduced by Senator R. A. Hutchinson. The bill never came to a vote.

Messrs. Hugh Todd and George L. Denman introduced the same bill in the House, but on motion the bill was indefinitely postponed.

It is unnecessary to discuss fully the bills which were introduced at the 1911 session of the legislature which led to the final passage of our present initiative and referendum amendment. It is sufficient to enumerate them and to give the substance of the one which was passed and which is now a part of our constitution.

Representatives Hugh Todd and Govnor Teats, in the House, and Senator Dan Landon, in the Senate, introduced identical bills. About the same time Representatives Denman, Phipps and Halsey introduced a bill the same in all essential features, except it provided also for the local initiative and referendum. All of these bills were indefinitely postponed and a new bill prepared by Messrs. Teats, Todd, Buchanan, Denman, Phipps, Halsey and Wright, was submitted to the House. It was approved by the House by a vote of 79 to 12 and by the Senate by a vote of 32 to 7. It was submitted to the people in November, 1912, and was approved by an overwhelming majority.

The initiative and referendum amendment of our constitution provides for a state initiative and referendum only. The initiative may be invoked by not less than 10 per cent of the qualified voters, but in any case not more than 50,000. The petition must include the full text of the measure and must be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election, at which it is to be voted on, or not less than ten days

before any regular session of the legislature. If filed four months before the election at which they are to be voted on the Secretary of State must submit the same to the people at the election. If filed not less than ten days before the session of the legislature, the bills so proposed shall take precedence over other bills except appropriation bills, and must be rejected or enacted without change. If enacted, they shall be subject to the referendum or they may be referred to the people by the legislature. If rejected or if no action is taken, they shall be submitted at the next general election. The legislature may propose a substitute, in which case the people vote first, as between either or neither, and, second, as between one and the other. The referendum applies to all measures passed by the legislature except "such laws as may be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, support of the state government and its existing public institutions." It is instituted either by the legislature, or by 6 per cent of the voters, but in no case more than 30,000. No act approved by the electors can be amended or repealed within two years after enactment. There can be no veto of measures approved by the people. The vote on all measures referred to the people must equal one-third of the total vote cast at such election. The number of electors voting for governor at the preceding election. The number of electors voting for governor at the preceding election is the basis for determining the number necessary to invoke the initiative or referendum.

Section 2 of Article II, provides that "The house of representatives shall be composed of not less than 63 nor more than 99 members. The number of senators shall not be more than one-half nor less than one-third of the number of members of the house. * * * *" Two attempts to amend this section have been made. Representative C. J. Moore in 1897 proposed to reduce the number of representatives to not less than 40 nor more than 60. Senators H. A. Espey and A. W. Anderson in 1911 proposed that the "Senate shall be composed of as many senators as there are counties in the state, one senator being elected from each county." Both amendments were indefinitely postponed.

In 1911 Representative E. A. Sims proposed to change Sections 5 and 12 of Article II. so as to require quadrennial elections for members of the house of representatives instead of biennial, as theretofore. The majority of the committee on constitutional revision recommended the passage of the bill, but no action was taken.

Section 12 of Article II. provides in part that "Sessions of the legislature shall be held biennially unless specially convened by the governor, but the times of meeting of subsequent sessions may be changed by the legislature. After the first legislature the session shall not be more than

60 days." Senator Jesse Huxtable's bill, introduced in 1911, proposed to amend this by leaving out the clause limiting the legislative session to 60 days and by changing the date of meeting from the first Wednesday after the first Monday in January to the second Monday in January. The bill was indefinitely postponed.

Under the constitution, Section 23 of Article 2, "Each member of the legislature shall receive for his services five dollars for each day's attendance during the session, and ten cents for every mile he shall travel in going to and returning from the place of meeting of the legislature, on the most usual route." Attempts have been made to increase and to decrease this allowance. In 1895 Messrs. G. M. Witt and J. B. Laing in the House of Representatives proposed to cut the per diem salary to four dollars and the mileage to five cents per mile. This failed to get the necessary two-thirds vote, although a majority voted for it.

Senator Andrew Hemrich in 1901 proposed to limit the compensation to not more than $200 for per diem allowance. His bill was indefinitely postponed.

In 1911 Senator Jesse Huxtable proposed to give each member of the legislature an annual salary of $1,000. This would make his salary for each session $2,000. The bill was indefinitely postponed.

Senator Harry Rosenhaupt at the same session introduced a bill to allow each member fifteen dollars for each day's attendance during the session and five cents for every mile traveled; "but such pay shall not exceed in the aggregate $600 per diem allowance for a general session," nor more than $300 for a special session. This bill was never voted on.

In the House at this session Representative E. A. Sims proposed to give each member $10 for each day's attendance. The committee reported favorably, but the amendment never came to a vote.

One of the first attempts to amend the constitution was directed at Section 33 of Article II. This section prohibits the ownership of lands by aliens or by corporations, the majority of whose capital stock is owned by aliens, except where obtained in certain cases, such as by inheritance, under mortgage, or in the collection of debts. Senator John R. Kinnear, in 1893, proposed to amend this section so as to permit aliens to own land within any incorporated city or town in the state. His bill was not voted on.

The same bill, introduced in the house by Representative L. C. Gilman, received a vote of 39 yeas, 22 nays with 17 absent. The bill, therefore, failed to receive the constitutional majority.

Mr. Harry Rosenhaupt in 1899 in the House proposed to limit the ownership of land by aliens to 320 acres by one alien. His bill passed the House 61 to 10, but failed in the Senate: Yeas 16, nays 8, absent 10.

In the Senate, Senator Herman D. Crow introduced a bill making the limit 640 acres for each alien. No action was taken on this bill.

In 1901 Representative Harry Rosenhaupt introduced a bill similar to Senator Crow's bill, but it was indefinitely postponed.

In 1905, at the instance of Senator M. E. Stansell, a bill was introduced which proposed to add the following words to Section 33: The provisions of this section shall not "apply to lands conveying water for beneficial purposes; nor apply to land or waters acquired or used for mining, smelting, refining, transportation, or manufacturing purposes; nor apply to the ownership of lands or waters by corporations, the majority of the capital stock of which is owned by aliens." This amendment passed the Senate 31 to 5, but failed in the House. Yeas 34, nays 32, absent 28.

At the 1911 session Senator Josiah Collins again proposed the amendment permitting the ownership by aliens of city or town property. The Senate passed the bill 29 to 9, but no action was taken in the House.

Section 39 of Article II. provides that "It shall not be lawful for any person holding public office in this state to accept or use a pass or to purchase transportation from any railroad or other corporation, other than as the same may be purchased by the general public, and the legislature shall pass laws to enforce this provision." This provision has been the occasion of considerable worry on the part of some members of the legislature and other state officials who were in the habit of riding on passes furnished by the railroad companies in the early days and even in some cases collecting mileage from the state in addition. It is not strange, therefore, that several attempts have been made to get the obnoxious section out of the constitution. Senator Belknap, in 1895, introduced a bill providing that this section be stricken out. The bill was reported from the committee on constitutional revision without recommendation, but it was never voted on.

In 1897 Senator John McReavy proposed "That it shall not be lawful for any person holding public office in this state to demand or receive mileage or compensation in lieu thereof during the time such person shall hold and use a pass or other free transportation from a railroad or other corporation," as a substitute for Section 39. The bill was never acted on.

Representative A. J. Falkner in 1899 proposed to amend Section 20 of Article 12, which provides that the railroads shall not grant passes to public officers (essentially the same as Section 39 of Article II.), so as to read: "Every railroad or other transportation company shall grant free passes upon application therefor to every member of the legislature and to every person holding any public office within this state." This bill was indefinitely postponed.

In 1903 Representative Samuel A. Wells introduced an amendment to Section 39 essentially the same as the preceding, but also providing that no mileage shall be allowed to or paid to, any officer so traveling free. The committee recommended that it be placed on second reading, but it stopped there.

Senator M. E. Stansell in 1905 proposed a similar amendment to Section 20 of Article XII., relating to transportation of public officials, so as to compel all railroad or other transportation companies to grant free passes over its lines in Washington to all state officials, county officials and members of the legislature. No action was taken on this amendment.

Amendments to Article III.

Turning to Article III., we find that in 1911 Representative Edgar J. Wright proposed to amend Sections 1 and 3 so as to render the governor ineligible for re-election for the term succeeding that for which he was elected and to provide that the secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, attorney general, superintendent of public instruction, commissioner of public lands and other state officers as may be provided by the legislature shall be appointed by the governor subject to the approval of the Senate and may be removed from office at any time by the governor upon good cause. The legislature shall provide general laws for the recall of the governor and lieutenant governor. This proposed amendment was indefinitely postponed.

The state constitution does not provide any method of filling the office of governor in case the governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary of state die, resign, or for any other reason are incapable of acting as governor. To remedy this defect, attention to which was probably called by the death of Governor Samuel G. Cosgrove, and the succession of Lieutenant Governor Hay, Representative Hugh Todd proposed an amendment in 1909 providing that the following state officers shall succeed to the duties of governor, and in the order named, to-wit: Secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, attorney general, superintendent of public instruction and commissioner of public lands. This bill passed the House 85 to 1 and the Senate 38 to 0. It was approved by the people in 1910 by a vote of 51,257 to 14,186.

Under Section 12 of Article III., it requires a two-thirds vote of the members present in both houses of the legislature to pass a bill over the governor's veto. Senator Hill in 1899 proposed to require only a majority of the members present to pass a bill over the veto. No action was taken.

Frequent attempts have been made to amend Sections 14 to 22 of Article III. and Section 14 of Article IV., relating to the salaries of state officers. Under the constitution, the schedule of salaries is as follows:

Governor, $4,000 and never more than $6,000.
Lieutenant-governor, $1,000 and never more than $2,000.
Secretary of state, $2,500 and never more than $3,000.
Treasurer, $2,000 and never more than $4,000.
Auditor, $2,000 and never more than $3,000.
Attorney general, $2,500 and never more than $3,500.
Superintendent of public instruction, $2,500 and never more than $4,000.
Supreme judges, $4,000, but may be increased.
Superior judges, $3,000, but may be increased.

Eleven bills were introduced providing for amendments lowering the salaries of the state officers. Some of the amendments reduce the amounts in the constitution $500 or $1,000. Others practically cut them down by half, in some cases fixing some of the salaries for such officers as attorney general, auditor and treasurer at $1,500 per year. None of the bills passed both houses, and none was introduced after 1897.

Amendments to Article IV.

An amendment providing for a non-partisan supreme court was introduced in 1901 by Senator Thomas D. Crow, now one of the judges of the supreme court. His bill provided that judges of the supreme court shall be elected by the electors at large at judicial elections when none but candidates for judicial positions shall be voted for. The amendment provided for an eight-year term, instead of the six-year term, as in the constitution. Elections were to be held every four years and the judges so elected that there would never be an entirely new court. The election could not be held within sixty days of any general state or county election or any municipal election in a city of over 10,000 population. No party symbol or designation was to be placed on the ticket. Any person eligible to the office could become a candidate by filing in the office of the secretary of state sixty days before the election a petition that his name be placed on the ballot as a candidate, signed by not less than 1,000 qualified electors of the state at large. Any person who knowingly received and did not decline the nomination or endorsement of any party convention was not entitled to continue as a candidate and be voted on. No action was taken on this bill.

As a part of the same bill, Senator Crow proposed a similar amendment affecting the superior court judges. In this case only 250 electors of the county in which the judge was a candidate were required for the nominating petitions. This bill applied to Sections 3 and 5 of Article IV.

Only one attempt has been made to make the supreme court judges appointive instead of elective. In 1911 Representative Charles R. Larne

proposed to amend Section 3 of Article IV, so as to require the appointment of all the supreme court judges by the governor. He further proposed to make the term of office twelve years and that not more than one appointment shall be made in any one year. The bill proposing the amendment was indefinitely postponed.

Representative J. P. de Mattos in 1897 proposed to add the following words to Section 4 of Article IV.: "The supreme court shall give its opinion upon important questions upon solemn occasions when required by the governor, the Senate, or the House of Representatives, and all such opinions shall be published in connection with the reported decisions of the supreme court." This amendment passed the House by a vote of 57 to 12, but it was never acted on by the Senate.

Two attempts have been made to require that no person shall hold the office of judge or justice of any court in the state longer than until the second Monday of January next after he shall be seventy years. This amendment was proposed in 1893 and in 1895, but no action was taken at either time.

In 1895 Representative W. H. Ham introduced an amendment to Section 5, which involved the following important changes and additions: "The legislature shall have power to change the number of superior court judges and rearrange the districts when it shall deem it wise so to do: Provided, That no rearrangement shall ever be made whereby any or groups of counties having less than 20,000 population shall be allowed a superior judge, and no county or group of counties shall be allowed an additional judge unless the population shall be at least 15,000 for each judge, in addition to the first 20,000 of population." This amendment was indefinitely postponed.

Under the constitution, Section 6 of Article IV., the jurisdiction of justices of the peace extends to controversies under $100. It has been thought by many that if the jurisdiction were raised to $300, much of the congestion in the superior courts of the state would be relieved. Accordingly in 1893, 1895, and 1909 attempts were made to make this change or to leave the question to the legislature. They were unsuccessful. In 1899 an amendment was proposed by Representative Nelson to Section 10 of Article IV, ensuring, in addition, that justices of the peace in cities having more than 5,000 inhabitants be admitted to the bar.

In 1895 Senator Frank P. Lewis submitted an amendment to Section 17, relating to justices of the peace. It proposed to leave out of the original section the following provisions: "Provided, That such jurisdiction granted by the legislature shall not touch upon the jurisdiction of superior or other courts of record, except that justices of the peace may

be made police justices of incorporated cities and towns having more than 5,000 inhabitants, the justices of the peace shall receive such salary as may be provided by law, and shall receive no fees for their own use." The amendment provided that the term of office, powers, duties, jurisdiction and compensation of justices shall be prescribed by the legislature. It was indefinitely postponed.

In 1907 Senator Booth proposed to add another section to Article IV. to be Section 29, and to provide that the term of office of supreme court judges shall be eight years and superior court judges six years, and that the judicial election be held at a different time than the general or county election. No action.

Senator Ralph Metcalf in 1911 introduced a bill providing that Section 29 read as follows: "All judges of the supreme and superior courts of the State of Washington shall be nominated at direct primaries, and the legislature shall pass laws to carry this amendment into effect." No action was taken.

A third amendment, to be known as Section 29, was introduced by Representative Edgar J. Wright. It provided that in counties having more than 100,000 inhabitants, the judges of the superior court may be paid such salary in addition to that provided by the legislature as the county commissioners may determine. No action was taken.

Mr. J. E. Campbell, in the House in 1911, proposed to include as Section 29 the following: "No act or proceeding of the legislature, or part of any act or proceeding, shall be set aside or declared unconstitutional by any justice, judge or court whatsoever. The will of the people, as expressed by enactment of the legislature or by the people, shall be the supreme law." Only five of a total of 94 members had the temerity to vote for this amendment.

Amendments to Article V.

The present law governing impeachment proceedings is set forth in Section 1 Article V. and is substantially as follows: The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment, a majority of all members being required for impeachment. The Senate shall try all impeachments. If the governor or lieutenant-governor is on trial, the chief justice of the supreme court shall preside. A two-thirds vote is necessary to convict.

Representative Solon T. Williams in 1895 proposed to change this section so as to give the House of Representatives power to impeach only judges of the supreme court, and the Senate to try such cases, as under the original provision. It further provided that all other officers liable to im-

peachment shall be tried before the supreme court, and the manner of procedure shall be such as may be prescribed by rule by the supreme court. This bill passed the House by a vote of 62 to 3, but was indefinitely postponed in the Senate, the senators probably being reluctant to give up the power of acting as a court of impeachment.

Senator C. W. Dorr in 1895 proposed to strike Sections I, 2 and 3 of Article V, and to rewrite the entire article. The only important change which his amendment contemplated was to give the supreme court power and to make it its duty to suspend or remove any judges of the superior court, or of any other inferior court of record of this state, for any high crime, or misdemeanor, or misfeasance in malfeasance in office. The amendment failed to pass the Senate by the following vote: Yeas 20, nays 12, absent 2.

Representative Charles R. Larne in 1911 proposed an amendment to this article by adding a section providing for a recall of all public officers (except judicial officers) by 35 per cent of the voters. As the recall amendment which was adopted was to Article I, it is unnecessary to consider this amendment further.

Amendments to Article VI.

Section 1 of Article VI., relative to qualifications of electors, has had an interesting history. As early as 1893, Senator B. F. Shaw (by request) introduced an amendment to this article granting a limited suffrage to women. His bill provided that "All female citizens of the United States, native born or naturalized, who can read and write the English language; who pay taxes upon real estate recorded in the county auditor's office and who otherwise conform to provisions of Article VI., shall be entitled to vote at all elections: Provided, They shall not have been convicted of any crime or misdemeanor within the ten years next preceding any election at which they offer to vote." This last provision is rather amusing in view of the fact that no such restriction is imposed by the constitution on male voters.

In 1895 three bills were introduced granting suffrage to women on the same basis as men, but none was passed.

In 1897, however, the suffrage amendment was passed by a vote of 24 to 10 in the Senate, 54 to 15 in the House. At the election in 1898 the people rejected it at the polls by a vote of 20,658 for equal suffrage, 30,540 against equal suffrage.

In 1901 Representative J. B. Gunderson attempted to amend Section 1 by adding: "Provided, That there shall be no denial of the elective franchise on account of sex at any election for the purpose of electing a

county superintendent of common schools." The bill was indefinitely postponed.

It was not until 1909 that the woman's suffrage question was again opened. At this session the legislature by a vote of 70 to 18 in the House, 30 to 9 in the Senate, passed an amendment granting equal suffrage to women. In 1910 the amendment was approved by the people: 52,299 for the amendment, 29,676 against the amendment.

Section 1 of Article VI. was also amended by inserting an educational test for all voters. Representative O. B. Nelson in 1895 introduced the bill. It provided that the electors of the state shall be able to read and speak the English language. The legislature shall enact laws defining the manner of ascertaining the qualifications of voters as to their ability to read and speak the English language. The amendment was approved in 1896 by a popular vote of 28,019 to 11,983.

In 1901 Senator J. J. Smith proposed to require that in order to be qualified voters naturalized citizens must have become citizens at least six months prior to the election at which they desire to vote. This amendment passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 6, but was never voted on by the House.

Other similar amendments were proposed to Sections 1, 4 and 9 of Article VI. An unimportant amendment was proposed to Section 8.

Amendments to Article VII.

Article VII. relates to revenue and taxation. A number of attempts have been made to amend it, but none of the amendments was approved by the people. One of these amendments, introduced in 1907, provided that Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Article VII., relating to the annual state tax, uniformity and equality of taxation, assessment of corporate property, etc., be stricken and the following section substituted: "The power of taxation shall never be surrendered, suspended or contracted away. Taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects, and shall be levied and collected for public purposes." The essential provisions that would have been abolished under this amendment may be summarized as follows: "All property in the state not exempt under the laws of the United States or under this constitution, shall be taxed according to its value. For the purpose of paying the state debt, if there be any, the legislature shall provide for levying a tax annually, sufficient to pay the annual interest and principal of such debt within twenty years. The legislature shall provide a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation on all property in the state, according to its value in money: Provided, That a deduction of debts from credits may be authorized; provided, further, That the property of the United States, and of the state, counties, school districts, and

other municipal corporations, and such other property as the legislature may by general laws provide, shall be exempt from taxation. The legislature shall provide by general law for the assessing and levying of taxes on all corporation property, as near as may be by the same methods as are provided for the assessing, and levying of taxes on individual property.* *" The probable purpose of the amendment was to give the state more freedom in selecting sources of revenue, such as a corporation tax and a single tax.

The amendment striking these provisions and substituting the above clause was voted down by the people in 1908 by a vote of 60,244 to 23,371.

In 1909 Senator Charles E. Myers proposed to strike Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 and to substitute an amendment in substance as follows: The amendment follows the words of last amendment discussed and further provides "that property used for public burying grounds, public schools, public hospitals, academies, colleges, universities, and all seminaries of learning, property used by all religious organizations or associations, as parsonages, or houses of religious worship, by young men's and young women's Christian associations, and by all institutions of purely public charity, and all public property used exclusively for public purposes, shall be exempt from taxation." This amendment failed to pass the Senate.

Similar bills to the above were introduced in 1909 and 1911. In all, seven bills were introduced at different times exempting the personal property of individuals or heads of families to an amount not exceeding $300. In 1899 such an amendment was passed by the legislature and approved by the people in 1900 by a vote of 35,398 to 8,975. The clause reads: "And provided further, That the legislature shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to exempt personal property to the amount of $300 for each head of a family liable to assessment and taxation under the provisions of the laws of this state, of which the individual is the actual bona fide owner."

Senator Ralph Nichols (by request) introduced a long amendment in 1909 striking Sections 1, 2, and 3 of Article VII, and inserting in lieu thereof Sections 1 to 6, embodying the following essential changes: In Section 1, the period during which taxes the state must provide for the payment of interest and principal on a state debt was changed from 20 to 25 years. There were provisions exempting charitable institutions, etc., and to heads of families, personal property to the amount of $300.

"The legislative power shall provide a uniform and equal rate of assessment and levy upon all real property in the state according to its full value in money.

"Taxes upon all personal property shall be assessed to and levied upon the owner thereof upon the basis of the yearly income and proceeds received therefrom. * * * * Provided, That the assessment and levy of taxes upon the personal property of all companies and corporations doing business on any railroad or steamboat in the state and companies and corporations having no personal property to assess shall be made upon the basis of their receipts"; and Provided, That all insurance companies doing business in this state shall pay a tax on their gross premiums, less the amount of losses actually paid.

"The legislative power shall have authority to provide for the levy of state, county or municipality, of license, franchise, gross revenue, excise, collateral and direct inheritance, legacy, succession, graduated collateral and direct inheritance, legacy and succession taxes; upon the basis of value or revenue.

"Taxes may be assessed and levied by the state upon the personal property of all public or quasi-public service corporations and companies doing an inter-county business upon the basis of income or proceeds received from said business. * * * *"

No action was ever taken on this amendment.

In 1897 the following proviso was submitted as an amendment to Section 2 of Article VII.: "Provided, That it shall be optional with each municipal corporation in the state to fix and determine by a majority vote of such municipal corporations the class or classes of property upon which taxes for municipal purposes shall be levied, which tax shall be uniform as to persons and class." This amendment was designed to give counties and cities in the state some freedom in providing for their own revenues. The bill passed both houses, but was voted down by the people in 1898: For the amendment 15,986, against it 33,850.

Senator T. B. Sumner in 1907 proposed to add the following proviso to Section 2: "Provided, That provision may be made for the payment of specific taxes on certain classes of personal property, and that public service property may be taxed by such methods and for such purposes as may be fixed by general law. The bill was not voted on.

In 1903 the following proviso was suggested for Section 3 relating to the assessment of corporate property: "Provided, That the legislature may provide for the levy, assessment and collection of taxes for state, county and municipal purposes, upon the franchises and intangible property of all corporations or individuals." The bill was indefinitely postponed.

Section 6 of Article VII. provides that all taxes shall be paid in money. An amendment was proposed in 1895 permitting their payment in money or state warrants. The bill failed to pass, as did similar bills in 1897.

Two attempts have been made to limit the rate of taxation by constitutional amendment. In 1903 Representative Joseph B. Landley proposed to add Section 10 to Article VII., limiting the rate to 3 mills on each dollar of valuation. If the taxable property in the state shall exceed $100,000,000, the rate should not exceed 2½ mills; $300,000,000, 1½ mills. The committee recommended indefinite postponement.

In 1909 Representative E. B. Palmer proposed that the rate for state purposes shall not exceed 5 mills; for county purposes, 5 mills; for municipal purposes, 9 mills; for township, road district, or school district purposes, 5 mills. No action was taken.

Amendments to Article VIII.

The only amendment ever proposed to Article VIII. was offered by Representative Edward L. French in 1911. It provided: "Section 4. All bills providing for the appropriation of money shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills." The committee recommended the passage of this amendment, but no action was taken.

Amendments to Article XI.

Section 2 of Article XI. provides that a county seat shall not be removed unless three-fifths of the electors vote for it at a general election. An amendment proposed in 1895 provided that the vote be had at a special election to be held not less than 90 days before or after a general election. The committee recommended that the bill do not pass for the reason that there is not sufficient change sought to be effected to warrant the necessary expense. The report was adopted.

In 1907 Senator Peter McGregor proposed to amend Section 3 of Article XI., relating to the establishment of new counties by raising the required population for the creating of a new county from two to ten thousand and also that new counties may be created out of an existing county or counties, provided a majority in the county or counties affected vote for the new county or counties. The bill passed the Senate 33 to 0, but failed in the House. Yeas 23, nays 48, absent 24.

Senator McGregor introduced the same amendment at the next session in 1909, but it never came to a vote.

Two amendments were introduced in 1905 and 1911, respectively, to remedy a clause in Section 4 of Article XI. The clause reads: "The legislature shall, by general laws, provide for township organization, under which any county may organize whenever a majority of the qualified electors of such county voting at a general election shall so determine." It was

proposed to amend it so as to permit township organization if a majority of those voting on the question of township organization shall favor it. Neither amendment was passed.

Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8 of Article XI. provide for the election and compensation of county officers, that all vacancies shall be filled by the county commissioners, that no county officer shall be eligible to hold his office more than two terms in succession, and that the legislature shall fix the salaries of all county officers. Representative Edgar J. Wright in 1911 proposed to strike these sections and to insert in lieu thereof sections containing the following innovations: The sheriff, clerk, treasurer, auditor and assessor shall constitute the board of county commissioners, and such board shall have power to appoint such other county officers as are necessary, regulate their salaries and duties and fix their terms of office, not exceeding their own term of office. The section limiting county officers to two terms in succession was omitted. All elective county officers were to be recalled by the electors of their county under general laws to be provided by the legislature. The proposed amendment was indefinitely postponed.

Several other attempts have been made to exclude certain county officers from the provision limiting officers from two terms in succession. In 1901 Representative G. B. Gunderson proposed to exempt county superintendents from this section. In 1903 Senator E. B. Palmer proposed to allow the county assessor to hold office more than two terms in succession. In 1909 Senator Evan C. Davis proposed to allow all but county treasurers to hold office more than two terms in succession. The last amendment was passed in 1911 and rejected by the people in 1912.

The original provision in Section 6 of Article XI. provides that county officers appointed to fill vacancies shall hold office "till the next general election, and until their successors are elected and qualified." Amendments introduced in 1893 and 1895 change this provision so as to read: "Officers thus appointed shall hold office until the second Monday of January next succeeding the general election and until their successors are elected and qualified." Both bills were killed.

An amendment to Section 8 of Article XI. was introduced in 1895 providing for the following changes: The county commissioners and not the legislature shall fix the salaries of county officers, except county commissioners; provided, however, the total cost of conducting the offices of county sheriff, auditor, and clerk shall not exceed in any one year the earning of their respective offices, and that the expenses of the treasurer's office shall not exceed 2 per centum of all the moneys received and paid out by him during such year. The amendment was indefinitely postponed.

Section 10 of Article 11 relates to the incorporation of municipalities. Section 11 provides that any county, city, town or municipality may make and enforce within its limits all such local, police, sanitary and other regulations as are not in conflict with the general laws.

In 1895 Senator C. W. Ide tried to amend Section 10 by striking out most of the matter setting forth the steps necessary in incorporating a municipality, and thus leaving such details to the legislature. His bill passed the senate and was reported favorably, but never voted on, in the House.

In 1911 Representative William Wray of Seattle proposed to leave all matters of purely local concern in cities of 10,000 inhabitants or over to those cities to the exclusion of the authority of the state government and state laws. No action was taken.

Representative George W. Hoff in 1903 introduced an amendment adding the following words to Section 12 of Article XI.: Provided, That the legislature shall have power to impose taxes upon the property, privileges, and franchises of railroads, and other intangible property of all corporations or individuals, and to provide means for the collection and apportionment of such taxes to counties and the several municipal corporations or divisions of the state." The committee recommended its indefinite postponement.

Amendments to Article XII.

Senator Warburton's amendment to Section 18 of Article XII. in 1903 is a complete law providing for a railway commission. The bill provided for a commission of three members to be chosen for a term of six years and receive an annual salary of $5,000 per year. The commission was to have power to fix reasonable maximum rates, prevent discrimination and extortion, fine for contempt, etc. An appeal from its decisions could be taken to the supreme court. The bill was never reported back by the committee.

Amendments to Article XVI.

In 1893 an amendment to Section 5 of Article XVI. was passed by the legislature and approved by the people by a vote of 18,884 to 5,598, providing that the permanent school fund of the state may be invested in national, state, county, municipal or school district bonds.

Amendments to Article XIX.

Section 1 of Article XIX. provides: "The legislature shall protect by law from forced sale a certain portion of the homestead and other property of all heads of families."

Representative John R. Rogers in 1895 proposed to substitute the following provision: Real estate and improvements to the extent of $2,500

held, used and occupied as a homestead by a citizen of the state is forever exempted from all taxation. No action was taken. The same bill in 1897 met a similar fate.

Amendments to Article XXI.

Section 1 of Article 21 reads: "The use of the waters of this state for irrigation, mining, and manufacturing purposes shall be deemed a public use."

In 1905 Representative E. L. Minard proposed to extend this provision to cover the use of waters for the removal of timber products. The amendment was passed, but was defeated by the people in 1906. The vote was: for the amendment 18,462, against it 20,258. The same amendment was introduced in 1907 and indefinitely postponed.

Amendments to Article XXIII.

In 1897 and 1899 amendments were proposed cutting down the two-thirds majority required for the passage of constitutional amendments by the legislature to a mere majority, and in one amendment to a three-fifths majority. None received the approval of the legislature.

Representative John Catlin in 1895 proposed an amendment to Section 4 of this article substantially as follows: On a demand of 10 per cent of the electors or of 20 per cent of either house, any article or section of the constitution shall be submitted to the people at the next general election for amendment, substitution or abolition. The committee recommended that the bill be indefinitely postponed.

Senators Dan Landon and Henry M. White and Representatives Governor Teats and Hugh Todd at the 1911 session of the legislature proposed an amendment providing for the initiative for amendments to the constitution. Their bill provided that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose, independent of the legislature, any amendment by petition setting forth the full text of the amendment signed by 8 per cent, but in any case not over 50,000, of the legal voters of the state. The amendment so proposed was to be voted on at the next general election and approved or rejected in the usual manner. This amendment passed the House by a vote of 77 to 15, but it was never voted on by the Senate.

LEO JONES.

WILLIAM WEIR

The subject of this sketch was born in Kentucky, in 1787, of Scotch-Irish parents. He was a very hardy, adventurous spirit, enterprising and aggressive, and left home at about the age of fifteen, going out to seek his fortune. He crossed over into Missouri and entered the employ of the Missouri Fur Company, and in that employ he was regularly trained as a hunter and trapper, and gained the expert knowledge as a woodsman and frontier prospector that enabled him to perform valuable service to the country in exploring the then far off and all but unknown country of the Pacific Northwest. He was continuously in the employ of the Old Missouri Fur Company until upwards of fifteen years had passed by, while the greater part of the continent was an unbroken wilderness, tenanted only by wild beasts and still wilder Indians. He made hunting and trapping his life occupation during the period mentioned, and in the course of his duties went nearly all over the continent, and passed through many thrilling experiences with hostile Indians, dangerous animals, and all perils known to a new and unsettled country. In those days the hunters, trappers and explorers had to literally take their lives in their hands, going far beyond the confines of civilization, depending on the country for their sustenance, and facing perils by night and by day. Mr. Weir, upon three separate occasions in the course of such trips, was the only man escaping with his life out of the party, all the others being killed by the Indians. His life seemed to be charmed. His personal experiences, if narrated simply as they happened, would be as interesting as any of Fenimore Cooper's tales of the Indians and pioneer white people of the Atlantic coast. In 1816 Mr. Weir married and settled on land in what afterwards became Crawford County, Missouri. Even after this he made a trip through Mexico and the wilds of Texas in the interests of his old employers, returning home in 1821, where he died in 1845, after clearing a farm in the wilderness and raising a family of ten children, who became in turn pioneers on the frontiers of the newly developing country of the United States.

The purpose of Mr. Weir's introduction in this connection is to recount briefly his services historically to the country in the early explorations of the old "Oregon Country." He explored its confines four years after the date of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and more than two years before the Astor expedition, which established the trading post at the

mouth of the Columbia river known ever since as "Astoria." The only reason why Mr. Weir's explorations in this northwest were not as prominent as were those of Lewis and Clark was that they came under the auspices of the United States government, with a military escort, while he was in private employ. The facts and date of his coming have been gathered by his grandson, the present writer, and have been verified as to dates from the records of the Missouri State Historical Society.

In 1809, in company with about fifteen other hunters and trappers, all in the employ of the Missouri Fur Company, Mr. Weir went up the Missouri river from St. Louis to its headwaters, crossed the Rocky Mountains, found the headwaters of the Columbia river, and followed them down toward the Pacific Coast, making their winter encampment during the next winter on the Columbia river near the mouth of another river emptying into it. From the description given of these waters and the country generally by Mr. Weir to his descendants afterwards, this encampment must have been just above the mouth of what was afterwards named the Willamette river, and it could not have been far from where the city of Portland, Oregon, now stands. On the way out, the party went through the Mandan Indian country in what is now the Dakotas, where they captured a Mandan chief and took him along with them as a hostage, returning him to his people the following year on their way home. On their way out they cached their furs at intervals on the route, and took them up on their way back.

Mr. Weir always predicted that the Pacific Northwest, the wonderfully rich country through which he passed, would some day develop into a splendid commonwealth to be inhabited by a rich and prosperous people. At the time he was here there was not a white person to be found west of the Rocky Mountains and north of Southern California. It was nearly twenty years before the Hudson Bay traders invaded this country, and about a quarter of a century before the American missionaries and settlers came.

Mr. Weir's expedition is mentioned in Bancroft's History of the Pacific Northwest, but otherwise has never been published. His eldest son, John Weir, emigrated from Missouri to Texas in the "thirties," where he lived when it was a republic under President Sam Houston, and from whence he enlisted in the Texas Mounted Volunteers in the war with Mexico, and fought through that conflict under General W. S. Harney, who was then a colonel, and in the command of General Zach. Taylor; afterward, in 1853, crossing the plains from Texas to California with his family, and in 1858 coming from California to Puget Sound, where he

spent the remaining years of his life, and where his descendants remain. William Weir was a man of great force of character, a noted rifle shot, unlettered and modest, who performed the most heroic duties of frontier life as matters of everyday life without thought of praise or exploitation in history, and he literally knew not the meaning of the word "fear."

ALLEN WEIR.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1912*

Miller, Margaret.—Died in Seattle, January 14th, aged 85 years. She came from Maine in 1857, to Washington Territory. She, then Miss McElroy, was soon married to Amasa S. Miller, who had come from Maine to California in 1849 and to Washington in 1853. Their long married life was spent wholly in Port Gamble and Seattle. Mr. Miller died several years ago. Mrs. Miller left six grandchildren.

Miller, Rachel C.—Died in Clarke County, January 26, aged 94 years. She was an Oregon immigrant of 1850. She was born at Jackson, in Virginia. She is survived by five children, all residents of Oregon and Washington.

Wooten, Shadrach.—Born in Florida, died on Cypress Island in January, aged 78 years. He came to Puget Sound in 1851. He left a wife and six children.

Geddis, S. R.—Died at Lebanon, Oregon, Feb. 2d, aged 74 years. He came to Oregon in 1846, served in the Indian war of 1855, settled at Ellensburg, in Kittitas County, in 1869, where he made his home, and where three of his seven surviving children yet live.

Kanavan, Thomas.—Died in Pierce County, Feb. 4th, aged 86 years. He came from Ireland in 1852, locating the following year in or near the present city of Tacoma. He was a volunteer in the Indian war of 1855-56. He left a wife, four sons and four daughters.

Longmire, Virinda.—Died at North Yakima, Feb. 12th, aged 82 years. She came to Washington Territory in 1853, with her husband, James Longmire. They settled at Yelm, in Thurston County. The famous Longmire Springs, on Mount Rainier, were discovered and acquired by Mr. Longmire. Mrs. Longmire left nine children, and it is said 159 other descendants.

Camp, Mobolob Schluecher.—Born in Missouri in 1838; died at Kettle Falls, Washington, Feb. 18th. In 1852 she came to Oregon, where, the next year, she was married to Benjamin Camp. In 1864 they moved to Waitsburg, Walla Walla County. Seven of her eleven children survive her.

Smith, James.—Died at Oakville, Chehalis County, March 12th, aged 88 years. He was born in New York, but came to Washington, around Cape Horn, in 1854. He became an extensive land owner, hav-

*In this article those persons only are considered pioneers who lived in Washington, and who came to the Pacific Coast before 1860. The information given is derived chiefly from the newspapers of the day. In some cases it is very meagre. We regret to record other departed pioneers, but of them the biographer had no knowledge. T. W. P.

ing a tract of one thousand acres in Chehalis valley. Upon this tract was built a blockhouse for protection of the settlers during the Indian war, from which circumstance he acquired the name of "Blockhouse Smith." A widow, son and daughter were left.

Stephens, William.—Died at Monroe, Snohomish County, March 13th, aged 68 years. He came to Oregon in 1852, and from there to Washington thirty-four years later, locating at Marysville. A widow and seven children survive him.

Carson, Isaac.—Born in Hendricks County, Indiana, Aug. 1st, 1832; died in Pierce County, Washington, March 14th, aged 80 years. He came to Oregon in 1851. In the Roque river Indian war he served as a volunteer, for bravery being promoted from the ranks. In 1860 he was married (Sept. 30th) in Danville, Indiana, he and Mrs. Carson immediately coming to the Pacific coast. Settling later in Pierce County, he was elected sheriff, and afterwards was a member of the territorial legislature from Walla Walla, Garfield and Asotin Counties. Mrs. Carson and three married daughters survive him.

Beuston, Adam.—Born in Scotland in 1824; died in Pierce County, March 25th, aged 88 years. As an employee of the Hudson Bay Company, Mr. Beuston came to Puget Sound in 1841, and lived in Washington a longer period than any of the other deceased pioneers of 1912, nearly 71 years. He became a citizen of the United States, and as such took a 320-acre donation claim in Puyallup valley, and later took a preemption claim near Hillhurst. Mr. Beuston was married three times. The town of Beuston, on the Tacoma & Eastern Railway, got its name from him. A son and eight grandchildren were left.

Fryberg, John P.—Died in Seattle, April 12th, aged 77 years. He came to Puget Sound in 1857, and here dwelt the remainder of his life. He left a son and two daughters.

Davis, Henry C.—Born in Indiana, he died near Chehalis, April 21st, aged 66 years. With his parents he came to Washington Territory in 1851, settling at Claquato, in Lewis County, which at that time included all of Puget Sound. A wife and son were left.

Frye, George F.—Born in Germany, Jan. 15th, 1833; died in Seattle, May 24, aged 79 years. When 16 years of age he came to America, and three years later (1852) traveled overland from Missouri to Oregon. The following year he moved to Seattle, and remained there 59 years, to the end of his days. In 1860 he and Louise Catherine Denny were married, she and four daughters surviving him. Mr. Frye was engaged in various occupations as steamboating, farming, conducting a meat shop, a grocery, hotel, etc. He built several dwellings, and three of the

finest hotel buildings in his home city—the Stevens, the Barker and the Frye.

Boren, Livonia Gertrude.—Born at Abington, Illinois, Dec. 12th, 1850; died in King County, June 4th, aged 61 years. She was the daughter of Carson D. Boren, and, as a child one year of age, was a member of the party of twelve adults and twelve children who were at Alki Point, November 13th, 1851, and who are now commonly regarded as the "Founders of Seattle." Miss Boren lived all her life except the first eleven months in or near Seattle. Her family connections—cousins—were very numerous.

Jarman, William.—Born in England; died at Ferndale, Whatcom County, June 14th, aged 92 years. He came to Puget Sound in 1846 on one of the ships of the Hudson Bay Company, and here spent the remainder of his life.

Smalley, Martha Ann.—Born in Missouri, Nov. 23d, 1835; died at Rocky Point, Washington, June 17th, aged 77 years. In 1849 she crossed the continent with her parents—named Magaw—to California. In 1850 she married James A. Smalley, and in 1852 they settled at Portland, Oregon. In 1857 they went back to Missouri, from which they again came west in 1865, finally locating in Washington territory. A husband, son and six married daughters were left.

Littlefield, Maria C. Hastings.—Born in Portland, Oregon, Dec. 28th, 1850; died at Port Townsend, July 1st, aged 62 years. Mrs. Littlefield was the daughter of Loren Brown and Lucinda Bingham Hastings, who came from Vermont first and Illinois later, settling at Portland, where they lived four years, beginning in 1847. In 1851, with the Pettygrove family, they removed to Port Townsend, where the men took land claims, Mrs. Hastings and her young daughter, Maria, being the two first wives of their sex there to place foot. In 1869 Miss Hastings married David M. Littlefield. She was survived by her husband, three daughters and four grandchildren.

Hastings, Oregon Columbus.—Born in Illinois in 1846; died in Victoria, B. C., Aug. 2d, aged 66 years. Mr. H. was a brother of Mrs. Littlefield, and, of course, son of Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Hastings. He was an infant when the parents crossed the plains. With them he came to Port Townsend in 1851. He spent the remainder of his life in that town and Victoria, in the latter city conducting a photograph gallery for many years. The Hastings family is permanently and honorably connected with the history of Puget Sound.

Boren, Carson D.—Born Dec. 12th, 1824, at Nashville, Tennessee; died at his home near Seattle, Aug. 19th, aged 88 years. Mr. Boren

was one of the famous party who crossed the plains in 1851 and settled at Alki Point in November of that year. With one exception (his sister Mrs. D. T. Denny), he was the last survivor of the twelve adults who there laid down the settlement that has since become the city of Seattle. Mr. Boren spent the last sixty-one years of his life in King County, as a town proprietor, carpenter, farmer and in other vocations incident to a life in a new country. He was the first sheriff, in 1853. His land claim was located in what is now the heart of Seattle, including the Hoge building site, where the Boren home was established sixty years ago.

Carr, Ossian J.—Born in Dryden, N. Y., Oct. 18th, 1832; died at Seattle, Aug. 23d, aged 80 years. Mr. Carr came to Oregon in 1858, where he lived about three years, when he and his family came to Seattle. In the latter place he engaged as a mechanic in the construction of the first university buildings. The following year they went back to Oregon, where they stayed until 1876, when they returned to Seattle. Mr. Carr served nearly three years as assistant postmaster, following by eight years as postmaster of Seattle. He left a wife and daughter.

Whitesell, William Henry.—Born in one of the eastern states in 1841; died at Orting, Sept. 8, he being struck by a Northern Pacific train while walking on the track. He came with his parents, brothers and sisters to Pierce County in 1854, and from that time on his home was in the Puyallup valley. He was unmarried; his nearest relatives left being three brothers and five sisters, all residents of Pierce County.

Hadlock, Samuel.—Born in New Hampshire in 1829; died in the same state, Sept. 18th, aged 83 years. He came to California in 1852, where for a number of years he was engaged in milling, steamboating and somewhat similar lines of trade. In 1868, as one of five partners, he located the first steam sawmill in Tacoma, and he had charge of the construction. Later he acquired a large body of land on Port Townsend Bay, where the town of Hadlock is now. He was a widower, with one son. At the time of his death he was visiting his native state, and was in a sanitarium at Nashua.

Dunbar, Ralph Oregon.—Born in Illinois, April 26th, 1845; died at Olympia, Sept. 19th. He came to Oregon with his parents' family in 1846. They settled in Marion County. There the son remained until 1867, when he came to Olympia. He studied law in the office of Elwood Evans, being admitted to practice in 1869. He went (1871) into the country east of the Cascade mountains. Until 1889 he was editor of a newspaper, practicing attorney, legislator, etc. In that year he was a member of the convention that framed the state constitution, and at the first election was chosen by the people as a member of the new

state supreme court, an honor which was continued to him at subsequent elections during the remainder of his days—twenty-three years. He left a wife and three children.

Carr, Lucie L. Whipple.—Born in Pennsylvania, Dec. 2d, 1832; died in Yakima County, Sept. 26th, aged 80 years. Miss Whipple married Ossian J. Carr in 1856. They were of the same age, had known each other from infancy, and her body was laid in the grave with his five weeks following his interment. She came to Oregon in 1858, to Washington first in 1861, and a second time in 1876. In the summer of 1862 she taught a three-months' term of the Seattle public school in the first territorial university building, hers (following A. S. Mercer's) being the second school there taught. There were then only about twenty-five or thirty children in Seattle's public school, where now are about forty thousand. Mrs. Carr was one of the five sisters who were pioneer women of Oregon, the others being Mrs. Susannah Bagley, Mrs. Jane West, Mrs. Edna A. Colbert and Mrs. Ann E. Mann.

McGowan, Patrick J.—Born March 17th, 1817, in Ireland; died Sept. 29th, in the town of McGowan, Washington, aged 95 years. In 1842 he came to New York, in 1849 to California, and in 1850 to Oregon. After three years in Portland he removed to Washington territory, on the Columbia river near its mouth. He, at an early day, engaged in the salmon fishery, salting and barreling the fish, later erecting several canneries at different points. He had a wife, five sons and two daughters. For sixty-two years he was a business man of prominence and wealth in this state.

Sherwood, S. F.—Born in New York state, Dec. 16th, 1832; died in Kitsap County, Oct. 11th, aged 80 years. He came to San Francisco in 1853, to Fraser river in 1858, and to Washington territory in 1861. He was a soldier in the Mexican war. Fifty years ago he was auditor of Skamania County, but for forty years dwelt in Stevens County.

Barlow, George W.—Born in Michigan in 1842; died at his home in Steilacoom, Oct. 15th, aged 70 years. He came to Washington territory in 1852, where he lived a long term of years and until his removal to Pierce County. He was a steamboat owner and master, not only on the Columbia river, but on Puget Sound. His more recent vessels were the Skagit Chief, Greyhound, Multnomah and others of their time. He left a wife and daughter. Three brothers and a sister also survive him.

Jackson, Samuel.—Born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, Nov. 17th, 1832; died at Seattle, Oct. 16th, aged 80 years. Captain Jackson went to sea as a boy, and in a few years had been pretty well over the globe. In the early 1850s he headed for the Pacific, but was wrecked

on the way. Not long detained, he was soon in the California gold mines, and afterwards in those of British Columbia. In 1859 he came to Puget Sound. From that time on his principal occupation was steamboating, he navigating and managing many of the early day craft. When not employed on steamboats, he was engaged in piledriving, wharf building, shipbuilding, invariably something on or near the water. He left a wife and daughter.

Stockard, Mrs. P. R.—Born in Scotland, June 12th, 1832; died at Port Townsend, Oct. 28th, aged 80 years. She left home in 1859 for Victoria, B. C., by way of Cape Horn, arriving Jan. 14th, 1860. A few weeks later she came over to Port Townsend, where she lived with her family thereafter. She was survived by a husband and six children, all residents of Seattle, Yakima, Bellingham and Port Townsend.

Bozorth, Christopher C.—Born in Missouri, Jan. 1, 1832; died at his home in Cowlitz County, Nov. 5th, aged 81 years. He came with his people to Oregon in 1845, but in 1851 settled in what is now Washington. In 1881 he founded the town of Woodland. During his long residence in that locality he was fourteen years justice of the peace, was assessor of Clarke County, assessor of Cowlitz County, and member of the territorial legislature.

Willson, Eliza Kirkland.—Born in 1848; died in Pierce County, Nov. 10th, aged 64 years. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Moses Kirkland, who came to King County in 1853, and settled on a farm in White river valley. In the Indian war that prevailed in 1855-56 the Kirkland live stock, crops and improvements were destroyed, his claim for damages on that account amounting to $2,667. Mr. Kirkland enlisted for the war, serving first in the Capt. Hewitt Company of Seattle, and afterward in the Capt. Lander Company. Subsequently the family removed to other parts of the territory. In 1864 Eliza was married to Edward A. Willson, one of the prominent men of Mason County. He came to Oregon in early days, and participated in one of the first Indian troubles there, in which he was so wounded that he never fully recovered. He has long been dead. They had several children.

Schenbley, F. Dorsey.—Born in Maryland in 1832; died at Ellensburg, Nov. 11th, aged 80 years. In 1854 he came by way of Nicaragua to California. After a few years he came north, and for a time made his home in Columbia County, Washington. In 1872 he moved to Kittitas County, then Yakima, where he remained. He was county sheriff four years. Eight years he owned and published the Ellensburg Localizer, a paper that was established by D. J. Schenbley, who for a time

published the Oregon Spectator, the first newspaper on the Pacific Coast. "Uncle Dorse's" relatives are numerous in this state.

Betz, Jacob.—Born in Bavaria; died at Tacoma, Nov. 16th, aged 69 years. He came to America in 1849, to California in 1856, and to Washington territory in 1872. He was councilman and mayor of Walla Walla, prospered in business and was a substantial citizen. In 1904 he removed to Tacoma. A widow, two daughters and two sons survive him.

Sullivan, Michael J.—Born in Massachusetts; died in Skagit County, Nov. 18th, aged 82 years. He came to the Pacific in the rush to the California gold mines, working his way on a steamer. In 1866 he began farming on the Swinomish Flats, near LaConner, where his sagacity and industry were well rewarded. He left a wife.

Barnes, George A.—Born in New York state in 1821; died at Olympia, Nov. 29th, aged 91 years. He came to Oregon overland in 1848, and in 1849 went on to California. The following year he returned to the east, but was soon again headed for the North Pacific Coast. During the sixty years ending with his death he lived in Olympia. He was town trustee, mayor, president of the chamber of commerce, merchant, banker, and in other respects one of the leading citizens. Three times he was married, but had no children and the only near relative he left was a sister.

Bernier, Julien.—Born in Washington territory; died Dec. 1st in Lewis County, aged 67 years. The first Bernier to come to Washington was one of the French Canadians brought here by the Northwest Fur Company in 1811. In 1819 he had a son born at Spokane House, who was the first white child born in Oregon, Washington or British Columbia—Marcel Isadore Bernier. The Bernier family settled in Lewis County about seventy years ago. When Michael T. Simmons and the other first American settlers came along in 1845, Marcel Bernier showed them the way to Puget Sound.

Rader, Solomon.—Died at Medford, Oregon Dec. 2d, aged 85 years. He came to the Pacific by the overland route in 1852. He mined for gold in California and Oregon, fought in two Indian wars, and finally settled in Walla Walla. He left a wife and one son.

Christopher, Thomas.—Born in Norway in 1832; died in King County, Dec. 6th, aged 80 years. He left home at ten years of age, and after nine years at sea went ashore at San Francisco in 1852. He mined in California for several years but came to Steilacoom, Pierce County, in 1858. In 1863 he settled on a land claim in King County, where the town of Christopher now is. He was one of the first (if not the

first) Norwegians in Pierce and King Counties. He left a married daughter.

Burk, Peter.—Born in Ireland; died in Pierce County, Dec. 6th, aged 90 years. He came to the United States about sixty years ago. He enlisted in the army at Fortress Monroe in 1853, and the following year was sent to the Pacific. In 1855-56 he was doing military duty at Forts Vancouver and Steilacoom. He located in the territory at the expiration of his term of enlistment. He lived on the county farm during the last twenty-three years.

Williams, Robert.—Born in Wales, May 13, 1834; died at Vancouver, Washington, Dec. 9th, aged 79 years. He came to America in 1850, and in 1855 came to the Pacific Coast as a private soldier in the Fourth U. S. Infantry. His company, under Capt. Wallen, was sent to Vancouver, from which point Williams was sent with others to Yakima in the Major Rains expedition, to fight the Indians. In 1856 he was in the fight at the Cascades. In 1861 he enlisted again to fight dissension, and served with distinction, becoming a captain by several promotions. In 1877 he located at Vancouver, where he again became connected with the army, serving in the ordnance branch until his retirement in 1896. Capt. Williams married a woman named Turnbull in Scotland in 1860.

Arnold, A. W.—Born in New York in 1830; died at Coupeville, Island County, Dec. 14th, aged 82 years. Mr. Arnold came to Puget Sound in 1857, and during the following fifty-five years lived most of the time on Whidby Island. He left four sons and two daughters.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE OREGON SYSTEM: THE STORY OF DIRECT LEGISLATION IN OREGON. By Allen H. Eaton. (Chicago, McClurg, 1912. Pp. 195, $1.00.)

A traveller may never spend his time to better advantage than when he pauses at some vantage point to glance backward over the road he has travelled. It is with similar profit that the student of American government can avail himself of such a survey as Mr. Allen H. Eaton's "Story of Direct Legislation in Oregon."

This timely volume covers the history of the "Oregon System" from the adoption of the initiative and referendum in 1902 to the beginnings of the presidential campaign in 1912. A convenient tabulation is first made of the sixty-four measures passed upon by the voters of Oregon in the elections of 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1910, showing the numbers of votes cast for and against each proposition, the per cent of the total electorate received by each measure and the per cent of the vote cast received by the measures passed. A general survey is then given of the thirty-three measures rejected and of the thirty-one passed with estimates of the wisdom shown by the people in disposing of the various propositions. Special chapters are devoted to several of the more important measures adopted, namely: the primary law, the direct election of United States senators, the recall of public officials, the corrupt practice act and the presidential primary.

The author has studied at first hand the operation of these measures, having been reelected in November last for a fourth consecutive term as state representative from the county in which the State University is located. His attitude is that of the student and his analysis of the results of direct legislation in Oregon is the clearest and fairest that the writer has seen. He has shown an unmistakable preference for the party convention, but he states that the people were justified in demanding the direct primary. He condemns the use that has been made of the recall in Oregon, but shows that certain abuses are not inherent in the principle. The corrupt practice act and the direct election of United States senators are both highly commended. Mr. Eaton's appraisal of the Oregon system will satisfy neither its ardent advocates nor its detractors. It is an excellent summary, however, of results to date and the author's suggested remedies for the evils and defects of direct legislation should be read by progressive even more than by conservative.

Aside from a misprint which makes Mr. Holman's name in the preface read as "Holeman," the book seems to be clear from serious typographical errors. A useful reading list contains seven pages of references to the Oregon system. A debt is not only due to the author for this concise and readable book, but to the publishers, A. C. McClurg & Co., as well, for their enterprise in developing a line of books relating to Western America.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

WHEN THE FORESTS ARE ABLAZE." By Katharine B. Judson. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1912, pages 380; illustrations 6, $1.35.)

This delightful new book by Miss Judson deals with the difficulties and perils of the present day frontier life of the Northwest. The scene is laid in the wilds of the Cascade Mountains of Washington. The theme reveals the perils and the romance of the pioneer and the relations of the lumberman and the United States Forest Service to the development of this section of the country. Disappointed in love an dhired of the life of the teacher, the heroine leaves the schoolroom to take up a claim in a rational forest. With this setting the author has developed a thrilling story, interwoven with a strong love feature, depicting the life of the homesteader and the work of the forest service and its fire fighting heroes. Throughout the story the author shows her intimate knowledge of the life and the conditions of the mountain forests; the trees and shrubs, the wild animals and their habits, the life and the ways of the squatter, the difficult and the pleasing sides of the life of the homesteader, the troubles of the cattle and sheep men, the work of forest ranger, the sportsman and the camper from the city, and the dangers of the forest fire. All of these have been woven into her story to show the ever changing conditions which plunge the human emotions from one extreme into another in this region where primitive wilderness and civilization come in conflict; and they have been combined in her story into situations that are both interesting and instructive. To the layman who is not acquainted with the forest conditions of this region the book offers many practical lessons.

The author is to be especially commended for the excellent presentation, in story form, of the work of the forest ranger. Few of the people of the busy city and the broad farms and ranches realize the importance of the work of these heroes of the forest. With the work that is being done by the United States Forest Service, the ranger is taking his place with the pioneer in opening up the remotest corners of the wilderness to civilization;

but, unlike many of the pioneers of the past, his work is always constructive.

To the uninitiated, Miss Judson's description of the forest fire may seem overdrawn, but there have been many fires that would admit of a far more lurid description. As she shows, the majority of the forest fires are preventable, and it is to be hoped that her book may bear fruit in awakening our congress to the need of an appropriation large enough to prevent them.

HUGO WINKENWERDER.

SOUTH AMERICA: OBSERVATIONS AND IMPRESSIONS. By James Bryce. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 611. $2.50 net.)

Mr. Bryce's book on South America, appearing at a time when the eyes of the world, especially those of the commercial world, are turned with increasing interest toward that great continent, is a most timely publication upon a subject too little known.

The British ambassador, whose powers of analytical scholarship combined with breadth of vision are so splendidly evidenced in "The American Commonwealth" and "The Holy Roman Empire," has here presented in a more casual way the impressions and observations formed by him during a four months' visit to our sister republics on the South. Seeing his subject from the sympathetic and unbiased viewpoint of the world scholar, Mr. Bryce has made his work interesting and illuminating in the extreme.

The scope of the work includes the aspects of nature, the inhabitants, the economic resources of the several countries, the prospects for the development of industry and commerce, and the relics of prehistoric civilization, the native Indian population, and the conditions of political life in the several republics.

One of the most interesting chapters is the first, which deals with the Isthmus of Panama, and the Canal. Speaking of this undertaking, the author says: "It is the greatest liberty Man has ever taken with Nature." He describes this stupendous engineering project clearly and entertainingly, and highly praises the efficiency of those in charge of the work. To quote: "Never before on our planet have so much scientific knowledge, and so much executive skill been concentrated on a work designed to bring the nations nearer to one another and to serve the interests of all mankind." The marvelous work of sanitation done by our government officials in the Canal Zone is described, and the reader learns with surprise that the Isthmus is now as healthy as any part of the United States, and that no case of yellow fever has occurred since 1905.

Discussing the government of the Zone, Mr. Bryce instances the success of the commission, as an example of the results obtainable by vesting full administrative control in a "benevolent autocracy," composed of men who have nothing to gain by misuse of their powers. "So far as any political moral can be drawn from the case," he writes, "that moral recommends not democratic collectivism, but military autocracy."

The author indulges in speculation as to the influence this new highway will exert over the routes of world commerce, but declares that the results are largely problematical, and that forecasts on the subject would doubtless make curious reading in the year A. D. 2000.

From Panama, Mr. Bryce journeyed down the west coast and up the eastern coast, visiting the chief places of interest between Lima and Rio de Janeiro. Two-thirds of the volume are devoted to a more or less detailed description of the countries visited. The most interesting chapters, however, are the last one, in which are treated the relations of South America to Europe and to the United States, the conditions of political life in Spanish-America, and certain reflections and forecasts as to the future.

There are more contrasts than resemblances between the people of North America and those of South America. The author states that "Teutonic Americans and Spanish Americans have nothing in common except two names, the name American and the name Republican. In essentials they differ as widely as either of them does from any other group of people."

It is pointed out that the Latin-American republics, in their regard for the United States, and confidence in its purposes, "never quite recovered the blow given by the Mexican War and the annexation of California; but this change of sentiment did not affect the patronage and good will extended to them by the United States." On the whole, it would seem that the United States has abused its strength less than the rulers of the smaller states have abused their weakness. The Monroe Doctrine formerly provided a political tie between them, but now the need for it being felt less, the South American states have begun to regard the situation differently. "Since there are no longer rain-cloudy coming up from the east, why should a friend, however well-intentioned, insist on holding an umbrella over us? We are quite able to do that for ourselves if necessary."

Owing to his official position, the distinguished author abstained from discussing current political questions concerning the Spanish-American republics, but contented himself with discussing the philosophy underlying their political life. Too much has been expected of them on account of the magic word "Republic." Their history has not reflected credit upon democracy. Physical, racial, economic, and historical conditions have been

against them; the sham democracies which were established in 1825 were unsuited to their needs. With the happy exceptions of Chile and Argentina, they have never been democracies in fact. Their career has been extremely checkered; but the judgment passed upon them should be more lenient. "Their difficulties were greater than any European people had to face, and there is no need to be despondent for their future."

The country has tremendous possibilities of development. The part that her people will play in the great movements of the world "must henceforth be one of growing significance for the Old World, as well as the New."

In adding this book to his list of great works, Mr. Bryce has performed a valuable service to mankind, and especially to the people of the western hemisphere. It will help to develop an intelligent appreciation and sympathy between the United States and her sister republics of South America.

MALCOLM DOUGLAS.

GUIDE TO THE STUDY AND READING OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Edward Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Frederick Jackson Turner. (Boston and London, Ginn & Co., 1912. Pp. 650. $2.50.)

This is a work already well and favorably known to every progressive teacher and student of American history. The first edition was prepared by Professors Channing and Hart and was published in 1896. This completely revised edition has received the attention of the original authors and that also of Professor Turner, who recently went to Harvard from the University of Wisconsin. With the accession of Professor Turner, it is perfectly natural to expect the new edition to be strengthened on western phases of American history. That expectation is abundantly sustained.

The Pacific Coast and the section between the Coast and the Mississippi River receives fuller treatment than ever given such sections in a similar work. Not only are publications cited, but the development is recognized in the outline.

In addition to this more generous recognition of the West, the authors have combined their skill to make every portion of the book useful. Furthermore it is brought down to date, including such topics as "conservation" and the political contests of 1910. The last section is entitled: "American Society in the Twentieth Century."

The young teacher in his first school, as well as the veteran of much experience in any part of the country whatever, will find this Guide a helpful book.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

BAPTIST HISTORY OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WESTERN WASHINGTON, BRITISH COLUMBIA, AND ALASKA. By Rev. J. C. Baker. (Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1912. Pp. 472.)

The author of this book was evidently well equipped for the large task. On the title-page beneath his name is this cross-section view of his career: "Sometime Sunday-school Missionary and Depositary of the American Baptist Publication Society, Superintendent of Missions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Agent of Educational Institutions in the Northwest, Editor of the 'Baptist Beacon,' and Pastor." With such an experience, it is not likely the author would overlook any important phase of his subject.

A review of the book was sought from an eminent member of the Baptist Church, but through the stress of the holiday season it has not arrived. The book is too important to remain longer unnoticed, so the editor will himself call attention to its purpose and contents.

Eight of the nine parts carry one hundred and eighty-five chapters. The ninth part is devoted to twenty-three personal sketches. There are seventy-two portraits.

The plan and purpose of the book are shown by the larger subdivisions. "Part I—Conventions" traces the organizations from the first effort at Tualatin Plains in 1848 down to the thirteenth year of the Northwest Convention in 1900. Part II. deals with the Puget Sound Association from its organization in 1871 to 1888. Part III. gives the record of individual churches in one hundred and twenty-nine chapters. Part IV. has the Baptist history in British Columbia from 1874 to 1900. Part V. is devoted to auxiliary organizations, such as the Baptist Young People's Union and Women's Foreign Mission Society. Part VI. is devoted to education. Part VII. deals with the Publication Society and Part VIII. with the Home Mission Society.

The tenderness of spirit in which the extensive work of research and compilation has been done may be judged from this conclusion of the author's introduction: "All honor to these pioneer men and women, and to their worthy successors, living and acting in the twentieth century!"

CIVICS FOR THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. By George Chandler. (New York, American Book Company, 1912. Pp. 418. $1.00.)

The author has prepared this textbook in the "belief that instruction in civics is the best preparation for fitting the youth for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship." Those who have used his book declare he has justified the belief in which he prepared it.

THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1911. By J. Castell Hopkins. (Toronto, Annual Review Publishing Co., 1912. Pp. 672+120. $3.50.)

Another volume of this important reference book will be welcomed by a wide class of readers. While primarily for Canadians as a great annual review of Canada, its usefulness in the United States is hardly less. It shows the Canadian reaction on things American. One hundred and forty-one pages are devoted to the subject of reciprocity with the United States. Of especial interest in the Pacific Northwest is the article on British Columbia and the Yukon. The report carries a list of Canadian books published in 1911.

KANSAS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, VOLUME XII. (Topeka, State Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 569.)

Our readers will find an interest in the article by George H. Himes, of the Oregon Historical Society, on "Crossing the Plains," occupying pages 261 to 269. The editor of the volume has kept well within the special field of Kansas history, but one other feature making an appeal to the farthest West. That is "The West: Its Place in American History," by John Lee Webster. This occupies pages 25 to 36.

ECOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC NOTES ON PUGET SOUND KELPS. By George B. Rigg. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912.)

Professor Rigg's article appears in the Report of the Secretary of Agriculture on the fertilizer resources of the United States, submitted by Congress by President Taft and published as Senate Document No. 190 in the second session of the Sixty-second Congress. We are concerned with Appendix L of the large report found on pages 179 to 193 and with plates 9 to 18 and maps 1 to 3. People living in the Pacific Northwest will be interested in following this study of a resource heretofore wholly unknown as being of any economic value.

ELEMENTS OF THE KATO LANGUAGE. By Pliny Earle Goddard. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1912. Pp. 176. $2.00.)

This work is one more in the lengthening list of highly technical works being issued by the University of California on the archaeology and ethnology of the Pacific Coast. The book carries forty-five plates, showing the nasal and laryngal vibrations in uttering the sounds of the language when spoken. A survey of the book leaves the impression that certainly here has been attained the limit as to minuteness of accuracy.

MOUNTAINEERS' SONGS. Compiled by The Everett Mountaineers. (Everett, privately published, 1912. Pp. 16. 20 cents.)

The Mountaineers is a well known organization of mountain climbers and nature lovers. The campfires and trails have called forth a number of characteristic songs, the words of which are here collected for the first time. The songs were written by Rev. Francis J. Van Horn, Harry E. Wilson, J. T. Hazard and Dr. H. B. Hinman.

THE MOUNTAINEER, VOLUME V. Edited by Lulie Nettleton. (Seattle, The Mountaineers, 1912. Pp. 167. 50 cents.)

Of this interesting series this is the second Rainier number devoted to Grand Park and Summerland. Besides a number of beautiful plates from photographs by members of the club, the book is packed with valuable information about Washington's greatest mountain and its surroundings. It opens with beautiful salutations from John Muir and Enos A. Mills. Other contributors include William Frederic Badé, Mary Paschall, Charles S. Gleason, E. M. Hack, Dora Keen, François Matthes, J. B. Flett, Trevor Kincaid, R. L. Glisan, Winona Bailey, A. H. Alberston, Gertrude Streator, O. B. Johnson, Rodick H. McKee, H. B. Hinman, Charles M. Farrer, P. M. McGregor, H. A. Fuller, Irving M. Clark, William H. Gorham, G. R. Hurd, Charles Albertson and Edmond S. Meany.

Other Books Received

BIRCH, WALTER DE GRAY. The Royal Charters of the City of Lincoln, Henry II. to William III. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. 308. $3.00 net.)

EARLY, R. H., editor. Lieutenant General Jubal Anderson Early, C. S. A. Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912. Pp. 476. $3.50 net.)

GILES, HERBERT A. China and the Manchus. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. 148. 40 cents net.)

LOVAT-FRASER, J. A. John Stuart Earl of Bute. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. 108. 40 cents net.)

PICKETT, LASALLE CORBELL. Literary Hearthstones of Dixie. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912. Pp. 305. $1.50 net.)

SPENCE, LEWIS. The Civilization of Ancient Mexico. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. 121. 40 cents net.)

UPHAM, WARREN, AND DUNLAP, MRS. ROSE BARTEAU, compilers. Collections of Minnesota Historical Society, Volume XIV., Minnesota Biographies, 1655 to 1912 [nine thousand biographies with references to more complete sources]. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 893.)

WARD, J. S. M. Brasses. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. Pp. 159. 40 cents net.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Historic Statuary in Seattle

Seattle is adding to art treasures in the form of statuary. The three first statues were obtained during the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909. These were the large George Washington, presented to the University of Washington by Rainier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the work of Lorado Taft of Chicago; the William H. Seward by Richard E. Brooks of Paris and New York, presented by citizens, through a Chamber of Commerce committee, to the City of Seattle, to commemorate the purchase of Alaska; a large bust of James J. Hill by Finn H. Frolich, then of Seattle, presented by citizens to the University of Washington.

On November 13, 1912, Founders' Day was celebrated by unveiling a statue of Chief Seattle by James Wehn of Seattle. The ceremonies were in charge of the Tillicums of Elttaes and were participated in by many prominent people, including Sir Thomas Lipton, a guest of the city at the time. The actual unveiling was done by Miss Myrtle Loughrey, a great granddaughter of the Indian chief for whom the city of Seattle was named.

Richard E. Brooks is now completing a statue of the late Governor John H. McGraw. It is to be a gift to the city from the friends of the governor. Announcement has also been made by Charles A. Kinnear that the city is to receive a statue of his father, George Kinnear, a pioneer who recently died. This is to be an equestrian statue to show Mr. Kinnear as he appeared in the Civil War. It is to stand near Kinnear Park, which was itself given to the city by the pioneer a quarter of a century ago.

The Curtis Picture Musicale

The Pacific Northwest is justly proud of the wonderful work being done by Edward S. Curtis of Seattle. He has devoted fourteen years to the photographing and studying of the North American Indians. The work is very expensive and it in part aided by J. Pierpont Morgan. When completed, after eight more years of researches, the work will comprise twenty volumes with a like number of large portfolios of photographs. To facilitate the sale of the work Mr. Curtis has developed "A Vanishing Race" or "The Curtis Picture Musicale," a remarkable entertainment, which New York critics likened to grand opera. The music to accompany the moving and dissolving pictures was arranged by Henry F. Gilbert from Indian records secured in the field by Mr. Curtis. On December 6 and 7, 1912, this entertainment was given to splendid audiences in Seattle, and later dates were scheduled for other Pacific Coast cities.

New Edition of the Pickett Book

There are many persons in the Pacific Northwest who know that General George E. Pickett of Gettysburg fame was a young officer on Puget Sound just before the outbreak of the Civil War. His talented and lovable widow still survives, her home being in the national capital. Her fine book entitled "Pickett and His Men" was originally published by a house that met reverses. She now announces that a new and revised edition is about to be issued by the J. B. Lippincott Company. This is good news for readers of this Quarterly, as the book contains valuable chapters on Pickett's experiences in the Northwest.

History Student in Okanogan

William C. Brown, an attorney of Okanogan City, is an earnest student of the early history of the upper Columbia River country. He conducted the centennial celebration of old Fort Okanogan on July 4, 1911, and issued an important pamphlet in connection with that event. He recently spent several busy days examining manuscript records in the University of Washington collections.

History Lost in the Cheney Fire

Readers of this Quarterly will sympathize with a member of the Board of Editors, Ceylon S. Kingston, of the State Normal School at Cheney. He had prepared an article on "Family Budgets of Early Immigrants," covering actual expenditures made in crossing the continent by ox teams. Unfortunately that paper with all the notes, many manuscripts, and most of the professor's private library were destroyed in the recent fire, which burned the main building of that institution.

American Historical Association

The American Historical Association held its twenty-eighth annual meeting in Boston and Cambridge, December 27-31, 1912. The programmes were rich and varied. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association met with the larger organization. This gave a sort of western flavor, as did the participation by Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California and Professor Ephraim D. Adams of Stanford University. The president of the association for 1912 was Theodore Roosevelt. His presidential address was entitled: "History as Literature."

The Pacific Coast Branch

The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, November 29 and 30, 1912. Those who participated in the programmes

were the following: From Stanford University—Professor Arley Bartlow Show, Professor Percy Alvin Martin, Professor Edgar E. Robinson; from the University of California—Professor H. Morse Stephen, Professor Richard F. Scholz; from the State College of Washington, Professor Frank Alfred Golder. The paper by the last named was the only one devoted to the history of the Pacific Coast. It was entitled: "The Background of Alaskan History."

Heretofore the meetings of the branch have been held alternately at Berkeley or Stanford. It is now decided to meet at other centers on the Pacific Coast—Los Angeles for 1913 and possibly the University of Washington for 1914.

Oregon Historical Society

The Oregon Historical Society held its fourteenth annual meeting in Portland on December 21, 1912. The principal address was given by Clarence B. Bagley, a pioneer of 1852, who is Secretary of the Seattle Board of Public Works, and President of the Washington State Historical Society. Mr. Bagley's accumulation of materials on the history of the Pacific Northwest is one of the most extensive in any library, public or private.

Teachers of History

The Northwest Association of Teachers of History, Government and Economics is an organization formed during the last session of the Inland Empire Teachers Association. Efforts are now being made to widen its scope. The present officers are as follows: President, Charles G. Haines, Whitman College; Vice-President, Ceylon S. Kingston, State Normal School, Cheney; Secretary and Treasurer, L. F. Jackson, State College of Washington. These officers, with C. A. Sprague and W. L. Wallace, constitute the executive committee.

Washington Educational Association

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Washington Educational Association is scheduled to be held in Everett, December 26 to 28, 1912. In the published programme there are two references to history: In the Higher and Secondary School Section, Friday, December 27, Miss Elizabeth Rowell, of the Broadway High School, Seattle, will present a paper on "Theory and Practice in History Teaching." The other reference is a statement that the Northwest Association of Teachers of History, Government and Economics may hold a meeting at the same time as the section meetings.

Joint Seminar

The Departments of Law, Political Science, and History in the University of Washington have combined to hold throughout the academic year a joint seminar to consider problems in the three fields as they pertain to the Northwest. The seminar is designed for graduate work. A few qualified seniors are also admitted. Several of the papers prepared for that seminar have appeared in former issues of this Quarterly. In this issue appears another, the study by Leo Jones of the amendments proposed to the constitution of the State of Washington.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

IV. American Voyages of Discovery

1. First Appearance of the Stars and Stripes, 1788.
   a. The Boston Company.
   b. Captains Kendrick and Gray.
   c. The "Lady Washington" and "Columbia."
   d. Lure of the fur trade.
   e. The famous medal.
   f. Details of the voyage.
   g. Gray transferred to the "Columbia."
   h. His voyage home by way of China.
2. Captain Gray's Second Voyage, 1791-1792.
   a. Winter quarters at Clayoquot.
   b. Building a sloop.
   c. Kendrick on the Coast.
   d. Gray meets Vancouver.
   e. Discovery of Grays Harbor and Columbia River.
   f. Harvest of furs.
   g. Return voyage.
   h. Influence of Gray's discoveries.
3. Captain Joseph Ingraham, 1791-1792.
   a. An officer on Kendrick's first voyage.
   b. Returns in brig "Hope" from Boston.
   c. Successful fur trader.
4. Captain James McGee, 1792.
   a. In ship "Margaret" from Boston.
5. Captain R. D. Coolidge, 1792.
   a. In ship "Grace."
   b. Came from New York by way of China.

6. Tragic Fate of Ship "Boston," 1803.
   a. Her master, John Salter.
   b. Ship owned in Boston.
   c. Captain's inexperience brought on massacre.
   d. Indians destroy ship.
   e. John R. Jewitt and John Thompson survived.
   f. Enslaved by the Indians at Nootka.
   g. Jewitt's famous little book.

7. "Boston Men" and "King George Men."
   a. Many ships from Boston.
   b. Enquiries for crew of "Boston."
   c. Chinook jargon adopted name for Americans.
   d. Also "King George Men" as name for British.
   e. Both names endure among Indians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Nearly every book purporting to deal with the history of the Pacific Coast has something to say about the voyages of Captains John Kendricks and Robert Gray. There are fewer real sources than in the case of the English voyages, but the following references will be found helpful and will lead to other materials if needed.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 1861192, 204-206, 258-264, and others, for which see index in Vol. XXVIII. Not all editions contain Haswell's journal, but Vol. XXCII., edition 1886, pp. 703-735, gives this valuable document. When consulting the index cited use such words as Gray, Kendrick, Haswell, Ingraham, "Columbia," "Lady Washington," Columbia River, Grays Harbor, Bulfinch, Nootka, Jewitt, "Ship Boston."

BULFINCH, CHARLES. Extracts from the Log-book of the Ship Columbia. Mr. Bulfinch was one of the owners of the "Columbia." Grays Harbor was first named "Bulfinch Harbor" in his honor. Years afterward, in seeking compensation from the government, he submitted this extract. It was published in the Public Documents, Serial No. 351, being a part of Document 101 in that volume. It covers the discoveries by Captain Gray.

GREENHOW, ROBERT. The History of Oregon and California. In the London edition of 1844 the reader will find especial help on pages 178 to 259. The materials will be easily found in any of the editions. The whole book is interesting and has been abundantly cited by later writers.

JEWITT, JOHN R. Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of. There are several editions of this little book. It is a fine source book on the tragic fate of the ship "Boston."

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Pages 32 to 44 will be found helpful, as will footnote citations.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest. See pages 32 to 42 for brief but reliable information.

WRIGHT, E. W., editor. Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest. The title indicates the special character of this book. It is found in most of the libraries of the Northwest. Chapter I. includes a brief account of the voyages of Captains Kendrick and Gray.

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

We soon arrived at the waters of the Portneuf, and from this point reined up our panting steeds to gaze upon the valley of the Saptin which lay at last before us. In an instant every head was uncovered, and a cheer rang back into the gorge to the ears of our companions, which made every team strain and wagon crack with renewed exertion. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which this event created in our party. Each wagon as it arrived at the point unfolding to the view the region which had been the object of our dearest hopes and the occasion of our weary travel, set up a cheer, which, taken up by those behind, rang through every sinuosity of the pass and reverberated along the sides of the beetling crags which hemmed it in. Jim Wayne, who was always "about" when anything of moment was afoot, was among the foremost to reach the point of sight, and there, with his bugle which he had burnished and swung around his neck for the occasion, he planted himself, receiving every wagon with "Yankee Doodle," "Hail Columbia," or "The Star Spangled Banner," and only pausing in the tunes, to wave the instrument in the air, in immense sweeps, to the measure of the answering shouts.

This passage was performed on the 29th of August, and on the afternoon of that day we pitched our tents in the valley of the southern arm of the great River of the West. The region we had passed through from the 30th July up to the 29th August, comprised all the passes through the Rocky Mountains, and was by far the most arduous and difficult portion of the whole journey. We performed it, however, without sustaining any loss or injury beyond the bursting of a single tire, and yet averaged while doing it the distance of about twelve miles a day. In many parts of this region we had to move sharply to secure water and range for our cattle, and

the scarcity of game forced us, so far as we were personally concerned, pretty much upon the resources of our private larders. Though consisting to a large extent of beetling rock, and plains, craggy debles and frowning gorges. Nature has provided throughout a large portion of this route, a continuous line of valleys, nourished by gentle rivers, whose fertile banks furnish abundant pasture for your cattle, and provide a road from the eastern to the western limits of the Rocky Mountains and through the spurs of the intermediate region, better than many of the wagon routes in some of the eastern states. The greater portion of this country, however, is a sterile, flinty waste, and except in occasional dots, and in the green ribbons that bind the edges of the stream, is worthless for agricultural purposes. One of the features of this section, of singular interest, is the number of soda springs it contains, of a most remarkable character. They are situated mostly on Great Bear river, at the end of the valley leading up to the pass. There you will find them, bubbling, and foaming, and sending up from their clear depths and gravelly bottoms a continual discharge of gas and steam, as though they were sunken cauldrons of boiling water. They are represented to possess highly medicinal qualities, and it is said the Indians set a great reliance upon their virtues for a numerous class of disorders. One of these springs makes a loud bubbling sound, which can be heard at a great distance, and there are others which eject their waters some distance into the air; and others, in addition to these peculiarities, have a temperature above blood heat. To such an extent do these phenomena prevail, that the surface of the river, in the neighborhood of those on the shore, is fretted for several hundred yards with large numbers of them, some of which force their jets many inches above the surface. The scenery about this spot is wild and impressive; but though composed mostly of towering rocks, the faithful bunch of grass still fastens to the vales, and offers its tribute of sustenance and refreshment to the cattle.

On the morning of the 30th, we performed our orisons for the first time in Oregon.

For the first time in many dreary days the beetling crags of the Rocky Mountains ran their frowning barriers in our rear, and a broad unbroken plain spread out before us. Our hearts swelled with gratitude and joy, and with these combined emotions came a mingling of surprise, that the passage through the valley and the shadow of that misrepresented gorge, had proved so slightly formidable in its character. This can only be accounted for by the fact that most of the pioneers upon the route, from need of the experience of others who had gone before, in the direction of their preparations, set out without providing properly against the difficulties and privations

of the route. Neglecting the important item of provisions, they have relied entirely upon their rifles, and their chance for game, and the result has been, that their stomachs, pinched by occasional deprivation, have spread their dissatisfaction to the mind and magnified and discolored every difficulty and trifling inconvenience into a monstrosity of hardship. It may readily be imagined, that a traveller on horseback, who was obliged to fly from nine to set of sun, over a barren patch of desert to obtain range and food, would be anything but flattering in his descriptions of the scene of his sufferings and perils; but a well appointed caravan, carrying water in their vehicles, and driving their provender along with them, would enjoy a greater measure of contentment, and be inclined to treat the account of their wayfaring with a far greater degree of fairness and liberality. I do not hesitate to say, as I said before, that any wagons which could perform the journey from Kentucky to Missouri, can as well undertake the whole of this route, and there need be no dread of difficulties, in the way of natural obstructions, of a more serious character. I would be willing to traverse this road twice over again, if I possessed the means to purchase cattle in the States, and this opinion will appear less strange, when I assure the reader that several of the female emigrants feel in the same way disposed for the pleasures of a second expedition. It is true, there is a good deal of labor to perform on the road; but the weather is so dry, and the air so pure and bland, that one turns to it, as he does to the savory meals of the prairie, with a double alacrity and relish. Besides, many of the cares as well as troubles of a first expedition, would be avoided in the second. Experience would be our pioneer, and the continual apprehension of difficulties of an unknown character ahead, would vanish. We would not be continually harassed, whether we should abandon our horses at the pass, whether we should be out of provisions, or whether the route was practicable for travellers like us, at all! These uncertainties are dispensed forever. Emigrants may come now without fear. They will find a road broken to their use; they know the quantity of provisions they need; they know also the supplies they can gather by their rifles; they know that they will not suffer for want of water, and they have also been made aware that all the property they bring with them, is worth double its value as soon as they arrive. Fuel, it is true, is scarce at some points, but proper care and a little trouble, will provide against any suffering for want of that.

You travel along the banks of streams all the way, and you can almost always reap a harvest of dry willows on the surface of the waters, and where these do not offer, you find an equivalent resource in the sedges on their shores.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival at Fort Hall—The Three Regions of Oregon—Salmon Falls—The Saptin and the Platte—Fort Boise—Burnt River—The Lone Pine—Woodman, Spare That Tree"—The Grand Round—Scientific Speculation of Mr. McFarley—A Fall of Snow—An Indian Traffic.

We killed a bullock this morning in a fit of extravagance, and after replenishing ourselves with a most substantial breakfast, set out with renewed energies and brightened prospects. We arrived in the afternoon at Fort Hall, a trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, on the Snake or Saptin River, and encamped in a fine piece of timber land, under cover of its wooden battlements. We past a most pleasant evening in exchanging civilities with its inmates, who were not a little surprised at this tremendous irruption in their solitude. Some of the members told us that they could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the immense stretch of our line, the number of our lowing herds and our squads of prancing horsemen, and they inquired laughingly if we had come to conquer Oregon, or devour it out of hand. They treated us, however, with every attention, and answered with the utmost patience and particularity, all our inquiries in relation to the country.

We paused here a day to recruit our cattle, and when we set out in the morning following (1st September), we received a parting salute from one of the guns of the fort, and answered it with a volley from our small arms. Our journey today commenced through a piece of country well timbered, and possessing a soil apparently capable of raising the grains and vegetables of the States. I learned, however, that the climate of this region is subject to frequent frosts, the severity of which are fatal to agricultural operations of any magnitude.

Oregon, or the territory drained by the Columbia, is divided by immense mountain ranges into three distinct regions, the climate and other natural characteristics of which are entirely different from each other. The first region is that lying along the coast of the Pacific and extending in the interior to the line of the Cascade range: the second region lies between the Cascade chain and the Blue mountains, and the third, between the Blue and the Rocky mountains.

The first of these has a warm, dry and regular climate, and it is the abode of continual fertility. The second, or middle region, consists chiefly of plains between ridges of mountains, the soil of which is poor. The timber also is very scarce upon it, and what there is is soft and poor. The climate during the summer is agreeable and salubrious; but the winter brings with it frequent rains. Many of its plains, though generally unfit

for agricultural purposes, are covered continually with an abundant crop of short grass, which renders it a splendid field for raising stock, and for grazing purposes.

The third region is called *the high country*, and is a mere desert, consisting of ridges of rocks of volcanic strata and alternate sandy plains. It has its occasional fertile spots, it is true, but they are few and far between. Its distinguishing features are its excessive dryness, and the extraordinary difference of the temperature between night and day. This extremity amounting sometimes to a variation of 40 or even 50 degrees, is modified somewhat in the approach toward the middle region, but this outside section is doubtless incapable of being reclaimed to any great extent by the hand of man.* We emerged from the patch of vegetation around Fort Hall in a few hours upon wide barren plains of yellow sandy clay, which among its short and dry grass, bore nothing but the wild wormwood and the prickly pear, with here and there some stunted cottonwood or willow.

We crossed the Portneuf at the distance of eleven miles from our starting place, and still kept along the lower bank of the Saptin, the country remaining the same in its character—a desert wilderness except in the partial vegetation on its streams. We found the evenings now getting to be quite cold; the nipping air driving us to our camp fires and directing our attention to extra coverlets; but the morning sun, after getting an hour high, would give us another temperature, and till evening came again, we would have genial summer weather.

We reached the Salmon Falls (or Fishing Falls, as they are called from the great numbers of fish which abound in them) on the 11th, after having passed through a piece of country still the same in its barren and volcanic character, for the distance of one hundred and forty miles from Fort Hall. We here caught an abundance of fine salmon, and after a short enjoyment of the sport, moved onward on our course. Our eagerness, now that we had conquered the Rocky mountains, to get to the limit of our final destination, was extreme.

On the 14th we arrived at Boiling Spring. The country around this spot was wild in the extreme, the same arid, volcanic plain, flowing its sterile billows on before us—a vast lake of barren waste, hemmed in and bound by shores of beetling crags and towering mountains.

We were all the journey up to this point, still on the western bank of the Snake or Saptin river, but we crossed to its eastern shore above these springs, and followed the course of the other side. As this river is of the same importance to the emigrant for his travel in this region, as the Great

*Mr. Wyeth saw the thermometer on the banks of Snake river, in August, 1832, mark eighteen degrees of Fahrenheit at sunrise, and ninety-two degrees at noon of the same day.

Platte is for the Western Prairies, it is deserving of a special notice. The Platte is a tributary to the Missouri and unrolls its loveliness and vegetation from the States to the base of the Rocky Mountains; while the Saptin takes up the task on the western side of the stupendous barrier and leads the wayfarer in the same manner along its banks, until it yields its waters to the Columbia near Wallawalla.

Another striking feature of similarity is, that the country on either side of the Rocky mountains is a dry and barren desert for the space of two hundred miles. Through these terrass roll the streams of the respective rivers, reflecting the vast and naked wastes with their strips of fruitful green.

The headwaters of the Lewis, Snake or Saptin river, as it is variously called, rise in the mountains between the 42d and 44th degree of latitude. Thence it flows westwardly, passing through a ridge of the Blue mountains, and so on northwestwardly to its junction with the Columbia, receiving in its way the Malade, the Wappitacos, the Salmon River, the Malheur, the Burnt River, Powder River, and others of less significance. Its waters are very clear, and its current is, at some places, extremely swift. The rapids on it are extensive and frequent, and in consequence, the river is not navigable, except in occasional spots of still water between.

Forty-eight miles more through deserts sprinkled with volcanic rock, and we struck the Boisé river. We had diverged from the bank of the Saptin into a valley stretching northwest, which brought up to the Boisé. We crossed this stream at its junction with the Saptin, and thence followed the eastern bank of the latter for eight or nine miles, until we arrived at Fort Boisé. This was on the morning of the 20th September. For the last twenty miles, the country had changed its character entirely. As soon as we struck the valley of the Boisé, instead of parched and sandy plains, cut rock and frowning crags, our eyes were gladdened with green vales, flowering shrubs and clustering timber lands. The grateful sight was welcomed with a common spring of joy, and our wearied and hunger pinched cattle revelled in the luxuries of its heavy herbage.

On the 22d we left Fort Boisé, and after traveling over an excellent road for fifteen miles, we came to a creek in the latter part of the afternoon. This we crossed without serious difficulty, and encamped upon its western bank. Throughout this day the wind had blown quite cool from the N. W. and we had to suffer also from an unprovished and scanty range and a scarcity of fuel.

On the 23d we started off again with the same cutting wind that had visited us the day before, and which staid with us over night. Our road today was tolerably good, and after having accomplished sixteen miles over it, we brought our day's journey to a close on the bank of a dry creek,

with no water at hand, except what we found in a sort of puddle in its bed. Two miles further on would have taken us to a good encampment, with plenty of fine range and water, but the Indian pilot who had been employed for us by Dr. Whitman was ahead, and out of reach with the foremost wagons.

On the 24th we had to encounter a very hilly road, which retarded our progress most seriously. The hills, however, were not high, neither were they rugged or abrupt, but theywere frequent and thence our difficulty. We saw the Saptin today for the last time, for it now left our track in a bold northward curve till it returned to the Columbia near Wallawalla. We were able to make no more than ten miles today, encamping at the close upon another creek called Burnt river. This stream derives its title from the numerous fires which have consumed portions of the timber in its banks. This consists principally of cottonwood and birch, which abound in its valley; and these are also intermixed with aspen and willow. The stream does not deserve the name of a river, being merely an ordinary sized creek, but as others of less importance claim that title in this region, it may as well be accorded to it.

September 25th we started up the line of the Burnt river. The valley of the stream is very narrow, at some points being not more than twenty yards across, and it is hemmed in by mountains on either side. Though it abounds in timber, quite a safe and passable road could be made through it by clearing out the space for a track, but to do this effectually several crossings of the stream would have to be made. This could easily be performed in consequence of its low banks and firm bottom, but we had no time to clear out the way, and of late, the tortuousness of the roads had so scattered and divided our company, that we proceeded leftor skelter along in separate detachments, each following, as best it could, the careless lead of those who went before. We were thus betrayed into many difficulties that might have been avoided, if an orderly arrangement had been preserved. Sometimes the turn only of a few yards would have saved us the most obstructive hills and hollows, and I am informed that the course of the river could have been avoided altogether by a turn to the left, which strikes the trail near Powder river, running in an extensive plain, remarkable for a solitary tree in its midst, known as "The Lone Pine." But if this should not be the case,* I would advise future emigrants to select some eight or ten good men to send on ahead, to search for the most eligible route, and, if necessary, to clear one. This will save them much trouble. The range from this spot to the end of the journey is most excellent; the bunch grass

*It is the case.

is plenty in the valleys and in the sides of the hills, and there are plenty of rushes along the banks of this stream. We made but eight miles today.

On the 26th, the road got worse, if anything, than before, and after floundering through hills and hollows for six miles, we struck a hill of most difficult ascent, that required us to double our teams. Yet even this hill, as well as another still more difficult, which we descended, might have been entirely avoided by an advance of two hundred yards farther up the stream, where nature has furnished an easy ascent round the sides of both. This, however, was not discovered until all the wagons had passed. The above hill is the first that we have met in our road, which obliged us to double our teams.

September 27.—We were visited last night by a sharp, keen frost, and when we turned out in the morning we found the shivering chill still lingering among the valleys of the surrounding mountains. This morning we emerged from our toublous passage through the immediate valley of the river, and struck a beautifully undulating valley which fringed with its luxurious productions the border of a lovely plain. In the mixed vegetation which here abounded in rich profusion, we found red haws and cherries in abundance, and also a description of elder berries, which, unlike ours, that are of an insipid sweet, have a delicious tartness, somewhat similar in flavor to winter grapes before they are touched with the frost. In the course of the day we passed a Kiase village, and after completing twelve miles over a good road, halted for the night.

September 28th.—Our route today lay through a beautiful valley surrounded on all sides by the overtopping ridges of the Blue Mountains, their huge bases clothed with immense forests of majestic pines, and their stupendous tops gleaming with everlasting snow. Above their dazzling peaks were piled in grand confusion, masses of fleecy clouds, through the irregular breaks of which the clear azure of the vault above showed its softening contrast, and the sharp rays of the sun poured their floods of radiance. But through all the towering terrors of these mountains, our sweet little valley still wound on, offering its velvet verdure and its gentle surface to facilitate our progress. In the afternoon we emerged upon an extensive plain, which I have mentioned before as remarkable for a solitary tree in its center. This noble monarch of the plain is a magnificent pine, rearing its head alone amid the level blank of the prairie, that bears no other object on its surface for miles together, higher than a stunted shrub. As we approached this lonely hermit, I could not resist an impression of sadness, and the idea was forced upon my mind that it had stood there a sapling amid a million of its kind, and that when centuries ago, the mastodon and the behemoth abandoned forever their sombre depths, the forest followed on, leaving this solitary scion of their race behind, to mark the

spot over which they had waved their sheltering foliage since the beginning of the world.

This splendid outcast has long been known to all travellers in this region as "The Lone Pine," and it could not possibly have received a more expressive and appropriate designation. I was about six miles distant from it when it first attracted my attention, and as we progressed I kept regarding it with admiration, at intervals of every few moments. When but a little more than a mile off, I noticed that the leaders of our line were circling round it, and making demonstrations of an encampment. From the surface of the plain my eyes travelled naturally to the summit of the tree, when I was struck with its unusual motion. I thought I saw it tremble. I was seized with a sudden apprehension, but unwilling to yield to it, I rubbed my eyes and looked again. In the next moment my horse was galloping at top speed over the space that separated me from it, while I, regardless of the distance, was waving my arms to those around it, and shouting to them to desist. I was too late; before I had accomplished half the distance, the majestic monarch tottered for a moment from its perpendicular, then sweeping downwards through the air, thundered in ruin upon the plain. I could have wept for vexation, to see this noble landmark, which had braved the assaults of time through a thousand winters, thus fall an inglorious victim to the regardless axe of some backwoods' Vandal. It had been cut by some inconsiderate emigrants for fuel; a necessity that could have been more easily and much better supplied, by a profusion of small dead willows that were strewed about; for the pine was so green that it could not be made to burn at all. We this day accomplished eighteen miles.

September 29th.—We left the plain and its prostrate landmark this morning and in the middle of the day entered another valley, as rich in its fertility as the one of the day before, and like it, it also ran between two immense parallel ranges of snow-topped mountains, the sites of which, a little way below the vegetation line, were covered with thick forests of pine to where their bases were lost in the bottom swells. The range along here was very superior, and the surrounding proofs of general fertility gave evidence of its being admirably adapted to grazing purposes. The soil is most excellent, but the drought at the same time, must often be severe. Most of this beautiful valley might be irrigated from the tributaries of Powder River (itself a tributary of the Saptin), several of which we had to cross in following the course of this wide valley prairie. Twelve miles today.

September 30th.—Travelled nine miles over an excellent road, with the exception of the last half mile, which was rocky and perplexed; but this might have been escaped as we afterwards found, had we turned down an opening to our right, which we had rejected on passing, but which led

through a smooth and easy passage directly to the place where we finally encamped.

October 1st.—We this day came to the "Grand Round," the name of an immense valley, one hundred miles in circumference, which will vie in fertility with the valley of the Missouri, or indeed, with any spot in the world. Trees of all kinds are sprinkled throughout its surface; shrubs, flowers, brooks, singing birds, meadow lark, and other winged game, diversify it, with many other of the attractions of more lavish regions, and its general temperature is guaranteed by the evidences of its prodigal vegetation. The Grand Round is nearly circular in its form and lies embosomed in the Blue Mountains, which here, like their predecessors before described, are covered from bottom to top with lofty pines in studded forests. The bottom of this magic circle is rich, level prairie land, trellised with crystal springs issuing from its surrounding mountain border, which but slight assistance from the art of man, could easily be made to irrigate the whole surface of the valley.

In this region abounds a peculiar vegetable called Kamas root, which has a sweet and pleasant taste, and which is also very nutritious food. It is about the size of a partridge egg, and is cured by being dried upon hot stones. We purchased large quantities of it from the numerous Indians we found in the vicinity.

In this region also may be found one of the most wonderful creations of nature, existent in the world. This is a pond, or well, of boiling salt water, hot enough for cooking purposes, and bottomless in its depths. The steam arising from it may be seen at the distance of several miles, and resembles the vapor arising from a salt furnace. It occasioned no small degree of conjecture among the various savants and philosophers of our party, and not a few were the opinions expressed as to its cause. McFarley, however, gave the most satisfactory account of any, to the inquirers. He represented the meridian of Grand Round to be exactly opposite to Mount Vesuvius, on the other side of the globe; that that tremendous volcano "had been burning long afore Christ, and it stood to reason, as it eat deeper and deeper into the bowels of the earth, it must eventually come out on the other side." He believed this spring to be an indication of its approach to the western surface, and that "the superincumbent weight of water upon the spot was all that kept it for a time from bursting to a vent." He then added his deliberate opinion, that ere long, the area of Grand Round would be the scene of a tremendous eruption and the circle of mountains which hemmed it in, would be the rim of its crater.

This notion created no small alarm among some of our folks, and

a very extensive opinion prevailed that it was better to move on as soon as possible, and give Venuvius a chance.

I should have mentioned before, that on entering the "Grand Round," we had to descend an abrupt declivity of three or four hundred feet, covered with loose rocks, as large, and, in some cases larger, than a man's head. This was by far the worst hill we had yet descended, but by locking both hind wheels, and with teams so well trained as ours, we all descended in about three hours without hurt or injury to a single soul, and no damage was done to our truck beyond a slight crush of one side of a wagon body.

October 2d.—We ascended a hill, or rather a mountain, at the edge of the "Grand Round," and then descended it in an extensive declivity on the other side, ending at a fine running creek, for which I could find no name, but on the banks of which we encamped. Both of these hills, the one at the entrance and the other at the outlet of the Grand Round, might be better avoided by turning to the left upon the mountain side and passing them altogether. We passed during the later part of this day, through large bodies of heavy pine timber, and I will take this occasion to remark, that the timber of the Blue mountains were the first considerable bodies we had seen since we left the banks of the Kanzas.

October 3d.—We were obliged to ascend and descend three very bad hills, and to pass over eight miles of a very rough and difficult road, a portion of it running through a track heavily timbered with pine. We cut through this a road for the wagons, and it now offers much superior facilities for those who follow.

October 4th.—This day our route stretched through the still continuous pine, but they were more sparely scattered than before, and our progress consequently was more easy. The weather was cold and bleak.

October 5th.—A slight fall of snow this morning brought us to our heaviest clothing, and increased the size of our early campfires. The roads were excellent before us, but in consequence of two bad hills, and the disposition to linger round our fires, we did not make more than eight miles, after completing which we went early to camp.

On the 6th we descended the Blue mountains, by an easy and gradual declination over an excellent road, and encamped on the banks of the Umatilla river near a Kuse village. This stream, like most of the rivers we had crossed in Oregon, was nothing more than a good sized creek. Its waters were beautifully clear and its banks were studded with an abundance of cottonwood timber. We were now in the second region of Oregon, and from the moment we had descended from the mountains, we felt the difference of the two climates. The one we had left being sharp and severe, and this

being mild and dry, and offering in its abundant grasses superior facilities for stock raising and grazing.

After descending from the region of the pine, we had now come into a country of broad sandy plains, intermixed with a yellowish clay, productive, as I have said before, of abundant herbage, but destitute of timber, except upon the margin of the streams. From this point to the Columbia at Wallawalla, is between forty and fifty miles through continuous plains, varied only with occasional hills of sand. The surface, except in the valles of the streams, is sandy and sterile, yet in its least favored sections it bears a description of scattering bunch grass, upon which the cattle become very fat.

We found the Indians of this village very friendly, and exceedingly anxious to trade with us. They proved their degree of civilization and advance in the arts of agriculture, by bringing us large quantities of Irish potatoes, peas, corn and kamas root, for which we gave them in exchange clothes, powder, ball and sundry trifles. They raise a large number of horses, by the luxuriant pasturage of the surrounding country, and were continually pressing them upon us for sale, offering two of the finest that we might select for one of our cows. Seduced by the delights and comforts of this place, after the weary wayfaring we had just passed through in the upper region, we determined to remain here a day to recruit, and we accordingly gave ourselves up to a regular frolic, during which the peas, corn and potatoes, with nice spare ribs, fish and steaks to match, vanished from the earth like witchcraft.

Let me remark, for fear that I may overlook it, that while travelling on the Burnt river, and while passing through the Blue mountains, we had much trouble in finding our stock in the morning, as they wandered off in bushes during the night, and often strayed out among the hills after the bunch grass. We found the road along this river, and through these mountains, the worst of the whole route, and indeed, nearly all of the bad road we saw at all. Lieutenant Fremont, who came behind us, and who had Mr. Fitzpatrick for a guide, went further down the Grand Round to the right, came out at a different point, and made his way through the Blue mountains by a route, which he states to be more safe and easy by far than the one by which we came. Our route, at any rate, can be so improved with a small amount of labor as to be quite practicable, and even as it was, we came through it with our wagons in perfect safety, without even unloading them at a single point. Many, if not most of the bad hills we had passed, could have been avoided or overcome, with a very little labor.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Doctor Whitman's Mission—Perplexity—Conflicting Counsels—Division Into Squads and Successive Departures—Progress of the Advance Guard to Vancouver—Our Arrival at Fort Wallawalla—Arrangements With Its Commander—Naval Operations—Boat Building—The Grand Rapids—The Falls—The Little Dalles—The Grand Dalles—The Whirlpool—Death in the Rapids—General Characteristics of the Middle Region: Its Indians, Their Habits and Pursuits.

On the 8th October, we moved on and encamped in the afternoon within twenty miles of the Methodist mission establishment, kept by Dr. Whitman, on the banks of a little tributary of the Wallawalla; but not finding the pasturage to our liking, we moved on the next day a few miles further in advance, and finding a point offering us all the advantages we sought, the section to which I was attached, determined to make a halt for a few days, to recruit, our weary and way worn cattle. Most of the party had advanced before us and were already at the mission, but we, in consequence of our halt, which continued through a period of five days, did not reach there until the 15th. The mission establishment is situated on the northeast bank of a small stream emptying into the Wallawalla, around which there are two or three hundred acres in good cultivation, and on the other side of the stream was the grist mill, where the Doctor converted his grains into flour. It was in a very dilapidated condition when we saw it, but the Doctor informed us that he had made arrangements to rebuild it, and make it an efficient feature of his little colony.

This settlement has existed here under the care of the doctor and his excellent wife, ever since 1834, and by his persevering industry he has fairly enaxed civilization into the very bosom of the wilderness. The stream on which the mission house is situated is from fifteen to twenty yards in width; its clear cool waters run over a gravelly bed at the rate of five or six miles to the hour, and its banks, on either side, are ornamented with groves of flourishing timber, and flowering shrubbery, that are the usual accompaniments of fertility of soil and geniality of climate. The valley of this stream is about thirty miles in circumference, and is a favorite spot with the Kuse for raising horses, numbers of which we found galloping about in all their native freedom over its plains.

Upon our arrival, we found the pasturage in the immediate vicinity of the mission much eaten out by these animals; but a few miles further back, towards the mountains, it flourished in unsurpassed profusion. We found at Doctor Whitman's everything to supply our wants, and he fur-

nished us with fine wheat at one dollar per bushel, and potatoes for forty cents. His supply of the first gave out, but he had corn and potatoes in abundance.

While pausing at this place, we were agitated and perplexed in the extreme what course to take in relation to the arrangements we should make for the successful conclusion of our expedition. We were assailed with various opinions from everyone we met, and in the general indecision were for a time brought to a dead stand. Most of the residents of the mission agreed in advising us to leave our cattle and wagons at this point, or if we did take them to the Dalles or narrows (a point on the Columbia, 120 miles in advance) to send them back here to winter. Others told us that we could not reach the Dalles with our teams, as jaded as they were, as we would find no range along the course of the Columbia. All, however, seemed to think that it would be impossible for us to get our wagons, or our cattle, to the Willamette this fall. But we had already overcome too many difficulties to admit the word *impossible* as a part of our vocabulary. We could not remain where we were for a number of reasons. The pasturage in the immediate vicinity was too scanty; the width of range would not allow us to keep our stock together, and we suffered an additional danger of their loss from the dishonest practices of the Indians, who, if they did not steal them outright, led them off, for the purpose of being paid to bring them in. Many of us were obliged to pay a shirt (the price uniformly charged by the Indians for every service) for three or four successive mornings, to get back the same animal, and this was a kind of tribute that if kept up, would make fearful inroads upon our wardrobe. The majority of the emigrants therefore resolved to attempt the threatened dangers to the actual evils that now beset us. Accordingly they set out in squads, on successive days, and before the end of the month, all had reached the Dalles in safety. What surprised them most, after the representations which had been made, was the fine pasturage they met with all along the way, and especially at the Dalles, where, we had been led to believe, the cattle could not subsist at all during the winter. As the parties to which I now allude preceded me, I may as well continue this anticipatory account of the route as far as it concerns their progress. They struck off in a souths-easterly direction, leaving the sterility of the river's bank, and instead of perishing for want of range, their cattle even improved all along the way. Some of them left their wagons at the Dalles, and drove their cattle through the Cascade mountains, conveying their baggage and families on pack horses through the mountain paths; and some went down the river by boats. But the greatest portion of them constructed rafts of dead pine timber, a few miles below the Dalles, large enough to carry six or eight wagons, and

upon these floated safely down to the Cascades on the Columbia. Their cattle were driven down the river's bank about thirty miles, then swam across and were driven down the other bank to Vancouver. Here the party obtained boats from Dr. McLaughlin, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments in Oregon, and returned to the Cascades for such of the families, wagons and baggage as had been left behind. This method was found to be, of all, the most successful. By the first of December, all the emigrants had arrived at Vancouver, but the greatest portion of them had reached there as early as the fifteenth of the preceding month.

The large portion of the emigration to which I belonged arrived at Fort Wallawalla on the 16th October. This we found to be a rough parallelogram constructed out of the driftwood drawn from the river during the annual rise of the Columbia, in June and July. It is situated on the northern bank of the Wallawalla, just where it joins the Columbia. We found a Mr. McKinley, a very intelligent Scotchman, in charge of this post, and at his hands received every civility and attention. This gentleman proposed to us a conditional arrangement, subject to the ratification or refusal of Doctor McLaughlin, his superior, at Vancouver, in regard to our cattle. He represented the impossibility of our conveying them to Vancouver, and to save us any loss, offered to take them for himself, and give us an order on the Doctor for an equal number of Spanish cattle of the same age and gender, in the possession of the latter at the before-mentioned station. If Dr. McLaughlin disapproved of the arrangement, Mr. McKinley was to hold our cattle subject to our order, and to receive one dollar per head for their keeping. This was a pretty acute arrangements of his, as we afterwards found, but as it eventuated in nothing but a temporary deprivation of our beasts, we did not have occasion to regard it as a very serious matter. As soon as this arrangement was made, we went to work briskly in building boats from material which we sawed out of the driftwood of the stream, and having all our preparations completed on the 20th, we set out on that day with Indian pilots for our guides.

The Columbia at Wallawalla is a beautiful clear and calm stream, and about as wide as the Ohio at Louisville, Kentucky. We made fifteen miles the first day, and on the morning of the second passed in safety the Grand Rapids, one of the most dangerous points on the river. From this point to the falls, about ten miles above the Dalles, we passed through many severe rapids and narrow passes. At the falls, where the whole Columbia tumbles down a perpendicular ledge of rocks from a height of ten feet, we were obliged to draw our boat from the stream and make a portage of about three-quarters of a mile, and then launch her anew. This was done

with the help of a party of Indians, thirty-five in number, whom we found at the place of our landing, and whom we employed to shoulder our baggage and carry our boat the necessary distance; going to each of them for the service, five loads of powder and ball, and to their chief, a shirt and some tobacco. These fellows appeared to understand their interests very well, and subserved them often with as much acuteness as thorough Yankees. Employ all, or none, was the word, and until we had made a fair business arrangement with the chief, not a leg nor wa would lend a hand to any of our work. The chief spoke English very well; was a tall, fine looking fellow, dressed in the broadcloth costume of a white man, and wore, upon his feet, instead of moccasins, a pair of very fine shoes. His authority appeared to be absolute, and the moment he gave the word of command everything was performed with the regularity of clock work. Our boat, which was a superior one, that I had procured by especial favor from Mr. McKinley, had now far outstripped all the rest, and indeed, when we left the river for the portage, the remainder of the flotilla had been out of sight for several hours. After our launch, we pursued the stream for four or five miles, when we struck the little Dalles. This is a narrow channel, rushing in whirlpools and dangerous rapids through two precipitous walls of rock. Here we were obliged to again put our families on shore to lighten the boat, and to procure some Indians to take her through the gorge. Below this point, and between it and the Grand Dalles, we encountered some severe and threatening rapids, all of which, however, we safely overcame. The Grand Dalles is a narrow channel cut through the solid rock, over which it used to flow and fall, by the mere force of stream. This channel is about two miles in length, and runs between perpendicular walls of basaltic rock, which fence it in on either side, to the height of four or five hundred feet. When the river is low, it may be navigated with but little danger, but if swollen, it is death to attempt it, and a portage must of necessity be made. We employed some more Indians here, but Isaac Smith, our intrepid waterman, insisted upon acting as the coxswain. It was fortunate for us he did, for when we were about in the middle of the pass, the stroke paddle snapped in two, pitching the Indian who worked it, nearly over the bows, and the boat suddenly twisted around and shot down the stream stern forwards. Smith alone was calm, and seizing a paddle from the redskin nearest to him, shouted in a voice of authority, which danger sanctions in superiority, "Down! down! every soul of you!" Fixing his eye upon a whirlpool ahead, he waited until we reached it, and then adroitly striking his paddle in the water, by a dexterous movement whipped her head into the force of a circling eddy, and checking it instantly on the other side, before the could repeat the motion, our little craft shot life an arrow from the perilous

spot, head on again, into a smoother current. Smith drew a heavy sigh of relief as he handed the paddle back, and sat down in his place without evincing any other sign of satisfaction at the triumphant result of his exploit.

The Columbia river above this point can never be made safe for boats of any size; the navigation being difficult and uncertain, even at low water; and when high, as I said before, it is quite impassable. But the day for our passage, one of Captain Applegate's skiffs upset with three men and three boys. Two of the boys and one of the men were drowned. The former were about ten years old—one of them being the son of Captain Jesse Applegate, and the other of Lindsay Applegate. The man drowned was an old man named McClelland, who steered the skiff.

During our passage from the Wallamette to the Dalles, we saw no timber on the Columbia river, or near it, indeed no bolder vegetation appeared than a few occasional willows near its brink. The Indians are numerous all along its line, and are exceedingly thievish, stealing without hesitation everything they can lay their hands on. The reason of their being so numerous in this quarter is that the Falls and the Dalles are the great fisheries of the Columbia river, where immense numbers of salmon are annually taken by these primitive fishermen.

Before leaving this region, I will remark, that the portion that we saw of it in our passage down the river was of a description that should by no means be taken as an evidence of its general character. Beyond the immediate line of the Columbia, which is a tract of blank, discouraging sterility, stretch numbers of fertile plains, which, though not adapted to the general purposes of agriculture, produce a rich, continual and luxuriant herbage, admirably adapted to grazing purposes, and indeed rendering it second to no region in the world for raising stock. Its surface is almost a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and it is generally a rolling prairie country, with the exception of that portion about a hundred, or a hundred and fifty miles to the north, which is barren and rugged, and much broken with rivers and mountain chains. It is in this section that all the horses are reared for the supply of the Indians and the traders of the interior. "It is not uncommon," says Captain Wyeth, "that one Indian owns hundreds of them. I think this section for producing hides, tallow, and beef superior to any part of North America: for with equal facilities for raising the animals, the weather in the winter when the grass is best, and consequently the best time to fatten the animals, is cold enough to salt meat, which is not the case in Upper California. There is no question that sheep might be raised to any extent in a climate so dry and so sufficiently warm, and where so little snow or rain falls. It is also the healthiest country I have ever been in, which, I suppose, arises from the small quantity of decaying

vegetable matter, and there being no obstruction from timber to the passing winds."

The premium portion of this whole region, I have been informed, is the Nez Perces county, which takes its name from one of the tribes inhabiting it. The region, however, in the vicinity of Mr. Spaulding, an American missionary, who has an establishment on the Saptin, a few miles above its junction with the Columbia, is thought to be the finest of all. He has a fine herd of cattle and a very numerous lot of sheep, and I am informed upon good authority, that his ewes have lambs twice a year. The whole surrounding country is covered with a heavy bunch grass which remains green during the whole winter. This generally dries up during the summer heats of July, but it is then as good as hay, and the slight rains in the fall make it shoot up at once, after which it remains green till the succeeding summer. I saw it in October as green as a wheat field.

While at Wallawalla I saw Ellis, the chief of the Nez Percés. He spoke the English language very well, and I found him to be quite intelligent and well versed in the value and the rights of property. He has a fine farm of thirty acres in good cultivation, a large herd of cattle, and upwards of two thousand beautiful horses. Many of the Kuuse have, as Wyeth says, hundreds of these noble animals. They have a great desire to acquire stock, of which they have already a considerable quantity, and yearly go to the Willamette and give two of their finest horses for one cow. In a few years from this time these Indians will have fine farms and large herds of cattle. They have already made great progress in civilization, and evince a strong desire to imitate the whites in everything they do. This is shown in a remarkable degree, by their fondness for our dress, the meanest portion of which, strange to say, they have the strongest passion for. As I said before, they uniformly charge a *shirt* for every service they perform, and to such an extent do they carry their admiration of this graceful article, that I have seen some of them with nothing else on under heaven besides, but a pair of old boots and a worn out hat, parading up and down for hours

*The following extract from the letter of Nathaniel Wyeth, in the report of the Committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon Territory, February 18th, 1838, will serve to confirm this description. Wyeth was the enterprising trader who established Fort Hall.

"This country (the middle region), which affords little prospect for the tiller of the soil, is admirably adapted to the grazier. The hills, which are destitute of timber, are covered by grasslands who have never passed the Columbia, but lived along which is a collection of sand and rocks, and almost without vegetation; but a few miles from the Columbia, towards the hills and mountains the prairies are open wide, covered with a low grass of a nutritious quality, and springs of water are frequently found. In September there are slight rains, at which time the grass starts, and in October and November, there is a good vein of green grass, which remains no during summer; and about June it is ripe, and dries up, and remains the natural hay crop, which it is, for the snow is seldom over the ground more than a few days at a time. The herdsman can at all times keep his animals in good order, by supplementing their pasturage in summer, on the declivities of which almost any climate may be had.

with the most conceited strut, as if they were conscious of attracting universal admiration.

Grain grows very well in the vicinity of Mr. Sapulding's, as also do potatoes and garden vegetables generally. It also produces fine corn, but for this the soil requires irrigation. Mr. Spaulding last year raised four hundred and ten bushels upon four acres. The ground was measured in the presence of five gentlemen, and its quantity accurately ascertained. It was sown in drills.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at the Dalles Mission—Continuation of Journey Down the River—Scenery of the Columbia—The Cascades—Indian Tradition—Arrival at Vancouver—The Chief Factor—Mr. Douglas—Conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company to Emigrants—Jumping the Rapids—Penalty of Braving the Cascades—Stock Raising—Condition of the Settlement at Vancouver—Prices of Goods in the Territory.

After we had passed the narrow and dangerous channel of the Dalles, we came out into a smooth and calm surface of river, over which our little craft glided with a quiet rapidity. We now for the first time caught a glance at a seal, occasionally popping his head above the level of the stream and as quickly withdrawing it on our approach, and as we progressed we found their numbers increased. This animal abounds in the Columbia from this point to the sea, and it is also found in considerable quantities in the Willamette, below the falls of that river.

A mile's sail from the fret of the Dalles brought us to the Methodist mission establishment under the charge of Messrs. Perkins and Brewer, which is commonly known as the Dalles Mission.

The mission houses stand on a most commanding and eligible site on the southwest side of the river. When you ascend the bank, the sward runs before you in a gentle and regular inclination for about a mile, when it joins a line of hills of moderate altitude, covered with a profusion of pine timber, intermixed with some scattering white oak. Just at the foot of the hill, and on the edge of this timber, stand the mission houses, and between them and the river, are sprinkled numerous Indian huts or lodges, whose rude inmates are the object of the missionaries' philanthropic care. Immediately to the southwest is a fine mill stream, and directly below it a rich bottom prairie, skirted with yellow pines and oak. This plain is about large enough for three fine farms, and can easily be irrigated from the stream I have alluded to. The grazing in the vicinity of this spot extends

in a circumference of twenty or thirty miles, and offers facilities at a very trifling expense, for raising great numbers of sheep, horses, and other cattle, and the mast from the white oak will support numerous droves of hogs.

The Dalles mission is at the head of the practical navigation of the Columbia, and I regard it as one of the most important stations in the whole territory. It is a point which all who go up and down the river must pass, and I have no doubt that in a few years steamboats will be running between it and the Cascades. In addition to the facilities which I have already mentioned, it has a mild and dry climate, about the same as that of Nashville, Tennessee. It is slightly colder than Wallawalla, in consequence of its nearer vicinity to one of the stupendous Titans of the Cascades or President's range, called Mount Washington, about fifty or sixty miles to the southwest. I was at the Dalles on the 23d of November last, and there had up to that time been no visitation of cold weather, nor no fall of rain heavy enough to wet the ground two inches deep. To this place, moreover, from its peculiar situation, and the characteristics of large portions of the adjacent country, both north and south, will all the cattle raised in the second region have to be driven to be slaughtered, and here the inhabitants from above will purchase their general supplies.

The beauty of this situation and the advantages it possessed over any to which I had yet arrived, determined me to leave my folks and effects there for a time, and make a voyage to Vancouver myself, to carry out the provisions of the arrangement I had made with Mr. McKinley at Wallawalla, in relation to our cattle. I accordingly set out on the 5th of November, and continued my route down the river.

The Columbia, between the Dalles and Cascades, is a calm and clear stream, without a rapid in it, and as safe in its navigation as the Ohio. The current is slow, but there is at all times an ample supply of water. The distance between the two points is thirty-six miles. Immediately after leaving the missionary landing, the river, which was about a mile wide, passed for two miles through high walls of perpendicular basaltic rock standing in square columns, sometimes of a foot, and sometimes of two feet in thickness. These rocks, which are the same in character as all that I had seen on the borders of this stream, were perpendicular in their position, except at two points where we found them gently inclining inward towards the river. After we had proceeded some three or four miles from our starting point, the hills gradually ran towards the river's sides. Those on the southern bank are covered with pine and white oak, and those on the northern side bear scarcely anything but scrubby white oak. As we neared the Cascades, the mountains increased greatly

in height, and the pines upon their sides grew larger in their size than those on the introductory hills, and became more thickly studded, until the mountains were covered with them. We frequently passed tall walls of rock many hundred feet in height, that raised their castellated sides on the very brink of the river. In fact, the river is so shut in with these natural bastions, both above and below the Cascades, for twenty miles on either side, that within this whole space, there is no bottom lands at all with the exception of a single spot of fertility three miles below, and occasional scollops, stolen from the mountain, bearing in their semicircles nothing but the hut of some Indian fishermen. On our way down, we passed several rafts carrying the adventurous members of our expedition, their families and their baggage, and arrived there ourselves on the seventh.

The Cascades are made by the Columbia forcing its way through the Cascade or President's range of mountains over an immense field of rocks, which at this point strew its bottom and peep above its surface. This point of the river bears no resemblance to the Dalles at all. Instead of being confined between perpendicular walls of basaltic rock, it is lined on either side by the slopes of towering mountains studded with evergreen pine, and birch and oak. Immediately at the Cascades, the mountains run close in to the shore, but, as if satisfied with the experiment at this point, they start away from both sides to the east, and leave several spaces of high, yet tolerably level land. As we approached the Cascades, the roar of the waters fretting in their uneasy course, gave token of its vicinity, and the increasing current of the river lent to our little vessel an additional speed. The growing foam, and gathering eddyings in the shape of rocks in the bed of the stream, at length warned us to the shore, and we were obliged to give our boat again to the Indians on the bank, and make a portage to escape the danger. The water is here very deep, and the bed of the river is filled with huge detached rocks, with intervening patches of white sand. From the compression of its volume in a trough of three or four hundred yards, and its fall of one hundred and fifty feet in the distance of a mile and a half, the current here sets downward with immense force, and renders the passage dangerous in the extreme.

(To be continued)

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A SURVEY OF ALASKA, 1743-1799

In this paper an attempt will be made to give a brief sketch of the history and conditions of Alaska[1] from the time of its discovery to the organization of the Russian American Company. Bench calls this period the "Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands." "Discovery" is hardly the proper term in this connection, because all these islands had already been discovered by Bering and Chirikof. Their successors merely charted and exploited them. One must also disagree with this writer when he refers to these years as the time of "colonization." Those who went to Alaska in the eighteenth century did not do so with the intention of making permanent homes there. At present it is gold which attracts the white man, formerly it was the pelt of the sea-otter.[2]

When the Russians came to Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands they found the otter, but they hunted it so hard that after 1750 it was no more seen on the shores of the peninsula. A few were still left on the Kuril Islands, where they were hunted off and on until 1780.[3] With the decrease of the supply the price went up, and this stimulated the hunters

[1]The word "Alaska" is probably of Aleutian origin and referred to the Alaska Peninsula. Even today when the Aleut of the Shumagin Islands goes to Kodiak, Unalaska or Atka he says that he is going to Alaska. Most of them the peninsula was represented on the maps as an island by the name of "Alaksa."

[2]The otter is a very interesting animal. Hunters never tire of comparing it with man in point of view of intelligence. The otter is, in many respects, unlike the other animals about him: it has no special breeding season, and it is more difficult to trap young than the old, probably because the young otter is helpless for a longer period. When full grown it is a powerful animal. Its fur is soft, fine, and long in the hair, and it has a beautiful silky sheen. Its thickness is unequaled, which enhances its value. A good otter skin commands today a large sum of money; it has always been comparatively high priced and much desired by the Chinese. Müller (Sammlung Russischer Geschichte, III, 339) states that in Kamchatka the otter skin was worth from twenty to thirty rubles, in Kamchatka from ten to fifteen rubles, in Jakutsk from thirty to forty rubles, and on the Chinese frontier, at Kiakta, from sixty to eighty rubles.

The sea-otter is found in greatest numbers in the Kuril Islands, more silver-tipped than those of the Aleutians, and were more in demand. Geographically speaking, the Aleutian Islands are those south of the Alaska Peninsula (except Bering and Copper Islands); generally speaking, they include the Aleutian Islands just mentioned, with the addition of the Shumagin Islands and the Fox Islands. The Aleutian Islands are a chain of few much voyaged that at one time all those islands were part of the mainland and became broken up by volcanic action. They stretch out for hundreds of miles, displaying their rocky coast and high snow-covered peaks, with bays and there a volcano. Few of these islands have good harbors, and the Aleutian Islands proper are, as a rule, very small and to small ones. On account of their comparatively mild climate, numerous

to go to newly discovered islands[1] from which the crews of Bering and Chirikof[2] brought hundreds of pelts.

While skin-covered boats called "baidaras"[3] did well enough for hunting the coast of Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands, the hunters realized, from the fate of the vessels of Bering and Chirikof, that strong wooden vessels were needed to go to the far and little known islands. Few of these Siberians understood either the building or the navigating of a ship. Lack of material was another drawback. Iron had to be brought from the interior, and it sold at Okhotsk for a half ruble the pound. But these men were not easily discouraged. Either at Okhotsk, Bolshaja Reka, or Lower Kamchatka timber was cut, and out of this unseasoned material ships were made. Since no iron nails were to be had, or only at a very great expense, wooden pegs were generally used, at least until about 1760, and the frame was "sewed" together with rope or leather. From this last operation the boats received the name of "shitki," sewed. Most shitki were from forty to fifty feet long. When in 1760 a gallot[4] with a sixty-two foot keel was constructed it attracted attention. What was lacking in length was made up in height in order to accommodate a fifty-ton cargo, provisions, and a crew of about fifty men. If the vessel proved too small a few feet in height were added. Another peculiar thing about these crafts was the rudder-blade, which was unusually long—about ten feet. According to the ideas of these navigators the speed of the boat depended in some measure on the size of the rudder-blade, and in order to increase the speed additions were made to the blade.[5] There was but one short mast and, for the sake of economy, the sails were narrow. What speed may one expect from such a structure? In fair weather two or three miles an hour, very seldom as high as five. The seaworthiness of these crafts may be judged from the fact that of all the boats which left the Siberian ports for America about twenty per cent never returned to the home ports,[6] and this does not include boats wrecked and repaired.

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rocks and reefs, and abundance of shell fish, sea-animals, and in particular the sea-otter, deserted here in great numbers." Steller uses the same sometimes spoken of as the "Nearer" and "Farther" Aleutians. The former term applies to the islands near Unalaska, and the latter to those which are to those in the neighborhood of Unalaska island. The "Fox" Islands are the "Farther" Aleutians. Steller says that on the "Farther" Aleutians are the large number of foxes found there at one time. Adirondacks, as reference to a group of islands of which Attka is the best known.

[1]Muller (Sammlung Russischer Geschichte III, 316) says that Bering's crew brought with them from the Bering Island nine hundred otter pelts, five hundred blue foxes, and one thousand seals.

[2]This is the name the English sailors gave to these boats.

[3]Barasof once told Berch that a hunter once came to him complaining that a Russian ship carpenter refused to add at least three feet to the height of his boat.

[4]Ships on meeting would inquire of each other whether the rudder-blade had been lengthened since leaving port.

[5]The figures here given the writer has worked out from the table at the end of the paper. Krusenstern, Voyage Autour du Monde (Paris, 1835), Vol. I, 61, says that one-third of the boats were lost.

As there were not enough sailors in Kamchatka and Okhotsk to supply the demand, the traders engaged men from the interior of Siberia and entrusted the ships to their care. These men did not understand navigation, they were not even spoken of as sailors, but as "promyshlenki," hunters, especially hunters of sea-animals.[9]

In the matter of food, the hunters lived on the flesh of sea-animals,[10] on salt and fresh fish, such edible roots and berries as the islands offered, and black rye bread. Liquor, and in particular "vodka," was consumed in great quantities when it could be had. "Sour-dough," a famous Alaska drink, had its origin probably about this time. From such diet and unsanitary quarters many suffered from scurvy, some of the boats lost as high as fifty per cent of the crew. But privations and disease were accepted as a matter of course. Add to this, however, suffering from shipwreck, and you have a picture of almost indescribable misery, as in the case of the

[9] It may be of interest to follow one of these expeditions in order to get a clear idea of the service, navigation and the character of the voyage, if such a term is permissible. The "Zosimi and Savatya," a galliot, with a crew of about fifty, made up of Russians and natives, was ready to sail from Okhotsk in 1797. All was ready with the exception of the pilot, who was missing. Search was made for him, and he was found drunk. The port officials were appointed to and they recommended a man. After being out at sea several days, it became quite evident that the so-called navigator was an ordinary sailor, and very little else than he was from which he considered the wearing of fur and Pering Island was reached without incident. The vessel was then headed for the Aleutian Islands for three years, and at the end of that time decided to go to the Aleutian Islands. But the question was how to reach there. If they had a start in the spring, they would be caught in the ice-floes of the Behring Straits. Without one, after consultation it was decided to sail northeast, then south; for, said the hunters, the Aleutians form a long chain, and the Islands are so close together that by first going northeast and then south we cannot miss them. With fair winds they sailed several days northeast, when they were caught in a terrific storm, which lasted between September and October. For about a fortnight strong east winds according to one of the stories which a sailor told Berch, the boat ran into a warm current in October, and on November the last one although the exact date is not given, land was sighted. The vessel was steered to the other, ship's council was called to discuss the situation. Some were of the opinion that the Russians had been discovered, others were of a different mind. While they were deliberating an island covered with fur-seal loomed up, and they were of the opinion that it was the land of the Fur Seal that loomed up. The sailors set to work to round the land of the Fur Seal but they determined to see from it as fast as possible. An image of the Virgin was brought on deck and prayed for. She would take charge of the ship and set the course. In answer to their prayer, a strong wind arose, which carried the vessel to the southeast, and they kept on sailing on this course for about a week when Aleutian Islands came in view. So glad were the sailors to see a familiar spot that they dropped the anchor without ascertaining the depth of the water, which was so great that the boat was carried on the rocks and was at once broken to pieces. Most of the crew were drowned, and the survivors, as ignorant as Crusoe, living from the stories of the English and French mariners who visited the shores of Kamchatka and Alaska towards the end of the eighteenth century, about navigation, were at a loss what they should know very much about navigation. Accounts of the voyage are to be found in: Imyatnol, Iswaknuie Putestwitsia, St. Petersburg, Vol. I.

Berch, in his diaschaetca, 1819.

Zapiski Hydrographicskavo Departamenta, 1859.

Sauer, in his account of Billings describes these Russian sailors as he saw them in Unalaska about 1790.

[10] During the greater part of the eighteenth century Bering Island was used by fur hunters as a wintering ground. While one part of the crew was hunted for the otter and the fox the other half killed the sea-cow and other valuable marine animals for their hides, which was put up for future consumption.

Capiton, which went to sea in 1757 with a crew of forty or more and returned with thirteen.[13]

Once on the hunting ground the boat was laid up and the men separated into two or more parties, and either went to different parts of the same island or to different islands for the winter. On the selected camping ground an underground hut was constructed out of drift-wood, grass and dirt. The fall was spent in securing provisions for the winter. When the cold set in traps were put out for the foxes, and the otters were clubbed on the rocks or followed to sea.

During the first part of the period the owner of the boat and the hunters shared the profits of the voyage on a basis something like the following. A boat that had a crew of forty-six men, including officers, would agree to divide the catch into forty-six shares: three to the navigator, two to the chief hunter, one to the church or school. Of the remaining forty shares half was claimed by the owner of the boat and the other half was divided among the men by lot. Nearly always two or three shares were set aside to be distributed among the best hunters. At times these men rolled in wealth, but it was also not uncommon to find them at the end of the voyage in debt for their outfits.

It would seem that toward the end of the century, when the trade centered in fewer hands and the supply of labor equaled the demand, the hunters were paid so much a trip or so much a year, making the best bargains they could. Their wages, although high, had to be taken out in trade at exorbitant prices.[14] In this way the companies kept the men in debt all the time.

[13] "They had not long sailed", says Cook, "before they were driven back to the shore of Kamtschatka by stress of weather, and the vessel so much damaged, by which accident they lost the rudder and one of the anchors. This misfortune prevented them from putting to sea again until the following spring; with thirty-nine of the original crew, several persons being left behind sick, and one man, who had been ordered to the island of Copper Island, to look up two of Krasilnikof's crew, who had been purchased. They again put to sea, sailed in sight of the same year, and touched at the nearest of the Aleutian Islands after suffering greatly from storms. They then continued their course to the remoter islands lying between East and Southeast, and, having reached the 52d degree of latitude, and the 193d of longitude, were forced to return, being attacked by the natives. They had no more got aboard than a violent gale of wind blowing from the shore broke the cable and drove them out to sea. The weather became unfavorable this time also, and under these circumstances the vessel was forced upon a small island [Bering Island], where they were obliged to winter. They got the vessel off to shore with difficulty, and were able to save nothing but firearms and ammunition. * * *. From the 6th of September to the 23rd of April they were reduced to the greatest distress, during which period forty-four men died of hunger and cold, and their numbers were sometimes reduced to still the cravings of their appetites with the bodies which they found washed ashore from the wreck. Seventeen died of hunger and the rest would soon have followed their companions, if they had not fortunately discovered, on the 24th of May, a vessel which had been cast away upon the island another winter, where her fifteen crew-mates, and having built a small vessel out of the remains of the wreck, they put to sea in the beginning of the year 1768. They had scarcely reached one of the Aleutian Islands, where Serebrenikof's vessel lay at anchor, when they were attacked by the natives, and compelled to put to sea again. Only thirteen of the crew now remained who returned on board the above-men-

There existed also the old-fashioned stock companies. In 1790 the George went out hunting, and the "catch" was to be divided as follows:

1 share to the church		navigator	
1	school at Okhotsk	4 ¼	boat hunters
2	chief hunter		

Merchants Interested

15 shares to Shelikof		1share to Pocholkof	
6	Jigunef	3	Mamchurin
6	Lebedef	2	Kolmakof
37	Bushmief	2	Etuzkin
6	Kusnesof	1	Lesjef
3	Kuskopof	1	Bushief
3	Polukief	27	Lastochkin, owner of the
3	Starapief		boat.
2	Blief		

There is no special reason for speaking in detail of all these hunting expeditions, and therefore only those have been selected for this paper which in any way throw light on the period. Bering's crew returned to Kamtchatka in 1742, and the year following Emilien Basof, in partnership with a merchant from Moscow, fitted out a small vessel, the Capiton, and set sail for Bering Island. The result of the voyage is unknown, but it must have been profitable, for before his death Basof made three other ventures, in 1745, 1747, and 1749. He hunted principally on Bering and Copper Islands.[14]

Other men followed Basof's example. In 1745, the Evdokia, in charge of Michael Nevodchikof, sailed as far as the Nearer Aleutians.[15] The crew and the natives got into a fight, and several of the latter were killed. On the homeward voyage the boat was wrecked, but no lives were lost.

According to Coxe, Emilien Yugof obtained from the government the exclusive privilege of hunting on Bering and Copper Islands for the price of one-third of his catch. Yugof sailed in 1750 on the St. John with a crew of twenty-seven men, but was forced back by storm and thereby lost a whole year. Yugof died on Bering Island, and the boat on her return was seized by the government because Yugof failed to live up to certain clauses in his contract. Later part of the cargo was restored to his heirs.

Nikifor, a Moscow merchant, built a galliot, the Julian, which he put in the care of the navigator Stephen Golotof with instructions to sail eastwardly to some of the new islands. Golotof entered on his work in 1758, but on account of stormy weather he could go that season no farther than Bering Island. In the summer of 1759 (?) he sailed away once more and after thirty days came to the island of Umnak and later to Unalaska.

[14]Small vessel to Kamtchatka. (Coxe, W. An account of the Russian Discoveries, London, 1787, 65-66).

[15]Billing's Voyages, Chapter XII.

[16]Basof in 1747 picked up on Copper Island objects made by civilized people, and in 1754 Krenitzin and Levashef found in the Aleutian Islands, three copper plates with inscriptions on them. Similar objects were discovered on the Pribilofs.

(Pallas, Neue Nordische Beytrage, I, 379.

Here he found so many black and other foxes (no blue foxes) that he gave to these places the name of Fox Islands.

Tolstich in command of the Adreian and Natalie left Kamchatka in 1760 for the Aleutian Islands. With him were two Cossacks, Peter Vassutin, and Maxim Lazareef. The boat anchored in the neighborhood of Adach Island, and while here the three men chatted, described, and made an estimate of the population of the islands of Kanaga, Chetchina, Tagalach, Atka, Amlia, and Adach. In honor of the boat the islands are known as Adreanofsky.

This same year (1760) Bechevin, a wealthy Irkutsk trader, sent out the Gabriel, at the time the largest boat, having a sixty foot keel. Her crew was made up of forty-two Russans and twenty Kamchadels. There was also on board a tribute gatherer by the name of Pizaref. After several stops the vessel reached Umnak and from there came to the Alaska Peninsula, although at the time it was thought to be an island. This voyage is also noteworthy on account of the cruelties committed by the crew on the natives.

Golotof, who was the first to locate Umnak and Unalaska, was sent by several merchants in the Adreian and Natalie to find new hunting grounds. He left Kamchatka in 1762, wintered on Copper Island, proceeded the next summer to Umnak, from there sailed eastward, passing the Shumagin Islands, and finally reached Kodiak Island, where he wintered. During his stay the natives made several ineffectual attempts on his boat.

The seal islands were discovered by Pribilof in 1785. Berch claims that Shelikof's crews had hunted on these islands before this date, when the islands were known as the "Zuboi Islands." These, in brief, are all the hunting voyages during this period that deserve special mention. For more details the table at the end of the paper should be consulted.

Fortunately for the Russians the first people with whom they came in contact in America were the Aleuts, a "fish-eating, inoffensive, and unwarlike race."[18] The origin of the Aleut, even his name[19] is shrouded in mystery. Of medium height, with dark skin, black wiry hair, and black eyes the Aleut might be called handsome. He differs from the Kolosh to the east of him and the Eskimo to the west of him, and at first glance one is struck by his resemblance to the Japanese. The lower part of the Aleut's body is not so well developed as the upper, due to the cramped position of

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[18]The Russians made no headway against the natives of the mainland of Alaska, at least not during this period. They did not venture north of Kodiak Island until they had seen Cook's charts.

[19]Aleut is a corruption of Chukchi *aliat*, *aliut*. In the early eighteenth century the Chukchi called the people of America as "Kitchin Kinet." From this it would be safe to infer that the name Aleut. See Wrangell, Siberia and Polar Sea (London, 1840), 411.

his limbs in the boat. In building and in handling his skin boat, "baidarka," he has no equal, and he is greatly superior to his neighbors in the hunting of sea-animals. Calling him unwarlike is meant in comparison with the meat-eating natives of the mainland and the plains. Among themselves the Aleuts have always warred, and their sworn enemy was the native of Kodiak Islands. The first white men among them were made welcome. It may have been due, as Veniaminof suggests, to their expectation of a white Messiah. But there is no need to look for deep, mysterious reasons. The Aleut is naturally hospitable, and he tried to make the new-comer feel at home. The Russian was on his best behavior because he feared the Aleut, whose kindness was unexpected. The result was that at the beginning the two races were at peace; but the illusion was soon dispelled, and trouble commenced. As a general thing the Aleut is not of a jealous disposition, and in his eagerness to make his guest welcome he went so far as to give up his share of the bed. This was more than the hunters had anticipated. They went one step farther and made themselves entirely at home, and masters of all the female relatives of the Aleut. The children were kept for ransom and their fathers had to exchange them for otter and fox skins. When it became necessary to go farther east to secure otter skins the Aleuts were forced to go along.[1] Another source of trouble was the tribute. This institution was incomprehensible to the free and independent native and he rebelled against it. All these impositions and insults the Aleut endured for a time and then decided to throw off the yoke by killing the Russians. The attempt as a whole failed; and the punishment which the Russians inflicted has broken the spirit of the Aleut and has made of him a cowardly creature.

In the year 1762, the natives of Unnak and Unalaska agreed to fall on the Russians while they were scattered in hunting parties. During the winter three vessels were destroyed and many hunters were killed and the survivors had thrilling and narrow escapes. Reports of this uprising came to the ears of Ivan Solovief and he determined to teach the natives a lesson which they would long remember. He went about it systematically, and if Davidof's figures are to be believed, he killed as many as three thousand Aleuts. He attacked them openly, and when they fled to cover he blew them up with powder. Many of the murdered were quite innocent. Veniaminof says that Solovief tied the natives breast to back in order to learn through how many bodies a bullet could penetrate.

[1] In 1775 a party of natives from the Fox Islands were taken to Kodiak, but the troops kept the food between the natives of those islands that the Kodiak people would not allow the Aleuts to be landed. Hunting parties of Aleuts worked for the Russians as far south as Prince William Sound, Yakutat, Sitka. In 1802 a hundred Aleuts were killed by the natives of Sitka, and many others lost their lives in going to the Russian settlements. Archeia Istorijin Otkrytija Aleutskich Ostrovof, St. Petersburg, 1764, 146-147.

There were many other cases of cruelty, and the cries of the natives reached the ears of Catherine II., who ordered an investigation; but very little was done. The Empress was sincerely grieved at the condition of affairs. In a letter to the Siberian governor she asks him to use his influence with the hunters to secure for the islanders more merciful treatment.[30]

For reasons, chiefly financial, the Russian government encouraged these hunting expeditions. When Basof's voyage became known in the capital, the Senate requested the Admiralty College to draw up charts of the new regions from the best sources, primarily after the journals of Bering, Chirikof, and Basof. Later Synd, Krenitzin and Lavashef, and Billings were commissioned to go into the Alaskan waters and to chart the new possessions.[31]

Medals and presents in money were now and then given as an encouragement. Talitch, Vassautin and Lazarief were rewarded for their full and detailed report of the Adreanof Islands.[32]

Of the various sources of revenue, the smallest and least satisfactory was the tribute.[33] The tribute gatherer made trouble and the traders were

[30]Berch, C. I. A. O., 37. The term of "Russian cruelty" does not altogether apply to the Russians. The Russian government, as a matter of course, should not be held at the door of the Russian people as a whole, but to this particular class of Russians, who were influenced by their occupation, lack of home influences, and gruesome climate. Those who have lived long in the Arctic regions know how quickly the white man, no matter what his race or nationality, is apt to degenerate. The Eskimo, the Lapp, and the Russian occupations of the hunter, the shedding of blood, has a tendency to cheapen life, even human life, in its sight. All these acts of brutality charged to the Russians, were not done by Russians as a race, but by men who, if they were to tithe to do, the element in the main must of right, not be blamed. Still we other thoughts than those furnished by one's abnormal passions. It is also worthy noting that these Siberians had several generations of this kind of life behind them.

[31]The Senate was hedged in with regulations. Before they could sail they had to secure permission from the officers of the ports. The ships were required to make Okotsk on the return from the islands; but if the season was far advanced they were forbidden to navigate in the Okhotsk Sea, which had a bad reputation, and were forced to pass the winter in Kamchatka.

[32]In 1761 the Julian returned with the Fox Islands with a cargo of beautiful fox skins, and a number of them were sent to the Empress. Her majesty was so pleased upon seeing them that she at once ordered a chief engineer, Talitef, Shaplun, Pissef, and Chikhref, interested in the voyage, to be rewarded with medals and presents in money. The total payment of six thousand rubles they owned the government, and at the same time requested that some one acquainted with the islands and conditions be sent out to look after the interests of the crown. Captain Lieutenant Wassilief, on the other hand, who had drawn under the direction of Basof a chart of the islands which she sent to the Admiralty College, and he was of reward she requested the Senate to bestow medals on Shilof and his partners and to grant them the same privileges that the fur merchants of Kamchatka enjoyed. Lazarief, who had charted the Fox Islands, and Ismailof (Lazar and Gerasim) presented the Empress one hundred and twenty very fine black fox skins. Shilof, who brought them in person, was received by the Empress and thanked, and his company was excused from paying nine thousand rubles. In 1775 the same company gave her Majesty three hundred and forty-five fox skins, and Shilof received a gold medal. Shilof, too, was presented to the Empress and received from her palace hard breakfasted, and before leaving were notified that the twenty-one thousand rubles which they owned the crown for the voyage of Lazar and Gerasim had been wiped off the books. Later these merchants were given medals at the same time (Berch in III C. I. A. O., 38).

[33]Tribute gatherers were sent out for the first time in 1744.

unwilling to take them along. Resch says that the Empress abolished that tax in 1779 when she heard of the hardships of the natives; but it seems that it was collected just the same, because Billings speaks of meeting tribute gatherers at Kodiak in 1790.

Towards the support of the Okhotsk post the government demanded one-tenth of all the furs landed. The greatest amount of money came, however, from the export and import duties. All the furs from the newly discovered islands found their way sooner or later to Okhotsk. From here they were sent on horses, by way of Iakutsk and Irkutsk—a distance of two thousand five hundred and fifty-five miles—to Kiakta, a small town on the Russo-Chinese frontier. According to the treaty of 1728, this town was designated by the two powers as one of the places where the merchants of the two empires might trade. Less than a quarter of a mile from Kiakta was the Chinese town of Maimatschin, where the Chinese merchants dwelt. February was the principal month of trade, and it was important that one should be there on time.[23] Pallas gives the price of furs at Kiakta during the years 1770, 1771 and 1772, taken from the official reports. The writer has been unable to find a complete list of the prices of furs in Kamchatka for the same time, but gives such as he found.[24]

Prices in Kiakta.		Prices in Kamchatka
Beaver, prime, up to	100 rubles	
Bear	2.50	1.20
Cross	4.	3.50
Bear	2.	
Bear, cub	1.	
Black, silver-tipped, up to	150.	
Sea-otter	91. to 45.	
Sea-otter, tails	2. to 40.	1st quality 62.
Sea-otter, young	1.50 to 4.	2nd quality 40.
Fur-seal	1.50 to 4.	3rd quality 25.

Taking these figures as the average annual price, it is possible to compute the revenue of the government from the Alaska fur trade.

Duties paid at Kiakta on the export of the fur	21%
For deepening the river	1%
Towards the support of the custom-house	7%
Total	37%

[23] Since the traders of the two nations could not either of them speak the other's language, they had recourse to a common linguist, the Mongol. As the Russians were forbidden to export coin and the Chinese had nothing but silver bullion to offer, which the Russians refused because of its depreciation, it resulted that the whole trade was carried on by means of barter. A complicated system of measurement to buy both an export and an import article. Trade was consummated in the following manner. The Chinaman came over to Kiakta, examined the furs he needed, and over a cup of tea the buyer and seller agreed on the price of the purchase. The Chinaman then returned to Maimatschin, and the Russian to his. In Maimatschin, where the Russian picked out his goods—cloth, silk, tea, tobacco, beads, etc. Leaving some one in charge of the goods, so that the Chinaman would not exchange them for an inferior quality, the Russian went to fetch the bundle of fur which the Chinaman had selected and sealed over by the custom-house.

[24] For an interesting account of the trade consult Pallas' Travels, Vol. I, Chapter XII. The Kamchatka prices are taken from Berch's C. I. O. A. O. 44.

In 1770 there was taken out from the Aleutian Islands

445,535 rubles worth of fur, valued at Kamchatka,
45,231 rubles, one-tenth, duty paid at Okhotsk,
454,568, value of furs when they left Okhotsk,
813,098, value of furs at Kiakta (double Kamchatka prices), and 81% of this equals 215,229 rubles.

In addition to the revenue from the exports, the government raised also a large sum of money from the imports which the Russian traders got from the Chinaman in exchange for fur.[1]

A question naturally suggests itself: Was the trade a profitable one from the point of view of the Russian merchant? Shelikof stanted at the bottom, and when he died he was regarded as wealthy, this was also true of Lebedef Lastachkin and, no doubt, others. On the other hand, Trapeznikof, who was active in the business at the beginning, dropped out about the middle of the sixties, principally because about that time he lost several boats. Before the furs were disposed of at Kiakta much money was needed in order to provide for the outfit, wages, transportation, commission, custom duties, and, with many, interest on their working capital. Of the invoice the government alone received forty per cent, thirty per cent of the balance probably defrayed the other expenses, this left a profit of about thirty per cent. If there were no shipwrecks, and the cargoes were large there was money to be gained. Chance played an unusually important part in this trade. It is not clear whether the merchants disposed of their importations directly or indirectly, but in either case there must have been a profit.

On Bering Island where the crew of the wrecked St. Peter wintered in 1741-2 there were hundreds, if not thousands of otters, and on the other islands coridon were about the same. The blue foxes were in equally great abundance. Steller complains that the stay of the men on the island was made very unpleasant by these animals. They could neither be scared, killed, nor driven off; but remained near camp night and day stealing what they could eat and destroying the things they could not eat.[2] But the numerous hunting parties killed off thousands of otters and drove the others eastward. They were pursued from one island to another, along the mainland, and at the end of the century hunting crews of Russians were found in Cook's Inlet, Prince William's Sound, Yakutat, Sitka, and a little later (1810) in California. After Cook's voyage to the North Pacific, trading vessels from England, Flanders, France, the United States, California, appeared in these waters and departed for China with cargoes of fur. Leaving out of account the traders from the countries just mentioned, one finds that the Russians alone from 1743 to 1799 took out of Alaska one hundred eighty-six thousand seven hundred fifty-four (186,754) otter skins, an average of three thousand three hundred thirty-nine (3,339) skins a year. It would not be at all surprising to know that many pelts were never recorded on the books of the custom house.

[1]Steller, in Pallas' Neye Nordische Beytrage V. 226.

The migration of the otter eastward affected the hunters in several ways. In the first place it took a longer time to make the voyage; where at the beginning one or two years were sufficient, towards the end of the century five to seven years were required. Secondly, more capital was needed for the costly and distant expeditions. A merchant with a small capital could not stand the strain, and he either went out of business or combined with others in the same situation as himself. By 1795 there were practically but three companies doing business in Alaska. Lebedef's company, which had posts along the mainland and Prince William's Sound; Kiselef's company, interested chiefly in the Aleutian Islands; and Shelikof's company, on Kodiak Island.[24]

It was to be foreseen that these companies, hunting so close to each other and selling in the same market, would sooner or later unite to avoid costly competition, unnecessary expense in administration, and conflicts between hunting crews. In 1798 such a combination was organized, and a year later it received a charter authorizing it to do business under the name of the Russian American Company.

In conclusion it should be said that the aim of this paper has not been so much to make a learned study of the period, as to bring out in a brief and clear way the characteristic features, the points of interest and historic importance. Any one desiring more information may work it out from the table here given. Black, red, and cross-foxes were not found on the Nearer, Andreanofsky, and Rat Islands, nor were blue foxes seen on the Fanther Aleutians. Fur seals were found on nearly all the Aleutian Islands. The chronological table of the voyage together with the invoice of the cargo as given indicate at a glance just where the hunting season was passed. Other voyages than those of the Russians have been merely mentioned and not discussed, since it is a topic that deserves special attention.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

[24]More is known of the last mentioned company since it is the nucleus of the Russian American Company. Shelikof's company was organized by Gregory Shelikof, a tillek merchant. From glimpses here and there the impression is left that he was a man of unusual ability. He had the help of his son-in-law, Nikolai Rezanof, a man of unusual large mind, who had had much business with a little capital. On humanitarian principles his treatment of the natives was not always based. Many values that during his stay in Alaska in the time of Shelikof be found very unfavorable conditions, were in 1799 united in the charter granted to the "Russian American Company." It was organized in 1781 with a capital of sixty-six thousand five hundred rubles (46,500), subscribed by I. Golikof fifty thousand (35,000), M. Golikof twenty thousand (20,000), G. Shelikof fifteen thousand (15,000), and Yedin fifteen hundred (1,500). Shelikof was the first to bring Aleuts to Kodiak and to found a settlement there. The Company" At last the first thing Shelikof did on arriving in Kodiak was to surprise "their women collecting berries, carried them prisoners to his habitation, and kept them as hostages for the good behavior of the men, only returning wives for daughters. The daughters of the chiefs were kept as hostages. Twelve hundred Aleuts were sent out to hunt, and their families were engaged in various occupations for the company. For a good sea otter skin the natives received an ax, a knife, or a kettle; for a fox skin, a fur skin. For this a good account of the workings of the company read Billings's Voyage, Chapter XIII.

Names of Navigators, Owners and Boats, 1743-1799

Invoice of Cargo

Year and Month	Name of Boat	Name of Navigator	Name of Owners	Tobyns Otters	Tobyns Fores	Otters Valls	Fur Seal	White Seal	Land bone	Otters	Sea Otters	Silver	Furs Coins	Red	Blue	Value of Invoice in Roubles	Value of Invoice in Dollars
1745	Kapitan	E. Basof	Basof & Serebrenikoff			1,479	1,793	2,189								115,239	92,191
1746	Kapitan	E. Basof	Basof & N. Trapesnikoff			129										19,360	
1747	Kapitan	E. Basof	Basof & Serebrenikoff			1,479	1,793	511								115,239	92,191
1748	St. John	A. Tolstich	Trapesnikoff, Bulin & Jukof			98	18	1,678							1,481	4,764	3,811
1749	Package & Sandl.	Bachof	Jilkin & Nestkof												624	4,350	
1744	Jakin		Trapesnikoff			1,849	840								2,110	52,999	
1744	Jakin	Basof	Klinikoff & Trapesnikoff			1,122	141								1,099	28,576	
1745	St. Simeon & Anna	Serebrief	Klinikoff & Trapesnikoff			98	1,820	1,799							1,995	50,770	
1745	Boris & Gleb	M. Nevodchi	Trapesnikoff				740	716	2,222							40,429	
1745	John	Ad	Trapesnikoff				1,793	1,793							7,044	92,191	
1745	Boris & Gleb	A. Deglian	Chebalyeef						220						1,222	4,764	
1745	Jeremiah		Trapesnikoff			1,398	638		140							50,999	
1745	John	A. Tolstich	Klinikoff & Tilin		49	1,644	1,270									50,999	
1746	Nicholas	Ismeef	Trapesnikoff & Bulin			2,117	2,500	10	11							110,263	
1746	Peter		Trapesnikoff		122	1,644	1,270									214,000	
1746	John		Krasilnikoff												2,110	4,764	
1746	John		Trapesnikoff & Bulin		5	1,419	1,718	840							728	108,000	
1746	St. Peter		Klinikoff & Tilin			598	1,644	148								50,999	
1750	Gaston	Studensof	Jilkin			1,398	638									57,238	
1751	Adreas & Natalia	Tolstich	Trapesnikoff, Bulin & Jukof		82	2,500	2,314								1,813	110,263	
1761	Peter & Paul	Serebrikoff	Klinikoff & Tilin		43	1,644	1,270									50,999	
1761	Simeon & Anna	Churinoff	Trapesnikoff			1,758									538	191,429	
1762	Julian		Krasilnikoff, Krasilnikof & Kulef	11	28	1,661	240						1,902	1,199	400	58 22	130,458
1762	Nicholas		Nikiforof			598	965									50,999	
1762	Nicholas		Trapesnikoff			1,644	1,270						3	18	30	540	23	52,078
1762	Gabriel		Bochevin														
1762	Vladimir	Pulkof	Trapesnikoff			1,465	897									78,394	
1762			Klinikoff & Trapesnikoff			1,644	1,270									50,999	
1762			Chebalyeef & Trapesnikoff			381	153									14,218	
1762	Peter & Paul		Klinikoff & Tilin			587	238									21,917	
1766	Adreas & Natalia	Bostof	Chebalyeef, Vel. Popof & Kashin		35	340	70						102	112	179	67	49,000
1766	Peter & Paul	Delarof	Gregorief & P. Popof			143										5,289	
1766	Nicholas		Trapesnikoff		106	3,024	2,220									582	130,000
1766	Adreas & Natalia	Tolstich	N. Tebelef		4	319	1,240	258			70	193	561	420	1	1	130,000
1766			Trapesnikoff			382	628	1,370				79	183	54	1,732	8	32,274
1766	Peter & Paul		Trapesnikoff		49	34	1,644					401	603	455	1,644	67	50,999
1766	Vladimir	Sapojkikof	S. Krasilnikof		22	78	636	69					360	1,818	10	1	65,000
1766	Peter & Paul	Delarof	Gregorief, Delarof & Shilof		158	1,644	1,270									1	50,998
1778	Adreas		Peisponeesof & V. Popof		14	159	1,197	151					990	1,419	592	38	2	109,945
1773	John Tatulski		Popof		14	67	1,197	151					1,193	1,427	403	54	1	121,889

1772	St. John the Baptist	Pelagonessoy & Popof	.....	.....	52	57	4,109	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,295	18,767
1773	Sitkinak	Navikof	.....	.....	104	109	28	.....	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	15,409
1773	Nicholas	T. Sobyief	Sitkinak	Sitkinak & Mauhin	239	.....	2,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,127	34,179
1774	Sitkinak		Protodyakonof&Kosmosinskief		.....	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,613
1774	Sitkinak		Navikof		.....	.....	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,569
1776	Trinity	I. Sobyief	Unalaska		134	2,400	2,400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,230	10,000
1777	Michael	I. Pasloef	Chernofski		93	168	1,984	228	.....	86	1,161	2,115	1,218	13* 137,445
1777	Michael	I. Pasloef	Unalaska		93	168	1,984	.....	1,438	.....	1,161	2,115	1,218	981 137,445
1778	Peter		Chernofski	Sheliof, & Sheliof	1	.....	1	220	166	1,759	60	50	.....	240 10,000
			Protodyakonof &Kosmosinskief		.....	.....	134	134	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,923
1779	Theodore		Chernofski	Sheliof, Lastochkin & Orechof	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	598	30,000
1779	Elias		Chernofski	Sheliof, Sarilof, & Gerassof	200	86	1,427	3,274	1,725	187	92	149	1,099	1,281 1,901 9% 209,916
1779	Alexander Nevski	Delarief	Unalaska	Tolstykh	.....	.....	1,500	1,500	1,500	.....	65	252	378	1,078 1,078 75,000
1780	Paul	T. Sapozuikief	Sheliof & Alin	Tolstykh	.....	.....	800	800	20,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,284 47,240
1781	Paul		Sheliof & Orechof		85	275	2,726	1,240	11,910	.....	.....	577	976	821 337 11 172,039
	Nikolai	M. Chercpanof	Sheliof, Sarilief & the Panofs		.....	.....	491	490	11,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,660 17,959
1782	Sarilief & Savatia		Sheliof		.....	.....	491	490	11,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,660 17,959
1782	Sarilief & Savatia	Bechaief	Sheliof & Golikof		.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....	.....	45	70	.....	195 189,959
1782	Andrei	Petushkof	Sheliof & Golikof		18	.....	816	336	4,772	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000 189,959
1783	Peter	Tutrin	Sheliof		146	279	2,000	1,500	4,000	230	195	748	1,010	1,000 189,959
1783	John the Baptist		Chernofski	Panofs	89	48	1,159	716	61	422	412	743	445	 89,500
1783	St. Peter		Chernofski	Sheliof & Golikof	57	.....	1,159	716	61	.....	.....	.....	.....	 89,500
1784	John Rilkki	Tutrin	Sheliof		.....	.....	800	641	10,000	.....	4	196	395	1,308 1,134 6 71,746
1784	Simeon	Sheliof	Sheliof, Laplin & Orechof		.....	.....	1,200	1,000	12,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	750 35,259
1784	Alexander	Alexief, Lastochkin	Sheliof		.....	.....	728	716	1,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	750 35,259
1784	Alexander Nevski	S. Zelkof	Sheliof, Laplin, & Orechof		.....	.....	1,500	1,461	7,282	147	71	295	1,176	644 35,259
1784	Gerasi & Savatia		Sheliof		.....	.....	1,000	641	10,000	.....	4	196	395	1,308 1,134 6 71,746
1784	Michael		A. Chebofski		.....	.....	752	.....	24,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,650 90,979
1784	Michael		Sheliof		.....	.....	1,388	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	 90,979
1785	St. Gregory Polo- simsoy	Petrilof	Sheliof & Lebedief		.....	.....	1,720	1,247	21,115	15	.....	.....	1,025	6,734 461 208,918
1785	Sarilief & Savatia		Prolanof		.....	.....	1,420	1,241	15,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,818 171,214
1785	Sarilief & Savatia	Muchoglef	Sheliof, Savelief & Panofs		.....	.....	300	300	11,637	.....	.....	.....	.....	846 132 89,000
1787	George		Panofs		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
1787	Ezimil & Savatia		Kiasief		.....	.....	48	76	11,954	.....	140	167	175	 23,849
1787	Ezimil & Savatia	Koserief	Lebedef-Lastochkin		.....	.....	1,110	715	16,500	750	492	40	40	102 1,500 ** 182,289
1941	Ezimil & Savatia	Berkief												

2,681 1,517 96,047 58,618 417,768 977 1,979 20,422 15,347 16,961 12,941 772 6,988,174

Note: These figures are taken from Bancks Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands. The white bone and walrus tusks are valued at so much a 'pud' (about thirty-six pounds).

The Shelikof-Golikof Company landed at Oukinsk between the years 1784-1797. Sea-otters, 15,647; otter tails, 13,911; fur seal, 159,266; land otter, 1,000; blue fox, 1,000; red foxes, 2,372; red foxes, 5,000; blue foxes, 600; beaver, 128; sable, 336. The value of the whole was 1,479,409 rubles. *Child. **Child beaver.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY FIFTY YEARS AGO

In 1863 Washington Territory was ten years old. At its creation in 1853 it included an area of about 100,000 square miles. From its enlargement in 1859 it included 240,000 square miles for four years. Washington and Nebraska were then adjoining territories, meeting at the summits of the Rocky Mountains. Washington was then about as large as Oregon and California combined. In 1863 Idaho was created, when Washington, by the cutting off, was reduced to its present area. This article relates to Washington at that time, before Idaho.

In 1863 William Pickering was Governor of the Territory; L. J. S. Turner, Secretary; John J. McGilvra, United States Attorney; William Huntington, Marshal; David Phillips, Territorial Treasurer; Rodolph M. Walker, Auditor; Alonzo M. Poe, Printer, and Thomas Taylor, Librarian.

Christopher C. Hewitt was Chief Justice and James E. Wyche and Ethelbert P. Oliphant Associate Justices. Each justice had a district in which he conducted the judicial business. The First District included the counties of Missoula, Idaho, Nez Perce, Shoshone, Spokane and Walla Walla, with sessions of court at Walla Walla, Judge Oliphant presiding. The Second District included Klickitat, Skamania, Clark, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum and Pacific Counties, with terms of court at Vancouver, Judge Wyche presiding. The Third District included Chehalis, Lewis, Thurston, Mason, Pierce, King, Kitsap, Island, Snohomish, Jefferson, Clallam and Whatcom Counties, with court at Olympia, Judge Hewitt presiding. Sessions of court were held twice a year, in the spring and fall, though at different times in each district, for the convenience of attorneys and others. Though Olympia was the only place in the Third District named, court had been held many times at Port Townsend, Seattle and Steilacoom. Once a year the three judges met at Olympia and held a term of the Supreme Court, when they passed upon cases appealed from the District Courts. It was not satisfactory to litigants and lawyers to have the judge who had decided against them in the lower court again participate in the court above, and some years later a fourth judge was added, and he who had tried the case below was excluded from its determination above.

Indian affairs in the Territory were under Calvin H. Hale, Superintendent, assisted by George F. Whitworth, Chief Clerk. The Yakima reservation had A. A. Bancroft for agent; the Flathead reservation, Charles Hutchins; the Makah, Henry A. Webster; the Tulalip, Samuel D. Howe;

the Skwaksin, E. Baker; the Nez Perce, J. W. Anderson; the Skokomish, F. C. Purdy; the Puyallup and others, Alfred R. Eder. In addition to the agents there were usually on the reservations other white men as farmers, teachers, blacksmiths and doctors.

William H. Wallace was delegate in Congress during the two years ending in March, and Geo. E. Cole during the two years following.

The Territorial Militia consisted solely of officers, J. M. Moore being Brigadier General; George Gallagher, Adjutant General; Richard Lans, Quartermaster General, and E. A. Willson, Commissary General. About twenty years afterwards the first company was organized, equipped and armed.

Victor Smith was Collector of Customs for the District of Puget Sound, with office in Port Townsend at first, but later in Port Angeles.

United States land affairs were managed by Anson G. Henry, Surveyor General, aided by Edward Giddings and Alex C. Smith, his subordinates, and by Arthur A. Denny as Register and Joseph Cushman as Receiver of the Olympia Land Office, and Joseph M. Fletcher as Register and Samuel W. Brown as Receiver of the Vancouver Land Office.

United States military affairs were under the direction of Gen. Benjamin Alvord, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, and other garrisons at at San Juan, Steilacoom, Walla Walla and Colville. The regular army troops at this time were all in service in the Eastern states, a regiment of Washington Territory Volunteers under Colonel Steinberger replacing them in the garrisons named.

The Federal Government was represented on Puget Sound by the revenue cutter Shubrick and the steamer Massachusetts. In addition to these branches of service there were six lighthouses, at Admiralty Head, Blunt's Island, Port Angeles, Tatoosh Island, Cape Shoalwater and Cape Disappointment.

The Territorial Legislature in 1863 consisted of nine councilmen elected for three years, and thirty Representatives elected for one year. It convened at Olympia in December, and was in session sixty days. In 1862-3 the membership of the two bodies was:

Council—Ralph Bledsoe, Idaho and Nez Perce Counties; Frank Clark, Pierce and Mason; Hiram Cochran, Clark; Cowlitz, Wahkiakum and Pacific; Paul K. Hubbs, Jefferson and Clallam; O. B. McFadden, Thurston, Lewis and Chehalis; Benjamin F. Shaw, Island, Snohomish and Whatcom; John A. Simms, Skamania, Klickitat, Walla Walla and Spokane; John Webster, King and Kitsap.

House Representatives—A. B. Andrews, Stoshone County; John D. Bagley, Clallam and Jefferson; L. F. Blake, Missoula; Albert Briggs,

Jefferson: Charles P. Campbell, Spokane; Henry M. Chase, Walla Walla; Wm. Denniston, Nez Perce; Charles Eagan, Pierce; J. L. Ferguson, Klickitat and Skamania; Thomas J. Fletcher, Clark; Joseph Foster, King; Morris H. Frost, Island and Snohomish; Miles S. Griswold, Pacific; Paul K. Hubbs, Jr., Whatcom; Thomas Hunt, Thurston; James Huntington, Cowlitz and Wahkiakum; James Longmire, Thurston; William McLain, Thurston; N. Northrop, Walla Walla; James Orr, Shoshone; E. W. Perrin, Chehalis and Mason; J. D. Potter, Clark; Antonio B. Rabheson, Pierce; Wm. Ranke, Clark; Thomas M. Reed, Idaho; S. J. Slater, Shoshone; S. D. Smith, Walla Walla; Benjamin R. Stone, Kitsap; James Urquhart, Lewis; Walter T. Weed, Kitsap.

In the Territory then were seventy-one postoffices. Seattle was the only postoffice in King County, and Steilacoom, Franklin and Spanaway the only offices in Pierce. Spokane had not secured its first office. In what are now the three leading counties of the state were then but four offices, where at present are several hundred offices and postoffice stations.

There were in 1863 but six newspapers in the Territory, all small weeklies. The Golden Age was published at Lewiston by Kenyon & Co., the Washington Statesman at Walla Walla, by Northrop & Rees; the Northwest at Port Townsend, by John F. Damon; the Puget Sound Herald, at Steilacoom, by Charles Prosch; the Overland Press, at Olympia, by A. M. Poe, and the Washington Standard at Olympia, by John Miller Murphy.

There were twenty-four counties then in the Territory. The population numbered about twelve thousand in 1860, and had increased in number to perhaps twenty thousand in the early part of 1863, the discoveries of gold in what is now Idaho having attracted thousands of men to that portion of the then Territory of Washington. The votes cast in all the Territory in the summer of 1861 aggregated 3,509, and the assessment of all the property amounted to $6,800,003. In 1863 the election and assessment covered only that part of the Territory, but little more than one-third in square miles, included within our present State limits. Not long after that time Idaho contained as many inhabitants, perhaps, as Washington.

The Federal Government levied a tax in 1863 against Washington Territory amounting to $8,415.65, which in turn was apportioned by the Territory among the different counties. The Territorial revenue was exceedingly small during the first years, the actual cash received into the Treasury to the end of 1863, a period of ten years, amounting to only $20,334.78, and even that petty amount was reduced to $16,459.41

by the government tax and the receiving and disbursing fees allowed the Treasurer in lieu of a salary.

The following statements will give in brief the various counties of the Territory fifty years ago:

Chehalis—Montesano, county seat; other towns and postoffices, Elma, Cedarville, Satsop, Chehalis and Union. P. F. Luark was Probate Judge; J. A. Karr, Auditor; William Valentine, Sheriff; Samuel Benn, Treasurer; Jacob Johnson, Assessor; Geo. W. Butler, Coroner; James Gleason, School Superintendent; Reuben Redman, John Brady and Alfred Hills, Commissioners.

Clallam—Port Angeles, county seat. Before this time the town was sometimes called Cherbourg. It became the port of entry for Puget Sound in the latter part of 1862. John Martin was Sheriff; William King, Auditor; D. F. Brownfield, Probate Judge; James Doty, Coroner; Thomas Abernethy, C. H. Black and ——— Clifford, Commissioners. E. H. McAlmond was Postmaster; J. J. Banan, physician; D. F. Brownfield and C. M. Bradshaw, attorneys, and G. B. Johnson and Bradshaw Howell, merchants.

Clark—Vancouver, county seat; other towns, Pekin and Washougal. A. J. Laurences, Probate Judge; S. A. Hern, Auditor; J. Aird, Sheriff; John Biazee, Assessor; J. D. Biles, Treasurer; B. Covington, School Superintendent; G. W. Hart, Sol Strong and Wm. H. Dillon, Commissioners. In Vancouver were Providence School, conducted by the Catholic Sisters, and Vancouver Academy, by J. B. Brouillet; stores conducted by Hiram Cochran, Thomas H. Smith, Crawford & Slocum, M. Miller, Haas & Wise, J. Raiser, John Hexter and G. W. Vaughan; J. B. Cole, Anthony Heger and J. W. Nepe, physicians; J. O. Raynor, J. Dougherty, John McCarty, Charles Fernay, J. B. A. Brouillet and A. M. A. Blanchet clergymen; Columbia Lancaster, W. G. Langford, A. J. Lawrence, R. E. Lockwood, J. D. Potter, Jules Puste and Henry G. Struve, attorneys.

Cowlitz—Monticello, county seat; other towns, Oak Point and Castle Rock. B. Talley, Sheriff; James Young, Auditor; V. M. Wallace, Treasurer; B. F. Smith, Assessor; P. W. Crawford, Surveyor; C. A. Thatcher, School Superintendent; A. S. Abernethy, W. A. L. McCorkle and J. S. Bennett, Commissioners; N. Ostrander, physician; Hays & Young, merchants; Royal C. Smith, H. Jackson and A. S. Abernethy, postmasters.

Idaho—Florence, county seat. J. J. Sandefer, Sheriff; Jeff Perkins, Auditor. Florence was a mining town of interest, supposed at that time to have a population of 3,000, located 650 miles from Olympia.

The name of the county was given to it by the Washington Legislature in 1861, and two years later was given by Congress to the new Territory. It is said to mean "star;" also "Gem of the Mountains."

Island—Coupeville, county seat; Oak Harbor, another town. John Robertson was a merchant; W. S. Ebey, S. D. Howe and R. C. Hill, attorneys; J. C. Kellogg and M. K. Mounts, physicians; Geo. F. Whitworth, clergyman, and Caleb Miller postmaster of Oak Harbor.

Jefferson—Port Townsend, county seat. Port Ludlow and Port Discovery were other towns. Albert Briggs was Probate Judge; H. L. Tibbals, Sheriff; E. S. Fowler, Treasurer; J. J. H. Van Bokkelen, Auditor; T. M. Hammond, Coroner; R. S. Robinson, F. W. Pettygrove and J. F. Tukey, Commissioners; E. S. Dyer, James Searcy and James Woodman, Justices of the Peace. In the county were stores kept by Amos, Phinney & Co., J. J. H. Van Bokkelen, L. B. Hastings, A. F. Learned, Stork & Co., J. F. Blumberg, J. E. Laighton & Co., and D. C. H. Rothschild; R. C. Lapsiscott was the only clergyman; Louis Kuhn, Samuel McCurdy and P. M. O'Brien were physicians, and B. F. Dennison, Seucius Garfielde and Paul K. Hubbs, attorneys. Port Townsend was an incorporated town, with a Board of Trustees, consisting of E. S. Fowler, Henry L. Tibbals, A. A. Plummer, Joseph Layton and J. J. H. Van Bokkelen.

King—Seattle, county seat. Samuel F. Coombs was Auditor; Thomas S. Russell, Sheriff; David T. Denny, Treasurer; Edwin Richardson, Surveyor; A. P. Dailo, Coroner; H. P. O'Bryant, Wm. P. Smith and Henry L. Yesler, Commissioners; L. B. Andrews, S. W. Russell and James Valentine, Justices of the Peace. King was then one of the small counties of the Territory, far behind Thurston, Clark, Pierce and several others. S. F. Coombs was postmaster of Seattle, and about that time the White River office was created and David A. Neely made postmaster thereof. Daniel Bagley was the only clergyman, and D. S. Maynard the only lawyer; Henry A. Smith, Josiah Settle and D. S. Maynard were physicians—while the merchants were Yesler, Denny & Co., Williamson & Greenfield, Dexter Horton, Charles Plummer, S. B. Hinds, Kellogg Brothers and S. F. Coombs.

Kitsap—Port Madison, county seat; other towns, Port Orchard, Seabeck and Teekalet. Hiram Burnett was Probate Judge; John Webster, Auditor; Henry B. Manchester, Sheriff; Andrew B. Young, Treasurer; W. R. Temple, W. B. Stuclair and S. W. Hovey, Commissioners; H. Spaulding, Justice of the Peace, and John Webster, William Renton, Marshall Bliss and S. W. Hovey, postmasters. At each of the four places was a sawmill and store.

Klickitat—Rockland, county seat. The county was new, partially organized and of small population and importance. The main feature of it was the Yakima Indian Reservation, of which A. A. Bancroft was agent in charge, with J. H. Wilbur, clergyman, as assistant.

Lewis—Claquato, county seat; other places, Boisfort, Cowlitz, Grand Prairie, Highland, Newaukum and Skookum Chuck. T. M. Pearson was Probate Judge; Javan Hale, Sheriff; J. L. Decker, Treasurer; John H. Harwood, Auditor; G. W. Buchanan, School Superintendent; L. L. Gates, J. C. Davis and S. S. Ford, Commissioners; John J. Browning, Thomas W. Newland, Louis L. Dubeau, George Drew, John R. Jackson, Obadiah B. McFadden and Charles Van Warmer, postmasters. Claquato and Grand Prairie each had a saw mill and a flour mill. At Claquato were two lawyers—James McIlroy and Timothy R. Winston—and one clergyman, J. S. Douglass.

Mason—Until about the time covered by this review this county was known as Sawamish. The new name was from one of the first and most popular of Territorial officers, then dead, however. Oakland was the county seat. Arcada and Skokomish were the other places. William O. McFarland was Sheriff; Joseph H. Nuiner, Auditor; Wm. F. O'Harver, Treasurer; Edward Miller and F. C. Purdy, Commissioners; William Champ, David C. Forbes and Alexander Dillman, Justices of the Peace; E. C. Loed, A. M. Collins and E. A. Willson, postmasters. S. Hancock was an attorney, and Dr. Pegget, a physician; Swindal & Bros. and E. A. Willson & Co., merchants.

Missoula—This county, now in Montana, was not fully organized before its cutting off from Washington. It was represented in the Legislature by Councilman J. M. Moore of Pierce City, and by Representative L. F. Blake of Fort Owen. The county seat bore the triple-worded name of Hell Gate Roude. It was 760 miles from Olympia.

Nez Perce—Lewiston, county seat, also first capital of Idaho Territory. The county got its name from the Nez Perce Indians, which, by the way, was not the name of the Indians at all, but a name given to them for a fancied reason by French Canadians about a hundred years ago. C. E. Irvine was auditor; Sanford Owen, sheriff; J. B. Becker, coroner; Whitfield Kirtley, David Reese and James Hayes, commissioners; Henry P. Sweetzer, D. J. Warner and T. M. Pomeroy, Justices of the Peace. Gilmore Hays and G. B. Stone were attorneys; Doctors Betts, Carpenter, Kelley and Orendorff, physicians; and McIteesy & Terry, F. H. Simmons, Daggett & Dakin, Ross, Dempster & Co., James O'Neill, Fitch & Co., R. Bailey, Bettman & Hellman, Kaufman & Rosenthal, Mayer & Co., J. D. Thompson, Joseph Levenson, Crawford, Slocum &

Co., D. & J. Isaacs, A. Goldsmith, and Baldwin Bros., were merchants.

Pacific—Oysterville, county seat; other places, Bruceport, Pacific City and Willapa. John Briscoe was Probate Judge; Henry K. Stevens, Auditor; G. W. Warren, Sheriff; Valentine S. Riddell, Treasurer; James H. Whitcomb, Assessor; H. S. Gile, Surveyor; G. H. Brown, coroner; Henry S. Gile, School Superintendent; T. M. Adams, George W. Wilson and Isaac Whealdon, Commissioners; F. C. Davis, Henry Blissett, J. E. Pickernell and Solomon Dodge, Justices of the Peace; Isaac A. Clark, Charles Barstow, Isaac Whealdon and Job Bullard, postmasters. John Riddell, Mark Winant, Henry K. Stevens, V. S. Riddell and Crellius & Co., were merchants.

Pierce—Steilacom, county seat; other places were Spanaway and Franklin, the latter now known as Sumner. James P. Stewart was Probate Judge; James M. Bachelder, Auditor; Egbert H. Tucker, Sheriff; Josiah H. Munson, Treasurer; Daniel Collins, Coroner; William H. Wood, School Superintendent; Charles Bitting, A. F. Byrd and William M. Kincaid, Commissioners; A. B. Rabbeson, Hugh Pattison, W. W. Sherman and Nicholas Hall, Justices of the Peace; Erastus A. Light, John Carson and Christopher Mahan, postmasters. Frank Clark was an attorney; B. S. Olds and J. B. Webber, physicians; Daniel Kendig, George W. Sloan and Father Varry, clergymen; E. A. Light, J. P. Mooney, J. H. Munson, Philip Keach, George Gallagher, H. G. Williamson, S. McCan & Co., Pincus & Packsher and Charles Eisenheis, merchants. J. L. Perkins had a sawmill at Puyallup bay, now Tacoma, and Balch & Webber at Nisqually bay; John V. Meeker had a soap factory at Steilacom: A. F. Byrd and Thomas M. Chambers each had both saw and flour mills near Steilacom. The present hospital for the insane was then the Fort Steilacom military garrison.

Shoshone—Pierce City, county seat; Oro Fino was another place. Legally created by the Washington Legislature in December of 1862, it was not organized and officered until after the creation by Congress of Idaho in March 1863. It was, however, represented in the Washington Legislature, and had a term of the District Court under Judge Oliphant.

Skamania—Cascades, county seat. Henry Shepard was an attorney, George W. Johnson, a physician; Bradford & Co., merchants, and Isaac H. Bush, postmaster.

Snohomish—Mukilteo, county seat. Sabin Woods was Sheriff; Franklin Buck, Coroner; John Harvey, Henry McClurg and P. H. Elwell, Commissioners; Morris H. Frost and E. C. Ferguson, Justices of the Peace, and J. D. Fowler, postmaster. Frost & Fowler and E. H. Thompson were merchants.

Spokane—Pinckney City, county seat, 610 miles from Olympia. The county was not yet organized. Bloch, Miller & Co., Olmstead & Co., and Ferguson & Co. were traders or merchants in the county. In Legislative Councilman lived in Walla Walla, and Representative in Pinckney City, long distances from any portion of the present Spokane county.

Thurston—Olympia, county seat; other places, Baker's, Beaver, Coal Bank, Yelm, and Tumwater. Rodolph M. Walker was Probate Judge; Andrew W. Moore, Auditor; Robert W. Moultie, Sheriff; Samuel W. Percival, Treasurer; R. M. Walker, School Superintendent; George W. Miller and George W. French, Commissioners; Daniel R. Bigelow, James C. Head, Stephen Guthrie, Nathaniel Crosby, George W. Miller, Levi Shelton and Isaac Perry, Justices of the Peace; Samuel Williams, C. B. Baker, C. P. Judson, Stephen Hodgden and Frederick Wagner, postmasters. Olympia Board of Trustees consisted of George A. Barnes, Joseph Cushman, William G. Dunlap, James Tilton and Charles E. Williams, with Richard Lane for Clerk and R. W. Moulie for Marshal. Nehemiah Doane, Richard J. Evans and A. C. Fairchild were clergymen in 1863: O. Rowland, U. G. Warbass, G. K. Willard and Rufus Willard, physicians; Butler P. Anderson, Elwood Evans, B. F. Kendall, Edward Lander, Henry M. McGall and John J. McGilvra, attorneys; C. Crosby & Co., G. K. Willard & Son, H. A. Judson, D. Phillips & Son, Lightner & Frankel, Bettman Brothers, S. W. Percival and Charles E. Williams, merchants.

Wahkiakum—Cathlamet, county seat. James Birnie was postmaster, and James Birnie & Co. kept a store. Hiram Cochran of Vancouver and James Huntington of Monticello represented Wahkiakum in the Legislature.

Walla Walla—Walla Walla, county seat, with an estimated population of 1,000, was the largest town within our State limits, and it so remained until 1881. James Galbreath was Auditor; James Buckley, Sheriff; H. Howard, Treasurer; W. W. Johnson, Surveyor; W. B. Kelley, Coroner; J. F. Wood, School Superintendent; Stephen Maxon, Wm. H. Patten and John Sheets, Commissioners; Edward E. Kelly, postmaster. Walla Walla was one of the three towns with municipal governments, Olympia and Port Townsend being the other two. Walla Walla's officers were E. B. Whitman, Mayor; W. P. Horton, Recorder; G. H. Porter, Marshal; Edward Nugent, Attorney; H. Howard, Treasurer; L. W. Greenwell, Assessor. Among the people were John Flein, clergyman; D. H. Danforth, J. H. Harris, J. L. McKinney, and Edward Sheil, physicians: Otis L. Bridges, A. J. Cain, J. M. Chenoweth, W. A. George, Edward Nugent and John G. Sparks, attorneys; J. M. Vansyckle

& Co., Keyser & Reese, Baldwin & Whitman, Wm. H. Mastin, Brooks & Cranston, Brown & Dunenberg, Brand & Hass, A. Mayer & Co., R. Jacobs, J. S. McHenry, Brown & Co., Henry Howard and D. S. Baker, merchants.

Whatcom—Whatcom, county seat. Whatcom then included all of what is now San Juan and Skagit counties. H. C. Barkhousen was Probate Judge, and also Auditor; James Kavanagh, Sheriff; Mrs. Moody, Treasurer; John A. Tennant, M. T. Haeus and M. H. Offutt, Commissioners; R. B. Boyd, Justice of the Peace, and C. E. Richards, postmaster of Whatcom, and E. T. Hamblet, Justice of the Peace, and Isaac C. Huggins, postmaster of San Juan. Moody & Sinclair and C. E. Richards were merchants.

The information contained in the foregoing article concerning Washington Territory and its counties and towns fifty years ago was obtained chiefly—almost entirely—from "Bancroft's Handbook Almanac for the Pacific States, 1863." From other sources the compiler knows that it is generally correct, but he also knows and regrets that it is not uniformly complete. Compared with conditions and things of the present day, Washington has made immense progress during the half century that has elapsed since the record here given was first published, a progress apparent to all without further and fuller statement. Very few, probably not more than a dozen or two, of all those whose names are given as citizens in 1863 are among our people in 1913. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

EARLY DAYS AT WHITE SALMON AND THE DALLES

[The following paper was written by a pioneer who settled at The Dalles in 1858. She is now eighty-six years of age, but remembers well her neighbors of the early days. Her paper was read first at a meeting in the Congregational Church at White Salmon a few years ago. Later it was read at a meeting of The Old Fort Dalles Historical Society and again at a pioneer's meeting at Hood River. It is published here that others may enjoy the reminiscences of this survivor in an interesting portion of the Northwest.—Editor.]

It has been said that the Hoosier Schoolmaster, by Edward Eggleston, was inspired by a sentence in Taine, advising young authors to write about the things they know most about. Perhaps some of us ought to know more about the happenings in our immediate neighborhood than we do, and that is one reason we are here, to learn, if possible. Beginnings are always interesting; the beginning of a community the most interesting to us.

These reminiscences I have gathered from the memories of the few that are left, and recall, somewhat, the simple annals. Every year the number of these grows less.

A class of persons, that we have been accustomed to call pioneers, Jack London is pleased to call world missionaries, who have spent the years of their lives in pushing out the walls of civilization, and in making the wilderness blossom with roses.

They are those who began the work of making these desert lands blossom as the Valley or Sharon; those who laid the foundation of our state so well and so strong, that they who come after can build upon it; those who founded the Inland Empire, by building on law and morality so well that it survives the wear of time and stands a monument to the founders. The history of a community is a record of the work of those who have been the makers of the place, the accumulated results of which in America are among the foremost achievements of the century.

A correspondent of the Portland Journal, after giving the story of the old Wasco County Court-House, closes by saying, "That is the history." But there will probably remain some reminiscences recounted by the old inhabitants. That is what we want to do today. The remnant of those of us who came to this Inland Empire as a temporary expedient for bettering our fortunes by utilizing the luxuriant bunch-grass or by the

rich mines, or by trade; look wonderingly upon the products of this once arid land, which challenges the admiration of the world. While there were intellectual giants in those days, the absolutely necessary duties of life occupied their time. They were history makers. Very little was chronicled. The unsettled conditions of the country bred a class of men and women whose like will never be seen again on American soil or on the face of the earth. For brain and brawn their leaders were unrivalled. Tourists are enchanted with the picturesqueness of our scenery, poets have sung its praises, artists have put on canvas what only an artist can see. These mountains to me are as dear as are the Alps to the Swiss peasant. A look back to the time when the first settlers swung their axes in the primeval forest shows progress. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies may be resisted, but an invasion of ideas cannot." The history of a community is the life story of each of the individuals whose work was given to it. The desire to transmit the story of our lives, and that of our predecessors to our successors is found among all nations: it may be by tradition, or told from father to son, or in sagas or by monument, or written words. History is principally to keep alive the spirit of the true nation-builders, who bravely did their work, which was not only for their own time, but for all ages. Those who cleared the land, built houses and mills and bridges, established schools and churches, civil liberty, and all that makes American citizenship valuable.

We wish now to recall some of the time-honored, once familiar names. Unwritten may be their names, except on the lives and hearts of those who knew and appreciated their work. The first mention we find of White Salmon and Hood River was by Lewis and Clark on October 29th [1805], when they were passing down the Columbia River. They gave the name of La-Biche to Hood River and White Salmon they called Canoe River, from the number of canoes lying there, their owners fishing in the stream. The next spring on their return, on the 14th of April [1806] they saw the first horses they had seen since leaving that neighborhood, six months previous. The Indians told them they had captured them from the Deschutes while on a warlike excursion. The Indian name of Deschutes was Ta-wa-na-hi-ooks. The French voyageurs gave it its present name.

Erastus and Mary Joslyn were among the earliest settlers on the North Bank of the Columbia River. They came from Massachusetts. Mr. Joslyn has told me that when he was nine years old he was put to work in a cotton mill, and he never attended school afterwards. He was married to Mary Warner, also a native of Massachusetts, in 1852.

Together they started for Oregon by way of the Isthmus. In the spring of 1853 Mr. Joslyn made his first trip up the Columbia River in search of a location for a home, which he selected and filed upon, under the donation land law, the place selected being the same since owned by Judge Byrkett. For many years they were the only white residents on the North Bank with the lordly Columbia between them and civilization. The pioneer instinct is one of the strangest of the race. There are few stranger manifestations of it than that which brought Mr. and Mrs. Joslyn to such a place. No civilized people were within reach. In the fall of 1855 there were rumors of dissatisfaction among the Yakimas, with Kamaikan, the chief, in the lead, threatening extermination of the whites. The Klickitats, who had been about the Joslyn place, were always loyal and friendly; and well they might be, for the Indians never had better friends.

The Joslyns had built a house and barn, planted an orchard, set out small fruits, started a dairy, which was better than a gold mine in that early day. A friendly Indian warned them, and they fled for their lives, before a band of warriors; crossed the river to Dog River, now Hood River, where two white families, those of Nathaniel Coe and Wm. Jenkins. From there they saw their house and barn go up in flames. This was in February, 1856. The Joslyns spent the years until 1859 in Portland. When they returned after the Indian excitement was quieted, the government had built a blockhouse, and Indian Agent Townsend was superintendent. He lived in the blockhouse until 1859. A. S. Cain, in charge of the Indians on the north side of the Columbia River from Vancouver to opposite The Dalles, assisted by A. H. Roby, in charge of the Yakimas, occupied the blockhouse until they could make improvements the second time.

The Joslyns were never residents of The Dalles more than a few months at a time, but they were always identified with the interests of that place. There was their church home and their place of business. On the 17th day of September, 1859, Rev. William A. Tenny and Abby, his wife; Erastus Joslyn and Mary, his wife; William Stilwell; Zelot M. Donnell and Camilla, his wife, and E. S. Penfield were organized into the Congregational Church of The Dalles. Only one of these original members remains to this day. The Joslyns helped greatly in the support of the church, attending the services as often as practicable. This will be better understood when it is remembered that they had to go to The Dalles on Saturday and remain until Monday morning at 5 o'clock, the hour at which the steamer left The Dalles, and that the fare was five dollars the round trip; ten dollars for the two. While there they were usually entertained by friends, most often at the pastor's house, dividing the beds;

the women took the beds and the men and the children the floor in pioneer way. The first time I was at White Salmon was in June, 1862, at the time of high water. Mr. Joslyn had come to The Dalles in a skiff and took a number of us home with him, twenty miles down the river from The Dalles. There was the Rev. Thomas Condon, wife and four children, myself and three children, in the party.

There was with the Joslyns at this time the Rev. E. P. Roberts, wife and three children. I do not know how many hired men were there, but I do know there was no hired person in the house to do the cooking and general work necessary to be done for such a family, besides the dairy work resulting from the more than twenty cows of it.

Mrs. C. J. Crandall tells this little incident that she remembers as having occurred at the time of this visit. She was then only a child eight years old. Some Indian women had brought in an immense quantity of wild strawberries. They had to be picked over. Mrs. Joslyn ranged the children around what the child thought was the biggest table she ever saw, with a pile of berries and a cup before each child, to put the picked berries in. No child was allowed to eat a single berry until all were picked, then each one was given some to eat. I tell this to show how Mrs. Joslyn had the tact to use even little hands in useful employment. It is the kindergarten idea and shows how pioneer women had to manage. Mrs. Joslyn never forgot a birthday, child's or adult's; she could always have a cake, some flowers, some little present that made it a red letter day.

Mr. Joslyn was one of the incorporators of the woolen mill at The Dalles. At one time he represented his county in the territorial legislature. The hospitality of the Joslyns and of all the pioneer homes was known far and wide. Friends, visitors, travelers from the lower country, to what was later called the Inland Empire, all found a welcome. On Sundays, if they had a preacher with them, they had preaching services; if not, they had a Sunday school or a Bible reading, many of them remaining to dinner. Their home was headquarters for all kinds of business, a court-room, or a post-office. Often meals were prepared for not less than thirty persons. To provide for so many involved a vast amount of labor, considering the inconveniences of things to do with, it exacted the greatest patience. Most of the supplies were brought from Portland, over the Portage, and freight was forty dollars per ton. Some years later, I was at White Salmon, a company of us went up the hill to attend a religious meeting of the Indians. Mr. Willetts drove the wagon. Crossing Jewett's creek was very different from what it is now. We went straight down and up again. The Indian camp must have been about where Jewett's lawn is now. The tent was oblong, perhaps forty feet in length, of matting, made of cattails,

which grew in swampy places. There were as many as two hundred and fifty Indians. They were cleanly dressed and looked nice. They had "gone back" on what they had learned from Jason Lee or from Father Wilbur and from the Joslyns. Centrally in the room were four Indian men, with tomtoms, beating on them continually. Outside of these were ranged the old men, then the middle aged men, then the young men, then the boys, then the women and girls. They had shells on strings that they shook and rattled, beating on the drums and singing "hoohoo." Their order was perfect. All were solemn, not even a boy smiled, or made the least noise. We stayed five hours.

To the close of their lives, Erastus and Mary Joslyn retained a glad humor and a keen relish of the joy of living. Their gratitude was such as to inspire the respect of all who knew them. Memory recalls them as those who waken in their friends simple affection. They were in many ways in advance of their time. Above all, they were Christians whose first want was a church.

The early history of White Salmon was closely connected with The Dalles. It was their trading point, also their social and religious center. Rev. Mr. Tenney, the organizer and first pastor of the Congregational Church, with his family, made many visits to White Salmon during and including the years 1858 to 1861. Mr. and Mrs. Tenney were born in the State of Maine. Mr. Tenney was a graduate of Amherst College and of Bangor Theological Seminary. He supplemented his education with missionary work in Oregon, at Astoria, St. Helens, Forest Grove and outlying places, which had well equipped him for the work he found awaiting him at the gateway of the gold mines in the unexplored regions. Abigail W. Davidson had taught school for years in the State of Maine; was married to Mr. Tenney in 1856; the following month sailed from New York. They made their first home at Eugene, two separate times at Astoria and at The Dalles.

Rev. Mr. Tenney gave me this incident. He said: "I preached the first sermon at White Salmon in English, but Jason Lee preceded me in a sermon to the Indians. Old Panna-kanick related to me the story of his conversion, resulting from the preaching of Jason Lee. Panna-kanick was a reasonable man, a Christian in spirit and in practice, but he labored under obstacles. Panna-kanick said: 'Jason Lee, close Boston man, chaco nika illahee, haap wawa, wawa Jesus Christ. Nika hiu cly; hiu chuck nika eyes. Nika tumtum hiu sick. Mesache tumtum seven days. Mr. Lee come again to nika illaheer. Wawa much more Jesus Christ, nika tumtum get well. I have been happy ever since.' Long ago the old Indian went to meet the Joslyns, of whom he was always fond."

Rev. E. P. Roberts and wife had been missionaries in the Ponapo, one of the East India Islands. They landed at White Salmon March 29th, 1862. They lived in the house with the Joslyns until June of the same year, when they moved to the blockhouse, it not being in use at that time. The blockhouse was built by the general government, as a place of security for supplies needed at Fort Simcoe. Dr. Lonsdale was then the agent in charge of the Klickitat and Yakima Indians. Mr. Roberts built a house on Point Lookout, as we used to call it, where he removed his family in September. Mrs. Roberts has told me that she and Mrs. Joslyn were the only white women on the North Bank of the Columbia River.

I am indebted to Mrs. E. L. Smith of Hood River for this story: Sapot-wil, the Indian who warned the settlers of White Salmon of the intended assault, and so saved the lives of the Joslyns, lost his standing among his own people, and was an outcast of the Indians that he changed his name to Johnson, and made his home on the Hood River side. Mrs. Smith says: "He often visited us and was given a seat at the table, with the family, to show the esteem he had won by his heroic action. He was welcomed by the children, for he brought such beautiful bows and arrows, a string of trout or a haunch of venison. Johnson was possessed of a fund of knowledge that made him an ideal guide in the mountains. As an instance of his good theological principles, he was asked, 'Where do you think you will go when you die?' Johnson instantly replied: 'Chee memaloose, Chee cumtux,' meaning: So soon as I die so soon I will know."

Thomas Condon, the second pastor of the Congregational Church at The Dalles, with his family, spent the summers at White Salmon. Mr. Condon began his work in Oregon as a home missionary in a number of places. During his pastorate at The Dalles, he made the discovery of the fossil beds of the John Day Country. At that time there was not a packer nor a teamster who was not on the lookout for a specimen for Mr. Condon's collection; it has been added to throughout his lifetime, and gained for him a world wide reputation, as one of the foremost geologists of the age.

He worked alone in his chosen field; others came in and reaped the benefit. For many years he was professor in the Oregon State University. Many of pupil of that university will go through life with his knowledge of geology some way mixed with Mr. Condon's personality, that peculiar smile wreathed about his face when he spoke, the tender manner in which he handled the bones and rocks, his quaint manner that is indescribable. He read truths in God's books of sand and stone. It is my wish and pleasure at this time to witness to the help I have received from the high

ideals and advanced thought of Thomas Condon, for he was my friend. Perhaps the best work he did at The Dalles was through his deep and tender sympathy for all.

Turning back the pages of history, we find that James Warner, a brother of Mary Joslyn, when a young man, during the troublous times of our Civil War, took his musket, left his pleasant home and young bride, at the call of his country, offered his life in defence of that flag, for which more precious blood has been shed than for any banner that waves beneath the Heavens. At the close of the war, finding his health much impaired and his business gone, he, with his wife (Cynthia Clark), came to White Salmon and purchased the interests of Rev. Mr. Roberts. He moved the house from the place where Mr. Roberts had built it to the place where it now stands. It has been added to, time and again, every addition marking another historic epoch. The rooms at the west end of the house were set apart for Father Clark, who came from his old home in Massachusetts to spend quiet days with his children in the West. Mr. Warner was devoutly attached to his White Salmon home; no place on earth was so dear to him. He was the father of the "Little Church on the Hill." Dr. Atkinson visited here often and organized the church on Jewett's historic lawn in 1868. Mr. Warner and Mrs. Jewett kept up the meetings and the Sunday school, though all kinds of weather, with the persistency of heroes. Everybody respected Father Warner. Little children loved him. He was always interested in the work for the cause of Christ throughout the world. Let his memory be cherished by those for whom he toiled so earnestly and so faithfully!

Miss Mercy Clark of Portland spent her vacations at White Salmon. She says of her sister, Cynthia Warner: "She was an ideal pioneer woman, with a cheery courage that faced the privations of life in a sparsely settled region, and was ready to help all who needed assistance. The hospitality of their home was unbounded. They gave their influence to all that would tend to build up a righteous community."

Harry A. Jewett was one, when little more than a boy, who heard the call of his country, though Abraham Lincoln, and responded by taking his life in his hands and serving in the army until the close of the war, when he was married to Jennie Waters. Together they came to Oregon, landing at White Salmon, where they have literally bowed out their home from the "forest primeval," making the wilderness bloom with roses and every flower and fruit. They have entertained and made many people happy in their pleasant home and beautiful grounds. Mrs. Jewett has been a most devoted, unselfish woman, intent on helping any and all who might need her. She has kept her husband as much of a lover as in the

days of their youth. She has brought up children that are a comfort to her, and that promise to take up her work and carry it on. In hunting up pioneer work it is not hard to find what men have done, but women's work is not recorded. Their memory will only live in the hearts and lives of those who loved them. Olive Schreiner says: "For ages and ages woman has stood, longer than the oldest recorded language, and on rocks, now crumbling into dust, are found the tracks of her footsteps." Harry and Jennie Jewett have been history makers. Mrs. Jewett was the first white woman to camp on Mount Hood.

Early days in White Salmon, Hood River and The Dalles were very intimately connected; the people were of similar tastes, their social, religious, and civil functions were necessarily so; the attachment between persons far from kindred, and surrounded by treacherous tribes, is beyond that of blood.

The earlier settlers of Hood River were William C. Laughlin and Doctor Farnsworth, who, with their families, went there in 1852, locating at the Spring, afterward owned by the Coes, later by Doctor Adams.

A very hard winter followed—that of 1852-1853. Judge Laughlin hired five White Salmon Indians to bring them to The Dalles in their canoes. I saw in the Hood River Glacier that Mr. E. L. Smith and Hans Lage were the first white settlers in Hood River Valley. I thought the Glacier man was about a generation behind the times.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Laughlin were born in Kentucky, and had pioneer experience in Illinois. Mr. Laughlin was a Kentuckian of education, had studied law, was a man of ability, one of the best business men in the country, was a man of influence of good presence, possessed of that peculiar dignity claimed for high-toned southern gentlemen. He had the foresight to see the wonderful growth of this country and, despite the obstacles, he worked to accomplish that end.

A memorable and sad event occurred May 15th, 1864, when Mr. Jenkins and his little son, Walter, were lost in the river; they sank, and James Laughlin, thinking he could help them, divested himself of his coat and boots, and they were all three lost. Mr. Phelps lost his self-control. James B. Condon, who was living here at that time, found the body of James Laughlin about two weeks later. It was a sorry time for all the community, and a great loss to each of the three settlements. Mrs. Mary Laughlin was a gentle woman of the old school with courtly manners and thoughtful kindliness, and patience with the lack of the comforts and conveniences, to which she had been accustomed.

Nathaniel Coe was born in New Jersey in 1788, was married to Mary White in 1826. Until 1851 there had been no postal facilities in Ore-

gon, which at that time included all north of California, to the British line, and west of the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific Ocean.

President Fillmore appointed Nathaniel Coe first postal agent. He was instructed and empowered to locate postoffices, establish mail routes, etc. When his term of office expired he located at Hood River.

Mr. Coe was a man of high moral character, scholarly attainments and religious habits. The rapid progress of science did not check his habits of study. He died at his home October 17th, 1868. The O. R. N. invited all persons who would like to attend the funeral to go on their boat. I remember James Condon being there. Thomas Condon officiated. Mrs. Julia Phelps and others were there. Mrs. Coe was a person of literary tastes and poetic temperament. I will mention here that Mrs. Coe changed the name of Dog River to that of Hood River.

Davis Divers settled in Hood River in 1862, having, with two yoke of oxen and two cows, crossed the Cascade Mountains by the Barlow Pass to The Dalles. He followed an Indian trail which brought the first wagon from that city to Hood River. Davis Divers was born in Virginia, February 9th, 1825. He was married in that state and moved to Missouri in 1845. In 1852 he crossed the plains to Oregon, settling on the Clackamas River, where he remained until his removal to Hood River in 1862. He died at the latter place, August 27th, 1904. D. A. Turner and H. C. Coe are the only remaining pioneers of Hood River who were there when Davis Divers joined the little settlement in the early '60s.

Of the ministers who served these communities, both Horace Lyman and Fred. Balch were native sons of Oregon. The former was from near The Dalles, the son of early missionaries of the Congregational Church. He was graduated from the classical course of the Pacific University, took one year in the Theological Seminary at Oakland, California, with two years at Oberlin, Ohio. He preached one year at White Salmon and Hood River, was once candidate for State Superintendent of Schools. He wrote the history of the state by loved in four volumes. He had charge of the Oregon exhibit at the Centennial Exposition of the Louisana Purchase. His father, Rev. Horace Lyman, was the first pastor of the First Congregational Church of Portland, assisting in its organization. He held the position for three years.

Frederic Balch was born in Linn County, Oregon. Oliver Wendell Holmes has said: "To know a man, you should go back one hundred years." I knew, loved and appreciated Harriet Snyder, his mother, more than half a hundred years ago; she was my fellow traveler from the State of Indiana to the then wilds of Oregon, to where she had a career. I have often said that if Mr. Balch had written a true story of his mother's life, it

would have been more interesting than even his Columbia Legend, or the "Wauna," as he loved to call it. "The Bridge of the Gods" excels in vivacity, interest and fine thought. Mr. Balch built a church at Hood River, also one at Lyle, which he served acceptably, as well as the "little church across the river." The first edition of "The Bridge of the Gods" was dedicated to his friend, Mrs. Dr. Barrett. He gave his young life in trying to bring the religion of the Cross and civilization to the people of the Inland Empire. Mr. Balch attended the Theological Seminary at Oakland, California.

One of the first to identify himself with this region of country, and to suffer privations and enjoy the beautiful surroundings was Amos Underwood, who crossed the plains with an ox team. When the Cayuse Indian War broke out, he enlisted in Company B, Oregon Volunteers, and became a noted Indian fighter. The Indians soon learned that Mr. Underwood was fair and square and they trusted him. The papers have often sent correspondents to get a story from him, for he is always interesting, often reminiscent.

His wife was a daughter of old Chenowith. She was renowned throughout the country for sagacity. With her husband, she established her home across the Columbia River from Hood River and west of the White Salmon River. She died at her home, November 24th, 1907, the oldest pioneer of that section. She was buried in Hood River. Her husband survives her, but was too feeble to attend the funeral.

Henry Coe paid a beautiful tribute to the true and loyal Klickitats, who had been about these homes and had stood by the whites in the trying times. I quote Mr. Coe's own words: "True-hearted men never lived. Tried by the test of battle, they proved themselves men, even though their hearts beat under a dusky skin. Most of them have passed over to the happy hunting grounds. Only a remnant of their race remains." Prominent among them were Johnson, Quemps, Yallup, Johny Snatups, Coplex, and others who were unwavering in their fealty to the whites. Mr. Coe continues: "I was intimately acquainted with John Silbender for nearly half a century, and can say truthfully that I never knew a more honest and upright man. He never wavered in his friendship for the whites, even risking the anger of his own people."

"White Salmon Dave" was supposed to have applied the torch to the Indian houses. For many years he was a pensioner of John Cradlebaugh. During the war of 1856 Chief Mark of The Dalles gave the whites much trouble. Then I find in Myron Eells' "History of Indian Missions" that Mark became head chief under Captain Smith's incumbency, having become converted. Makush, once a chief among the Klickitats, had to leave the

home of his people, through his being a friend to the whites, during the war of 1855-6. He went to Yamhill County and lived on the farm of the late Dr. James McBride, where he died at an advanced age. Kamakin was a wily chief; through him signal fires leaped from hill to hill from Mount Shasta to Okanogan.

Of the old blockhouse at White Salmon, Mrs. Roberts, who lived in it some months, says it was 18 by 36, fronting the river. Part of the kitchen had been washed away by the high water of 1862. There were two stories, the upper story projecting three feet beyond the lower. In the upper story there were port holes, arranged so as to point the muzzle of the gun at various angles. It stood at the regular steamer landing above the highest stage of water.

All these homes were noted for their hospitality and were of great service to weary emigrants, old Hudson Bay men or persons making their way from the lower settlements to the Inland Empire. All were welcome. At a cursory glance, the work of these people may seem to be of unrequited toil, but their homes were as oases in a desert, and they have left us an example of patience and perseverance. Now how different! Cherries, strawberries, apples from this district are carried all over the world, and command the highest prices paid in the history of fruit growing, brought about by careful culture and hand picking. Buyers now take the fruit on its reputation, culls and all.

CAMILLA THOMSON DONNELL.

EARLY RELATIONS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS TO THE OLD OREGON TERRITORY

If one will open before himself a map of the Pacific Ocean, he will be struck by the position of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands. As far as distances from large land masses are concerned, it will be seem that the group is nearer the North American continent than it is to Asia or Australia. It is only 2,000 miles from San Francisco, while it is 3,000 miles to Kamchatka, the nearest point on the Asian continent; but the distance to China is 4,000 miles and to Rockhampton, Australia, 4,100 miles. So far then as sea travel in ocean steamships is concerned, Hawaii belongs to America.

But we must look back beyond the time of steam, beyond the time of sails even, back to the time when the Hawaiian Islands were blown up out of the bed of the ocean as volcanoes. Look now to the side of America and we find no connection whatever between the continent and the islands. The depth of the ocean is greatest here—over two miles—and there are no shallow places from dry land to dry land—two thousand miles of deep blue sea. Looking to the west, however, we notice that there are unbroken chains of islands spreading out in every direction northwestward toward Japan, westward through the Johnstone, Marshall, Caroline and Ladrone Islands to the Philippines, and southwestward through the Christmas, Samoan, Fiji Islands and New Caledonia to Australia. The Hawaiian Islands therefore belong to Oceanica, a submerged continent, with its mountain tops and high plateaus elevated above the ocean.

Turning to fauna and flora, the same kinship to Oceanica and lack of relationship to North America are noticeable. Prof. J. Arthur Thomson of the University of Aberdeen (The International Geography, p. 83, et seq.) points out that the plants of Hawaii are the same as, or very similar to, those of the Fiji Islands and Australia But more surely than plants, do the animals show the connection between the Sandwich and the other islands of Oceanica.

Likewise the Kanakas, the aborigines of Hawaii, belong to the Polynesian peoples, called by Dr. A. H. Keane, formerly vice-president of the British Anthropological Institute, the Indonesian Race. (The International Geography, p. 108). To this race belong the Samoans, Tahitians, Maoris, Marquesas, and Hawaiians. These peoples form a very small division of the Asiatic branch of the white race. How distinct and unrelated then are the Hawaiians to the North American Indians who, accord-

ing to the same authority, are a race by themselves, possibly of Mongolian kinship.

Period of Discovery and Exploration

It may then be said with safety that there was no connection between the Sandwich Islands and the northwest coast in prehistoric ages, nor even in historic times up to the time of the discoveries in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The discoverers of Hawaii found only two pieces of evidence that the Kanakas had previously had any connection with Western civilization whatever. One was a bent piece of iron, the other an edge-tool probably made from the point of a European broadsword. Cook, the finder, himself points out that these two pieces of iron probably came from some other Polynesian island where European boats traded. It is known that the Kanakas had some sort of communication with the Marshall Islands. Or, possibly a keg bound with iron hoops had been thrown overboard by some ship and had drifted onto the Hawaiian shore.[1]

Captain James Cook, sailing on a scientific voyage to the Pacific, discovered the Sandwich Islands in 1777. He found them inhabited by a handsome race of people of splendid physique, but uncivilized. Sailing northwestward from Hawaii about Feb. 1, 1778, he saw for two months neither bird nor fish. In latitude 44° 33′ Cook sighted land on March 7, and on the 22nd saw and named Cape Flattery. He landed at Nootka on Vancouver's Island March 29. Later he proceeded to the Russian American post, and thence returned to the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives.[2] Professor Meany says that "his stay at Nootka had two important results. The furs obtained caused a sort of stampede of fur hunters to the Northwest Coast. He recorded a list of native words," from which grew the Chinook jargon. For purposes of this paper, however, the importance of Cook's voyage is that it is the first connection between the Hawaiian Islands and the Oregon country.

The Sandwich Islands, from 1778 on, figured in all the voyages of exploration to the Northwest Coast of America. Going out from England or from Boston and New York, ships took in supplies at Hawaii. Likewise on the return trip.

Captains Portlock and Dixon in the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* made the trip to explore the fur trading country, sailing from England in 1783.[3] They arrived at the Sandwich Islands the next year, provisioned

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[1] See, History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, by Robert Kerr. Printed for Jas. Ballantyne & Co., Edinburgh, 1811. Vol. 14, pp. 185-6. Hitchcock, 197-198, et. seq.

[2] Dixon, Cap. George, A Voyage Round the World, but More Particularly to the N. W. Coast of America. London; Geo. Goulding, Haydn's Book. 1789.

and proceeded thence to Cook's River. They did not make Nootka on account of the winds. In December, 1786, they returned to the Hawaiian Islands to trade and to winter. Getting provisions, bread fruit, sweet potatoes, yams, cocoanuts and wicker work baskets, they went back to the Northwest Coast in the spring of 1787. Securing a shipload of furs on Queen Charlotte's Island, they sailed for the Sandwich Islands on their way to Canton, China. This time they carried from the islands hogs, taro and sugar cane.

In 1786-7[1] John Meares made a trip from India to the coast of America, probably Alaska, and returned to Canton by way of Hawaii. Many Kanakas, out of remorse and sorrow for having slain Captain Cook, wished to visit Cook's country. Meares took with him to Canton just one, Chief Tianna, a brother of the king of Atooi. In his book,[2] published in 1790, Captain Meares gives a long argument for starting a great trade between China and Northwest America. He even mentions the articles to be exchanged, and of course the Sandwich Islands figured as an important midway station and wintering place.

The Fur Trade

His interest greatly aroused by this first expedition, John Meares planned a second voyage. Assisted by East Indies merchants, he fitted out two ships in Canton for the fur trade and other purposes, and directed them to go to Nootka Sound on the Northwest Coast. He himself captained one of the vessels. Fifty Chinese were taken along to act as carpenters and laborers in the enterprise to be embarked in at Nootka. There were also taken on board a number of American Indians and Kanakas who were to be returned to their homes. Chief Tianna, who had been taken to China by Meares in 1787 to see the world, was among these.[3]

Blown out of their course, they went through the Philippine Islands. Winee, a native woman of Owyhee, who had been taken by a Mrs. Barclay to China,[4] died and was buried at sea. On board a plan was made to build a ship at Nootka. They reached that sound in May, 1788, explored the coast southward in June and the next month entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca. One of the vessels, the *Felice*, went back to China by way of Hawaii that fall.

The utter dissimilarity between Kanakas and American Indians is well illustrated by an incident that occurred at Nootka. In August, 1788,

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[1]Meares, John, Esq., Voyages Made in the Years 1788-89. London Logographic Press, Sold by J. Walter, No. 169, Piccadilly. 1790. From the Introductory Voyage, p. XXXIX.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Meares, Voyages made in years 1788-89, etc.

[4]Meares, Voyages made in years 1788-89, etc., p. 28.

Chief Tianna met the Indian chief, Maquilla. Comekela,[8] an Indian who had been at the Sandwich Islands and knew of the Kanaka chief's high connection, acted as interpreter. When the representatives of the two races stood beside each other, the Kanaka was so much larger that Maquilla showed instant dislike for him. Tianna likewise expressed his disgust for the Indians not only on account of their contemptible smallness, but because they were cannibals. In relating the matter in his book, Meares remarked on the superiority of the Sandwich Islanders and expressed the hope that the half million might some day become civilized subjects of Britain.[9]

The ship that had been planned on board the way out was finally built at Nootka and called the *Northwest America*. Her first voyage,[10] it is interesting to note, was to the Hawaiian Islands, October to December, 1788. This, the first vessel built on the Oregon coast, made its maiden voyage to the Sandwich Islands. Along with her went the *Iphigenia*, the other ship brought out by Meares. They wintered in Hawaii and were unmolested by the natives. Captain Douglas mentions[11] the fact that while several European vessels had touched at the ports of these islands since Captain Cook's death, his crew was the first to go ashore. The two vessels returned in March, 1789, to Nootka. In July of the same year the *Iphigenia* left the Oregon coast and proceeded at Hawaii on her way to Canton.[12]

Later Meares sent out two other vessels to the coast of Oregon. They carried a number of Chinese for whom Kanaka wives were to be obtained at Honolulu, and a colony was to be founded at Nootka. Another schooner was to be built. But these vessels were seized by the Spaniards and the project failed of accomplishment.[13]

In 1789 Captain Metcalf sailed in the *Eleanor* to the Northwest Coast for trade in furs.[14] On his trip from Nootka to China, he touched at Hawaii, as had by this time become the custom. The crew went ashore. When the ship was ready to leave, the boatswain was retained on shore by the Kanaka chief, Tamaahmah. The *Eleanor* sailed without him. Being well treated by his captain, John Young became useful to the ambitious chief, helping him become king over the several islands. This Englishman was probably the first European to become a resident of the Sandwich Islands. He was made governor of Owyhee Island, and was still living there with a native wife and in his high office in 1811, when the Astor

[8] Ibid., p. 249.
[9] Ibid., p. 219.
[10] Ibid., p. 249, et seq.
[11] Ibid., p. 245.
[12] Meares, Voyages made in years 1788-89, etc., p. 58.
[13] Bancroft, H. H., History of the State of Washington, pp. 29-31. N. Y. Macmillan Co.
Young, Washington, Astoria, p. 58-60. Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 407-429 Dearborn St.

party arrived. As late as 1842 we find the Honolulu Polynesian mentioning the visit of the king to Governor John Young, who was dying, no doubt of old age.[13]

Captain Gray, a Bostonian, in the *Columbia* came to the Coast in 1789, secured a shipload of valuable furs and sailed to Canton to sell them.[14]. He touched at Hawaii and took with him (says Prof. Meany) Chief Attoo, who accompanied him on from China to Boston in 1790. Gray returned to Nootka in 1791 and began building a schooner. A plan of the Indians to massacre the whites was averted through the loyalty of a Kanaka servant. The schooner was launched in February, 1792, and named *Adventurer*.

Another story[15] told of the Columbia this same year of 1789 says that Captain Ingraham carried furs in her in October from Nootka to Canton by way of Hawaii. He carried a native crown prince, Opye, with him to Boston—the beginning, says Mr. Callahan, of friendship between the United States and the Islands. Other American vessels had stopped at the Sandwich Islands previous to this, but had not been favorably impressed with the natives. Captain Ingraham, now in the *Hope*, took Opye back to Hawaii in 1791 and sailed on to the Northwest Coast (probably Prince Edward's or Queen Charlotte's Isles), where repairs were made and water and wood obtained. They killed and ate a hog brought from the Sandwich Islands.[16]

Vancouver, on his way out to explore the western coast of North America, provisioned at the Sandwich Islands in 1792. From that date onward until 1814 American trade in the Pacific grew more rapidly than the English trade.

No permanent settlements were made on the coast; but a lively exchange of commodities took place on the decks of the trading vessels. They took knives, iron, copper pans, and trinkets from Boston, got furs for them on the Northwest Coast, completed their cargoes with sandalwood at the Sandwich Islands and exchanged everything for teas, silks and nankins at Canton. On their voyages they used the Sandwich Islands as a principal place of resort. Using these islands as a base, they developed the whaling, sealing and pearl oyster industries. The industry of the Americans finally resulted, says Callahan, in the settlement of Astoria and the colonization of Oregon.[17]

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[13] Hall's Living Age, Vol. 5, 1845, pp. 165-167. Boston. T. H. Carter & Co. "Taken from the 'National Intelligencer.'"

[14] Meany, pp. 61-62.

[15] Quoted in American Relations in the Pacific and Far East. Baltimore; Johns Hopkins Press, p. 16.

[16] Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[17] Callahan, American Relations, pp. 21-25.

John Jacob Astor was long engaged in this trade, and in 1810, for the purpose of securing such a control of that trade as to lessen the danger of rivalry by the Northwest Fur Company, he organized the Pacific Fur Company[20] and planned a permanent American settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River. He had a comprehensive plan, says Washington Irving, of establishing friendly relations between the Hawaiian Islands and his intended colony. He expected that his colony would for a time have to draw supplies from the islands, and he even had a vague idea of some time or other getting possession of one of these islands as a rendezvous for his ships, and a link in the chain of his commercial establishments.[21] In sending the *Tonquin* by sea to the Columbia, he had the partners stop at the Sandwich Islands and make arrangements for building up a trade between them and the American Fur Company. They found the king inclined to trade with the whites of the Northwest. He had already encouraged twenty or thirty Europeans and Americans to settle in his islands.[22]

From the Hawaiian Islands, the *Tonquin* took to the colony at Astoria a supply of hogs, several goats, two sheep, and a quantity of poultry. Twelve Kanakas enlisted for three years for service of the company at Astoria, for which they were each to receive board and clothing and $100 in merchandise.[23] In the following year the *Beaver* was sent out by Astor. It, too, touched at the Sandwich Islands and carried supplies to Astoria. Twelve more islanders were taken to the continent.[24] On March 6, 1813, the *Lark* was sent out from New York, but was wrecked in a storm off the Hawaiian Islands. Though unfitted for navigation, the ruined ship drifted ashore and part of the crew was saved. The king drove a hard bargain with the stranded survivors, offering to keep them until they could leave the islands in exchange for the wrecked vessel and its cargo.

Mr. Hunt, the manager at Astoria, visited Honolulu on his way back from China, where he had gone to dispose of furs. There he heard of war between the United States and Great Britain. Hurrying on to Astoria, he found the partners anxious to sell out to the Northwest Company, a Canadian concern. They, too, had heard of the war, and feared the approach of the English sloop of war *Raccoon*. Hunt sailed at once for Hawaii to obtain a ship on which to carry away as much as possible of Astor's property at the mouth of the Columbia. At the islands he came across the captain and crew of the wrecked *Lark*, and buying a brig for $10,000, he used these men to navigate it back to Astoria. Arriving, he found that

[20] Ibid., pp. 36-37.
[21] Irving, Astoria, p. 58.
[22] Ibid., p. 62.
[23] Irving, Astoria, pp. 62-63.
[24] Ibid., pp. 209-212.

the sale of the factory to the Canadian company had been consummated in his absence.[69]

From this time onward, American vessels, in their voyages to and from the Northwest Coast, frequently stopped at the Sandwich Islands for refreshments and repairs, and for the restoration of health to their crews, who became worn out by the long and stormy passage around Cape Horn and by the watchfulness and anxiety in guarding against the Indians when the ships were trading along shore.[70] Honolulu became a depot for fresh supplies, repairs, and after whaling began, for the temporary storage of whale oil.[71] In 1820 the United States appointed John C. Jones as agent for commerce and seamen at this port.[72] In 1826 there were 2,000 American seamen at Honolulu alone, and for their protection the Secretary of the Navy, in 1827, recommended that six vessels be kept in commission in the Pacific.[73] In 1829 it was estimated that in one year Hawaii was visited by one hundred American vessels with cargoes valued at five million dollars.[74] To show to what extent the islands had developed for repairing vessels in the Northwest trade, in 1831 two ships of 180 and 190 tons were hove down, caulked and coppered in five days.[75] The number of ships touching at Honolulu from 1824 to 1831 was as follows:

	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831
American	66	56	88	82	116	108	100	83
English	17	20	13	18	31	27	26	30

Direct Trade Between Hawaii and the Northwest

While this carrying trade and Indian traffic were going on, both the Hawaiian Islands and the Northwest Coast were being settled to some extent by permanent white colonists. By 1840 there were between 150 and 250 English and American residents of Honolulu alone.[76] There were a number of whites outside of this town. The Oregon country contained about a hundred families in the same year.[77] Considerable trade

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[69]Ibid., pp. 253-265.

[70]North American Review, 1814, Vol. 2, p. 42. Boston: Wells and Libby.

[71]Callahan, American Relations in the Pacific and Far East. Footnote, p. 28. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

[72]Ibid., p. 29.

[73]Ibid., p. 48.

[74]Ibid., p. 61.

[75]McCulloch, Commercial Dict.-mary, 1845. Philadelphia, Thomas Wardle, 13 Minor St., 1845.

[76]McCulloch, Commercial Dictionary, 1845. Philadelphia, Thomas Wardle, 13 Minor St., 1845.

[77]Bancroft, Robert Howe; Bancroft's Works, Vol. XXIX, History of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 141. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1336.

between Oregon and Hawaii developed, the former sending its wheat, beaver skins, salmon, and lumber to the islands and receiving in return sugar, molasses, tea, coffee and commodities brought there from China, England and the Eastern United States.[84] Captain Belcher speaks of sawed planks and salmon as being the principal export in 1839 from Fort Vancouver (on the Columbia River) to the Sandwich Islands.[85] The following were the value of cargoes landed at Honolulu, a large part of which was from Oregon: In 1839, $210,000; in 1840, $235,850; in 1841, $469,250.[86]

As an example of the business carried on, there appeared in the Honolulu Polynesian of August 31, 1844, an advertisement of Albert E. Wilson, general commission merchant, Astoria, mouth of the Columbia River, offering to buy the products of the Hawaiian Islands and to sell merchandise and products from the Oregon country. On September 28, 1844, the same paper states: "The riches of the Sandwich Islands lie in the soil. A continent lies near us, rapidly filling with Anglo-Saxon sons. Sugar, coffee, indigo, tobacco, cotton and cabinet lumber will be the staple articles" the islands would produce for export, along with yams, arrow root, hemp and raw silk. "These islands will become the West Indies of the Northern Pacific: the trade will naturally go forward to Oregon, and if we do not hasten operations the demand will exceed our means of supplying it." The existing trade between the Columbia River and the Sandwich Islands was evidenced by an advertisement in that week's paper of the arrival for sale of 107,000 feet of lumber, 300 barrels of superior flour, 300 barrels of Columbia River salmon, etc., by the barque *Brothers*.[87]

Mention should be made of the importation of Kanaka laborers from Hawaii, especially in the earlier days. They were of great service in doing the work requiring little skill, but were even employed in husbanding and in the saw mills. The islanders, however, suffered intensely from the colder climate of the Oregon country.[88] Coral brought from the Sandwich Islands was used in constructing the "fort" established at Vancouver on the Columbia River and in building chimneys for the settlers.[89]

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[84]S. Mis. 8th Agent of Indian Affairs, Report of, to the Secretary of War (Nov. 1, 1841). Senate Documents, 1st Session 26th Congress, Vol. I, 1840-41. Serial No. 402. Doc. 1, p. 487.

[85]Belcher, Sir E. Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, performed in H. M. S. Sulphur. London: Henry Colburn, Publisher. Vol. I, p. 294. 1843.

[86]Reports of Committees, 27th Congress, 3rd Session. Report No. 21, p. 27.

[87]Little's Living Age, Vol. 5. Boston, T. H. Carter & Co. 1845. Pp. 186-187.

[88]Ross Alexander. Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon and Columbia River, p. 14. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1849.

[89]Vansouver, M. Report of, On the Oregon Country, March 1, 1846, to Col. Hallowell, Commissioner of Naval Engineers, Canada. In University of Washington Library.

The Whale Fishing

The whale fishery forms an interesting chapter in the history of the Hawaiian Islands and likewise of the Northwest Coast. But, as I am trying to point out only the points of contact between the two regions, this particular industry can be treated only in so far as it connects them.

As early as 1823, there were counted in the port of Honolulu on one day forty whaling vessels.[37] The newspaper referred to above mentioned that the American whaling shipping that touched at the Hawaiian Islands from January to October 10, 1844, amounted to $9,621,960 with 176 vessels and 3,407 men.[41] The entire whaling fleet of all nations in the Pacific employed 675 vessels, 197,187 tons, 40,000 men. Four hundred and fifty of these vessels were engaged in whaling on the coast of Oregon and the Sandwich Islands.[42] The amount of intercourse between these two regions resulting from this industry can be better imagined than reduced to figures.

The Missionaries

In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches) sent out missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, and the work was eminently successful. By 1839 the missionaries had increased so in numbers and influence that they were in complete control of the islands. They owned considerable land and cultivated plantations.[43] A school was established.

In 1836 the same board planted a mission at Walla Walla, and the next year another at Lapwai among the Nez Perces, and then took over the Methodist mission at The Dalles. "In 1838 the mission church at Honolulu sent a contribution of $80 and ten bushels of salt to the Oregon mission. The next year, the same church made a much more important contribution in the form of a small printing press, with type, ink, paper and other appliances to the value of $450. E. O. Hall, an experienced printer with the Hawaiian mission, accompanied the press to Oregon in order to give his invalid wife a change of climate. The press was sent to Lapwai, where Mr. and Mrs. Hall remained until the spring of 1840. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding learner to set type and to print. Soon the Gospels and some hymns were published in the Nez Perce language.

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[37]Callahan, American Relations in the Pacific and Far East. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, p. 39, footnote.

[41]Bartlett's Irving Ago, Vol. 5. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co., p. 161-167, 1851.

[42]Senate Documents, 29th Congress, 1st Session, Volume IV., 1845-46, Doc. No. 31, p. 1.

[43]Belcher, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World. London: Henry Colburn, Pub., 1843. Vol. I., p. 276.

This was the first printing in the Pacific Northwest. This old press is now a cherished relic in the museum of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland.[744]

During all these early years the families in the Northwest heard very infrequently from their homes on the Atlantic Coast. The mail was brought from the East around Cape Horn and via the Sandwich Islands to Fort Vancouver. The trip, which required at least six months, was made by the Hudson's Bay Company's boat once a year.[745]

Diplomatic and Strategic Questions

In 1838 a bill was introduced into Congress to authorize the President to occupy the Oregon territory. Immediately a select committee, with Mr. Linn as chairman, was appointed to report on the advisability of making an effort to hold the Northwest country. After careful and extended investigation, the committee reported June 6, 1838, giving a most glowing report of the resources of the Pacific territory. It pointed out that commercially, at least, Great Britain was beating us out. On the north bank of the Columbia River the Hudson's Bay Company's "sawmill cuts 2,000 to 2,400 feet of lumber daily; employs 28 men, chiefly Sandwich Islanders, and 10 yoke of oxen; depth of the water four fathoms at the mill, where the largest ships of the company take in their cargoes for the Sandwich Islands' market." The report points out the advantageous position of the Hawaiian Islands in the China trade, and pessimistically predicts that they will fall into the hands of the English.[746]

Once awake to the importance of our holding the Oregon country and annexing the Hawaiian Islands, leaders in Congress brought their powers of argument to bear to bring the government to act. If we didn't get those countries, England would, and then where would our whaling be? Committee reports complain that our whaling was injured because we had no domestic port on the Pacific Coast and had to submit to the exactions of the Hawaiian government.[747] H. A. Pierce wrote a report to the Hon. Lewis F. Linn, dated Boston, May 1, 1842, in which he explained that the Hudson's Bay Company was trying to get all of Oregon, Mexican California and the Sandwich Islands. He asserted that a branch had been established at San Francisco and at Honolulu, and that other

[744]Meany, Edmond S., History of the State of Washington. New York: Macmillan Company, p. 114.

[745]Myron Eells, "Father Eells." Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. Chapter III.

[746]Senate Documents, 25th Congress, 2nd Session. Vol. I. Document No. 470. June 6, 1838.

[747]Senate Documents, 29th Congress, 1st Session. Vol. IV., 1845-46. Doc. 178, p. 4.

branches were contemplated in California and Hawaii."[1] The report of the Committee on Military Affairs, January 4, 1843, favored active settlement of the Oregon country, a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, and the protection of the Sandwich Islands from English aggression.

The government took active measures for the taking of Oregon and finally it became a part of the United States. But, though we had many excuses for annexing the Sandwich Islands, interest in them lagged and a half century passed before they were taken. Meanwhile Oregon was rapidly settled and her people began to look eastward across the Rocky Mountains instead of southward to Hawaii. However, as late as 1854, the territory declared in a joint resolution that great advantage would result to that territory and to the United States of America by the annexation of the Sandwich Islands."[2]

In conclusion, one is prone to wonder why after such a bright beginning the intercourse between the Pacific Northwest and the Sandwich Islands should have declined and entirely fallen off about 1850. I wish to suggest the following reasons:

(1) The fur trade between the American coast and the rest of the world died out in 1825 with the invention of the silk hat.

(2) The whale fisheries died out by 1845 through the exhaustion of the supply.

(3) The development of overland transportation routes from the East to the Northwest Coast.

(4) The rapid settlement of California after the discovery of gold in 1848 made San Francisco the chief trading point on the Pacific Coast of America. Hawaii thereafter traded with California instead of the Oregon country.

GUY VERNON BENNETT.

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[1] Reports of Committees, 27th Congress, 3rd Session. 1842-3. Vol. I. House of Representatives. Report No. 31, p. 61.

[2] Moody, History State Washington, p. 122.

BOOK REVIEWS

ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST. By Katharine Coman. (New York, The Macmillan Co. Vol. I. Explorers and Colonizers, pp. XIX., 418. Vol. II. American Settlers, pp. VI., 450. $4.00 net.)

These volumes by a well known and competent worker and author in American industrial history are the outcome of four years' work under the patronage of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and bear abundant evidence of the Foundation's wisdom in selecting Miss Coman for the undertaking. The first volume is divided into two parts; the first opens with a short chapter dealing with the explorers and concludes with a much longer one tracing in broad outline the colonization of New Mexico, Louisiana, Texas and California. The second part of the volume is devoted to exploration and the fur trade. The story of Russian, Spanish, English, and American exploration is graphically and well set forth and particular attention is given to John Ledyard, Lewis and Clark, and Pike. Then follows an excellent account of the fur trade, in which separate chapters are devoted to Astoria, Fort Vancouver, and the rivalry of the American Companies. Volume two is made up of three sections, viz: "The advance of the settlers," "The Transcontinental Migration," and finally the struggle between "Free land and free labor." The settlement of Louisiana, Missouri Territory, the opening of the Santa Fé trade, and the colonization of Texas, are grouped under the first heading and nowhere else can the essentials of the economic beginnings be more readily found. The acquisition of Oregon, the Mormon migration and the conquest of California make up the Transcontinental Migration, and in these chapters Miss Coman makes a distinct contribution to our knowledge of these fields. In the last part, dealing with free land and free labor, more familiar ground is covered, but the elements of conflict are put vividly before the reader. The two volumes are very thoroughly done and western readers especially are deeply indebted to Miss Coman for an interesting, scholarly, and suggestive narrative wholly devoid of local prejudice and partisanship; a narrative which shows a mastery of local materials and color, but avoids the narrowness of provincialism. The illustrations, numbering nearly one hundred, are wisely chosen. Notes at the end of each volume cite the materials used and open the way for

the reader who wishes to pursue the story in greater detail. Typographically the volumes are up to the well known Macmillan standard.

EDWARD McMAHON.

NARRATIVES OF CAPTIVITY AMONG THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA. (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1912. 120 pp. $1.00.)

This bibliographical guide to narratives of Indian captivities comprises over three hundred titles of books and manuscripts on this subject in the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. It serves as a valuable aid to research, since from sources such as these the historian gathers the details from which can be pictured the life of the American pioneer. The titles and collation are given with commendable fulness, particularly as contrasted with the inadequate descriptions often met with in similar lists. The work is arranged alphabetically by the name of author and an index is provided to the names of captives.

Several of the narratives in this list have a direct bearing upon the history of the Pacific Northwest. The richness of the Ayer Collection is shown by an exhibit of nine distinct editions of "A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, only Survivor of the Crew of the Ship Boston, during a Captivity of nearly three years among the Savages of Nootka Sound." CHARLES W. SMITH.

ACADEMY OF PACIFIC COAST HISTORY, PUBLICATIONS OF. Frederick J. Teggart, editor. (Berkeley, University of California, 1909-1911.)

This Academy has the great advantage of working with the H. H. Bancroft collections, now a part of the equipment of the University of California. Until his death on December 1, 1911, the venerable geographer George Davidson was a member of the editorial committee. The others were: Henry Morse Stephens, chairman; E. D. Adams, Herbert E. Bolton, Frederick J. Teggart, and Porter Garnett.

Volume I. contains seven papers, as follows: The San Francisco Clearing House Certificates of 1907-1908, by Carl Copping Plehn; The Official Account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by Frederick J. Teggart: Diary of Gaspar de Portolá During the California Expedition of 1769-1770, edited by Donald Eugene Smith and Frederick J. Teggart; The Narrative of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770 by Miguel Costansó, edited by Adolph van Hemert-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart: The United States Consulate in California, by Rayner Wickersham Kelsey: Diary of Patrick Breen, One of the Donner Party, edited

by Frederick J. Teggart; Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, I., edited by Porter Garnett.

Volume II. has the following five papers: The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, Diary of Vicente Vila, edited by Robert Selden Rose; Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, II., edited by Porter Garnett; Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770, Diary of Pedro Fages, edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton; The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770, Diary of Miguel Costansó, edited by Frederick J. Teggart; Expedition on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in 1817, Diary of Fray Narciso Duran, edited by Charles Edward Chapman.

The bare list of those titles shows the importance of the publications to the history of California and to the Pacific Coast. The editorial work has been well done, the printing is excellent and there is no doubt that historians of the future years will lean upon these records so admirably preserved. It is hoped that the Academy will continue the work so well begun. There is certainly an abundance of materials needing the attention of experts like those who have given us these two volumes.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN. By Donald E. Smith. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1913. Pp. 192. $2.00.)

This is the second number in a new series called University of California Publications in History of which Professor H. Morse Stephens is editor. The first number in the new volume was "Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War" by Eugene Irving McCormac.

The present work by an Assistant Professor of History and Geography in the University of California gives every evidence of being a scholarly and valuable addition to the literature that bears on the colonial period of the Pacific Coast. The extensive bibliographical citations reveal the wealth of materials in the Bancroft Collection of the University of California. New publications in the series will be awaited with interest.

OREGON PIONEER ASSOCIATION, Transactions of, for 1892. (Portland, the Association, 1912. Pp. 101.)

Ten years elapsed before this record was published. It is indeed welcome, for collectors of Northwestern History materials have long wondered over that gap in the record of that fine organization. And there is a further reason why this pamphlet is welcomed in all libraries and collections: It contains the address by John Fiske given at Astoria during the

celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Columbia River. When that address was given in 1892, Mr. Fiske believed the "Whitman saved Oregon" story. In that form the address was published in the Portland Oregonian of May 12, 1892. After that Mr. Fiske was led by W. I. Marshall of Chicago to make further investigations. These, in turn, caused him to revise his address and it is this revision that appears in the delayed pamphlet.

A discussion of the two versions of the Fiske address by Leslie M. Scott may be found in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Volume XIII., Number 2 (June, 1912). Pp. 160-174.

Early Okanogan History. By William C. Brown. (Okanogan, Okanogan Independent, 1912. Pp. 27.)

In this neat and attractive booklet, Mr. Brown has told the story of the first settlement under the American flag in the area that has since become the State of Washington. That settlement was made by members of the Astoria party at the mouth of the Okanogan River on September 1, 1811. The centennial of that event was celebrated in a modest way and this little book resulted from the preparations for that celebration. Mr. Brown has here rendered the State a distinct and useful service. It would be a great boon to the cause of history in the Northwest if his example were followed by capable students and writers in other communities.

The cover-pages carry two important illustrations—a portrait of John Jacob Astor and a picture of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort that succeeded the Astor fort at the mouth of the Okanogan River.

Looking Forward, The Story of the Upper Skagit. A supplement of the Concrete Enterprise, Concrete, Washington, 1913.

In this eighty-four page pamphlet, Editor Louis Jacobin tells something of the history and much of the ambitions of those who are developing the resources of the rich Skagit Valley. The work is profusely illustrated and is worthy a place in the archives of this rapidly expanding commonwealth.

Seattle Contrasts. By The Emblem Club of Bend, Oregon.

This is frankly an advertisement by the promoters of a new townsite in Oregon, but it is unique enough to merit mention. It contains no advertising whatever, except the very modest imprint of The Emblem Club as publishers. The book is a series of full-page pictures. The upper part of each picture is a modern view of some Seattle scene and the lower

part of that page is the same scene from two to thirty years before, as the case may be. In each case the contrast is wonderfully striking. As letter press explanation would be superfluous, it has been dispensed with and the fortunate owner of the booklet is permitted to allow the pictures to tell their own stories. It is hardly necessary to add that the pictures are worth saving to mark how the contrasts will increase as the city continues to grow.

THE LAND OF ICE AND SNOW, OR, ADVENTURES IN ALASKA. By Edwin J. Houston, A. M., Ph. D. (Philadelphia, The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1912. Pp. 412. $1.25.)

This is Volume VI. in The Young Mineralogist Series, the six volumes being undertaken to give young Americans some information about the geology and minerals in an attractive form. In writing this interesting story of Alaska the distinguished author avows the help he obtained from the writings of others, especially those by Major-General Greely.

WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Vol. I., 1779-1796. Pp. 508. $3.50 net.)

This important set of works will have a distinct interest for readers in the Old Oregon Country. John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin were three statesmen who persisted in friendly services on behalf of Oregon from the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, to the end of each of their lives. This first volume carries the work only to 1796. It is hoped the editor will give ample space in subsequent volumes to the statesman's farseeing policy toward Oregon. The book is well made, bound in blue cloth, gilt top and has as frontispiece a fine reproduction of the Copley portrait of 1795.

A CHECK LIST OF AMERICAN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEWSPAPERS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By John Van Ness Ingram, compiler. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 186.)

A LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY, CONFEDERATE MUSEUM AND VALENTINE MUSEUM. By Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor and Miss Susie B. Harrison, compilers. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1912. Pp. 425.)

NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, annotated catalogue of. Compiled by Ada

Tyng Griswold, M. L. (Madison, Published by the Society, 1911. Pp. 591.)

Of these three works the last named interests the Northwest. The book is carefully compiled, adequately indexed and shows a wealth of newspaper materials in possession of that Society. Turning the pages to the State of Washington, one finds fourteen cities represented by thirty papers. Oregon has seven cities listed with fifteen papers. In neither of the cases are the files of papers complete, but it is evidence of wide interest that even the fragmentary sets are so well cared for.

Other Books Received

BAIKIE, REV. JAMES, F. R. A. S. The Sea-Kings of Crete. (London, Adam and Charles Black, and New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913. Pp. 274.)

BEER, GEORGE LOUIS. The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Vol. I., pp. 381; Vol. II., pp. 382. $4.00 net.)

BOTSFORD, GEORGE WILLIS, PH. D., AND LILLIE SHAW. A Source Book of Ancient History. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 594. $1.30 net.)

CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF. Reports of Librarian and of the Superintendent of the Library Building and Grounds. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 235.)

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Original Distribution of the Lands in Hartford Among the Settlers, 1639. (Hartford, the Society, 1912. Pp. 715.)

GOODSPEED, EDGAR J., AND SPRENGLING, MARTIN, editors. A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. 128.)

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NEWS DEPARTMENT

Meeting of Learned Societies

The Pacific Association of Scientific Societies will hold its third annual meeting at the University of California, April 10, 11, 12, 1913. The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will, however, not hold a meeting, as it has changed its annual meeting time to November. The Pacific Association is composed of the following constituent societies:

The Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, The Cordilleran Section of the Geological Society of America, the Seismological Society of America, Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, The Pacific Slope Association of Economic Entomologists, Pacific Coast Palaeontological Society, The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, The Cooper Ornithological Club, California Academy of Sciences, Biological Society of the Pacific Coast, California Section of the American Chemical Society, Astronomical Society of the Pacific, The Geographical Society of the Pacific, Puget Sound Section of the American Chemical Society, California Section of the Archeological Institute of America.

The association represents a membership of about 2,400. Eleven of the fifteen societies will hold annual meetings at Berkeley; and the San Francisco Section of the American Mathematical Society will hold its annual meeting at the same time and place.

From the University of Washington Professors, Kincaid, Benham, Sage, Trumbull, Neikirk, Hart, Weaver and Bowman will attend their respective societies and the General Session of the Pacific Association on Saturday evening, April 12th. From the State College at Pullman Professors McCully and Shaw will attend.

Provincial University of British Columbia

Historians and educators are keenly interested in the progress of the Provincial University of British Columbia. Stray news items declare that a large amount of public lands has been set aside for the partial support of the institution and a money appropriation of $5,000,000 has been made to establish it on a substantial basis. The site has been chosen at Point Gray near Vancouver. Now comes the information that the authorities have engaged Franklin Fairchild Wesbrook as an important member of the educational staff. Doctor Wesbrook is now Dean of the College

of Medicine and Surgery of the University of Minnesota. He was born in Ontario in 1868 and by this contemplated move he becomes once more a Canadian after working out a splendid career in his high profession as an American. The educators of the Pacific Northwest will certainly ignore the boundary line in extending to him and his colleagues a hearty welcome in this new field of scholarly labor.

History in the High Schools

Recently the State Board of Education removed the restriction making a year of American history compulsory in the high schools. That subject was placed on a par with the other history subjects. The principals of the Seattle high schools have recently readjusted the programme so as to throw medieval with ancient history for one full year of work. Modern history is made one full year and absorbs the course in English history. American history is given one-half year and the balance of the year is to be devoted to Pacific Coast history and problems. The four-year programme is then rounded out with civics and economics, each one-half year. This scheme is planned for next year. Its progress will be watched with interest.

History Pageant

The students of Broadway High School, Seattle, gave an unusually interesting programme on April 4, 1913, consisting of a history pageant. The auditorium was packed with more than 2,000 people. The programme embraced scenarios relating largely to Pacific Coast history, such as the Lewis and Clark expedition, Marcus Whitman, Indians, early settlers and so on. The students were aided by their instructors and all were warmly congratulated on their pronounced success.

Visitor From Michigan

Richard Hudson, *Professor Emeritus* of History, University of Michigan, after spending the winter in California, paid a visit to the University of Washington on his way home. He was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1871, was a member of the history staff from 1879 to 1911 and was Dean of the Department of Literature, Science, and Arts from 1897 to 1907. While still associated with the University of Michigan his present address is 63 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan. On his visit to the Pacific Coast he met many of his former students.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

V. Explorations by Land

1. The Stoney or Shining Mountains.
   a. Jonathan Carver's Book.
   b. The Name of Oregon.
   c. Bryant's Thanatopsis.
2. Alexander Mackenzie.
   a. Discovery of the Mackenzie River, 1789.
   b. Expedition to the Pacific, 1792-1793.
   c. He finds but leaves a large river.
   d. His inscription on a rock.
   e. Humane treatment of his Indian guide.
   f. Value of his exploration.
3. Lewis and Clark Expedition.
   a. Its evolution
      i. Jefferson's letter to George Rogers Clark, 1783.
      ii. John Ledyard.
      iii. Andre Michaux and Meriwether Lewis, 1792.
      iv. Jefferson's personal activity.
   b. Organization of the expedition.
   c. Letter of unlimited credit from Jefferson.
   d. Impulse added by Louisiana Purchase.
   e. First winter on the Mississippi, 1803-1804.
   f. Second winter at Mandan Indian village, 1804-05.
   g. Sacajawea.
   h. Crossing the mountains.
   i. Descending to the Pacific.
   j. Third winter at Fort Clatsop, 1805-1806.
   k. Return trip.

l. Value and extent of explorations.
m. Subsequent careers of explorers.
n. Account of the journals and their several editions.

4. Astoria.

a. Experience of the Winship Brothers.
b. John Jacob Astor.
c. Pacific Fur Company organized.
d. Race with the Northwest Company.
e. Voyage of the Tonquin.
f. Fort Astoria begun, 12 April, 1811.
g. Loss of the Tonquin.
h. Expedition by Land.
i. Interior forts established.
j. Astoria sold to the Northwest Company.
k. Name changed to Fort George.
l. Presence of British sloop-of-war Raccoon.
m. Status of fort at end of war of 1812.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—There is much literature bearing on the subjects included in this syllabus. Almost any library in the Pacific Northwest will be found to contain some helpful books. The following citations comprise a few suggestions as to the books most surely accessible.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), Chapter XXI., pp. 666-703, on Mackenzie; Vol. XXVIII., pp. 1-254, on Lewis and Clark, and Astoria. The index in Vol. XXVIII. will lead to the topics as studied.

CARVER, JONATHAN. Three Years' Travel Through the Interior Parts of North America. One of the more frequent editions of this rather rare book was published by Key & Simpson in Philadelphia, 1796. On page v. the famous word he originated is spelled "Oregan."

COMAN, KATHARINE. Economic Beginnings of the Far West. This is a new work in two substantial volumes by the talented professor of Wellesley College. The books should find their way at once into every library of the Northwest. The ground covered by the above syllabus is adequately treated from the point of view of the economist. Consult the index, using such words as "Mackenzie," "Lewis," "Astor," "Astoria," or others as the needs arise. These books are published by The Macmillan Company, New York, at $4.00 for the pair.

IRVING, WASHINGTON. Astoria. This American classic is found in almost every library. If access is also to be had to General H. M. Chittenden's authoritative work "The American Fur Trade of the Far West," the reader will find, Vol. I., pp. 239-246, a splendid defense of Irving's book "Astoria."

LEWIS AND CLARK. Journals of. There are several standard editions of this primary source. And there are also a number of books about the expedition, in which are extracts from the original journals. The journals themselves will be found most helpful and interesting.

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER. Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793. Like the Carver book and the Lewis and Clark journals this is a primary source book. It is to be found in a number of the libraries of the Northwest and should be consulted when available.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Pages 45 to 54, and 80 to 86, will aid the student and the footnote citations will lead to other works for more extended researches where needed.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest. A valuable treatise of the ground covered will be found in this book from page 43 to page 114.

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Westward Movement. The great librarian of Harvard has given us a fine book with this title. He quotes from Carver and other sources on the topics included in this syllabus.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

These rocks are generally conical in form, and stand with their small ends up, like gigantic hen's eggs, deposited in the bed of the stream. They are all worn smooth by the continual friction of the current, and many of them are from ten to fifteen feet high above the water level. It is a most beautiful sight, as the water rushes down with resistless impetuosity, raging and foaming at the resistance made by these stubborn opponents in the very centre of its volume, to stand and gaze upon, from the commanding position on the northern bank. In all the whirl and turmoil of this watery Babel, I noticed a seal or two occasionally popping up their heads on the lee side of the rocks, as if to make an occasional inquiry as to the course of matters out of doors. The Indians have a remarkable tradition in relation to these Cascades. They say that about seventy or eighty years ago, they did not exist at all, but that the river ran smoothly on under the side of a projecting mountain, from which an avalanche slid into its bed, and drove it into its present fretful confine. This seems almost incredible, but appearances go strangely to confirm it. The river above the Cascades has all the appearance of being dammed up from below, and for many miles above, you will see stumps of trees in thick squads extending, at some points, more than a hundred yards from the shore along the bottom. These have all the appearance of timber that has been killed by the overflowing of water, as you will sometimes see it in a mill dam. The tops of some of them approach to within a foot or two of the surface, while in many places others rise above it for ten or fifteen. What is strongly confirmative of their report is the fact that you can find no such appearances at any other point on the river. It is certainly beyond dispute, that these trees could ever have grown there, and in absence of any other mode of accounting for the

phenomenon, we must come to the conclusion that they have been drowned by some great overflow, caused by a convulsion, or a lapse of nature. On the south bank, commencing at the foot of the Cascades, and extending half a mile up the river, and spreading between it and the mountains, is a space of level land, about three hundred yards wide, which is covered with pine, and is elevated, at low water-mark, some fifty or sixty feet. Among these pines, scattered over the surface of the ground, you will see numbers of these loose rocks, a portion of which have tumbled into the flood. It is also worthy of remark, that the pines growing here are all young trees, none being more than a foot in diameter.

The portage here is about half a mile, and is made on the north bank going up, and on the south bank coming down. The boats, however, are not taken out of the water and carried around as they are at the Falls, but are drawn along by ropes extending to the bank, and in some places are lifted over the rocks. The Cascades form another great salmon fishery. The Indians have speculated and practically experimented upon the doctrines of internal improvement in application to this object, by making artificial channels by an ingenious arrangement of the loose rock, so as to form a number of natural canals, into which the great body of the fish find their way in passing up the river, when they are taken with great ease.

The Cascades are a very important point of the Oregon territory in a business point of view. All the commerce and travel up the river are compelled to pass them, and to make this portage. There is fine grazing, fine timber, some good soil, and an incalculable amount of water power in the immediate vicinity. The piece of level land I have already alluded to as lying on the south bank would form a fine situation for a small town or a farmer's residence. The rapids below the Cascades extend down about three miles or more, and offer almost insurmountable impediments to navigation at low water, especially to boats ascending the stream. It requires, perhaps, a full day's time to pass from the foot of the rapids to the Cascades with a loaded boat. Portions of the loading have to be taken out and carried a few yards, at some two or three different points. In descending the river the Hudson's Bay Company always pass through them without unloading, and their mode of passage is very descriptively called "jumping the rapids." From the Cascades to Cape Horn (a perpendicular wall of rock about five hundred feet high, and running along the bank of the river for the space of half a mile on the north side) is twenty miles; and down to this point the mountains continue to be tall, and to run close to the margin of the stream. On the sides of these, both above and below, there are many beautiful waterfalls. There is one in particular, just above Cape Horn, formed by a considerable mountain stream,

whose whole volume falls in one perpendicular pitch of five hundred feet amid the caverns of the rocks.

At Cape Horn, which is midway between the Cascades and Vancouver (a distance of forty miles), you can perceive the mountains dwindle rapidly into hills, and what remains of them when you arrive within ten miles of the fort, turn off abruptly from the river on both sides, almost at right angles, and leave, spreading from its banks towards the sea, level, yet high districts of fertile country, many miles wide, covered with an immense body of pine, fir and white cedar timber. On the north bank, this strip of country runs some distance below Vancouver, and on the south it stretches to the Willamette. The Willamette is a fine river entering the Columbia five miles below Fort Vancouver, and running nearly in a south-easterly direction from the parent stream. This course, aided by a slight southern inclination of the great river, immediately after receiving it, forms a triangle, the point of which is formed at the junction, and the base of which extends about five or six miles up the banks of both rivers until it reaches an equilateral breadth. This is low bottom prairie covered with scattering ash and cottonwood. It is overflown every summer, and forms an exception to the high but level land, which I mentioned as stretching along the shore for twenty or thirty miles above. On the north side of the Columbia, in this lower region, the soil is rich, but gravelly; on the south side it is richer still, and is spread upon a substratum of yellow clay.

On the tenth of November, I arrived at Vancouver and could scarcely believe my eyes, when on approaching it, I beheld moored securely in the river, two square rigged vessels and a steamboat. My very heart jumped as I set eyes on these familiar objects, and and for the first time in four months, I felt as if I had found a substantial evidence of civilization. The impressions of the refinements of the mission, and the peculiarly domestic comforts which the excellent ladies attached to the establishments spread around them, were as nothing compared with the yards and masts of these couriers of the ocean.

The river at Fort Vancouver is from 1,600 to 1,700 yards wide. The Fort, which is the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, is on the north bank of the Columbia, 90 miles distance in a direct line from the sea. It stands a considerable distance back from the shore, and is surrounded by a large number of wooden buildings (among which is a schoolhouse), used for the various purposes of residences and workshops for those attached to the establishment. This colony is enclosed by a barrier of pickets twenty feet in height. On the bank of the river, six hundred yards farther down, is a village somewhat larger in extent (containing an hospital), which is allotted to the inferior servants of the

station. Two miles further down the river are the dairy and piggery, containing numerous herds of cattle, hogs, sheep, etc., and about three miles above the fort are grist and saw mills, and sheds for curing salmon. Immediately behind it is a garden of five acres, and an orchard filled with peach, apple, fig, orange, lemon, and other fruit trees, and containing also grapes, strawberries and ornamental plants and flowers. Behind this, the cultivated farm, with its numerous barns and other necessary buildings, spreads off towards the south. The land appropriated here for the purposes of farming is from 3,000 to 4,000 acres, and is fenced into beautiful fields, a great portion of which has already been appropriated to cultivation, and is found to produce the grains and vegetables of the States, in remarkable profusion. To cultivate these immense farms, and attend to the duties arising from the care of flocks, the drudgery of the workshops, the heavy labor attendant upon hewing timber for the saw mills, the British residents do not hesitate to press into their service the neighboring Iroquois, and even to avail themselves of human transplants from the Sandwich Islands; many of the natives of which are already here working in gangs for the benefit, and at the direction of this shrewd and able company.

On my arrival I was received with great kindness by Doctor McLaughlin and Mr. James Douglass, the second in command. They both tendered me the hospitalities of the fort, which offer, it is scarcely necessary to say, I accepted willingly and with pleasure. Dr. McLaughlin is the Governor or Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a situation most difficult and arduous in its duties, and requiring most consummate ability in the person aspiring to fill it. The Hudson's Bay Company have been most fortunate in their selection of Doctor McLaughlin for this important trust. Possessed of a commanding person, a refined, benevolent and amiable manner; owning extensive acquirements drawn from study, travel and intercourse with mankind; a profound knowledge of human nature, and withal a firmness that ensures obedience and respect, he is peculiarly qualified to protect the important interests of this powerful company, and to control its wayward servants, while thus far removed from the reach of other civil authority. Doctor McLaughlin is upwards of six feet high, and over sixty years of age. In person he is robust, erect, and a little inclined to corpulency, one of the natural results of contentment and repose. The clear flush of rosy health glows upon his cheeks, his eye still sparkles with youthful vivacity while he is in conversation with you, and his fine head of snow white hair adds not a little to the impressiveness of his appearance. His hospitality is unbounded, and, I will sum up all his qualities by saying that he is beloved by all who know him.

Mr. Douglass is also upwards of six feet, and about forty-five years

of age; he is likewise inclined to be corpulent, and his hair is also gently receiving its sifting from the salt of Time. He is, like his superior, a man of accomplished manners and great business habits. He came to America in his boyhood, entered the service of the H. B. Company, immediately on his arrival, and has remained in it ever since.

The *modus operandi* of this wonderful corporation is remarkable for the perfect accuracy of its system. A code of established rules, embracing within its scope the chief Factor and the meanest servant, is the inflexible rule which governs all. Every man has his allotted department to fill, and his regular tasks to do, and he is held responsible for the faithful performance of that and nothing more. A system of far sighted policy is brought to bear upon the management of every department, whether it be the trapping of a territory, the transplanting of natives, the reinforcement and supply of any of their numerous forts, the occupation of a point, or the assumption of a privilege.* A regular price is set upon everything, and it is labor thrown away to attempt to underbid it. Their goods are all of a most superior kind, and it is no less a rule to sell them at reasonable rates than it is to have them good. Vancouver is the grand depot of all the other forts of Oregon, and it is likewise the grand magazine of their supplies. The vessels that bring the comforts of other climes in at the mouth of the Columbia, here unload their freight, and the fertile valley of the river yields up its abundant stores at the slightest summons of their wants.

Their mode of transportation, and the carriage of their goods from place to place, is peculiar, and worthy of mention. They pack all their goods in uniform lots, of one hundred pounds each, and their boats being all of one size and form, are consequently all loaded alike. When they make portages, in ascending or descending the stream, an established rule, which on no account must be departed from, directs the number of packages to be taken out to lighten the craft, and this direction varies according to the navigation of the place. This regulation ensures the safety of every expedition, and prevents many losses and dangers that would otherwise arise out of the indiscretion and daring of the boatmen. A few years ago, a party of eight of the company's servants were descending the river in a boat, and when they came in contact with the Cascades, and were about landing to make the portage, according to custom, one of the party proposed, as they were anxious to arrive at home, that they should run through them. The proposal, though startling at first, was gradually assented to by all of the party but one. This was an old pilot, who had been in the Company's service for a number of years, and who was well acquainted

* A long description of the different trading posts belonging to the H. B. Co. has been left out, in consequence of the previous supply of that information in the demonstration and title to the Geographical sketch.

with all the dangers of the passage. He held out stubbornly against their united wishes, until accused of cowardice, when he relinquished his opposition, and partly to vindicate himself from the charge, and partly out of spite to their reckless folly, determined to give them a chance of proving his correctness by actual experiment. The boat passed safely down for some two or three hundred yards, when multiplying dangers whirled and foamed on every side, and the increasing ones that roared and broke ahead, struck them suddenly with a panic, and for a moment they ceased to pull their oars. The pause was fatal. The edge of a whirlpool caught the tail of the boat, swung her broadside to the stream with sudden velocity, and rushing it in this helpless condition among the most fearful rapids, it was suddenly overwhelmed by the lashing waves, and all on board perished, save the old man who had opposed the experiment, and one other hand. The pilot seized on an oar, and was picked up with it firmly enclosed in his senseless grasp, at a spot four miles below the scene of the disaster. The other man, by an equally strange caprice of the current, was cast insensible upon the bank immediately below the Cascades.

Whatever may be the cause of complaint existing against the Hudson's Bay Company, in their treatment of former emigrants from the United States, the kindness of Dr. McLaughlin to this emigration has been very great. He furnished them with goods and provisions on credit, and such as were sick were sent to the Hospital free of expense, where they had the strict and careful attendance of Dr. Barclay, a skilful physician, and an excellent and humane man. The Chief Factor likewise lent the emigrants the Company's boats, to bring down such of the families and baggage as had been left at the Cascades by the advanced guard of the expedition, which had preceded me; and he also furnished them with the same facilities for crossing the river with their cattle, at Vancouver. Had it not been for the kindness of this excellent man, many of us would have suffered greatly, and I have no doubt that much injustice has been done him, by confounding his personal conduct with that of many of his countrymen. The policy of the Company toward the Indians has, it is true, been very seriously condemned, as will be seen by Mr. Spaulding's communication, introduced in Mr. Pendleton's report, but it is very questionable whether Dr. McLaughlin is justly chargeable with all the evils that have arisen out of it. It is certainly true that he has been in some measures the victim of misrepresentation; for I know of my own knowledge, that the Indians of Southern Oregon, and those tribes bordering on the Californian line, instead of being inoffensive and well-disposed, as described by Mr. Spaulding, are on the contrary hostile, thievish, and treacherous. This is something toward a general refutation. It is certain that the Doctor himself has uniformly

aided settlers, by supplying them with farming implements, and with seed grain, as a loan, to be returned out of the succeeding crop. He has even went so far as to lend them hogs, to be returned two or three years afterward, by their issue of the same age; to furnish oxen to break their ground, and cows to supply milk to their families. This certainly appears to me to be a very poor way to retard the settlement of the region, and to discourage adventurers who arrive in it.

A great deal has been said against him because he has refused to sell the cattle belonging to the Company, but those who have made these complaints have certainly reflected very little upon the subject, and are incapable of measuring the enlarged scope of the Doctor's policy. The supply of cattle and sheep of the settlement was very limited, and the great object has been to increase it. This could only be carried out by secure measures for their protection; and it would have been absurd, indeed, while the authorities of the Fort were denying themselves the luxuries of beef and mutton, to carry out this important object, if they should have sold cattle to those whose caprice might destroy them at pleasure. Besides, all the cattle, with the exception of a very few, were inferior Spanish animals, and it was a matter of necessity to improve the stock, by crossing them with those of the English breed. The same case existed with regard to the sheep, which were from California, but which, by repeated crossings, have at length not only been greatly increased, but have been improved nearly to the condition of full bloods.

The science of stock raising, the rough mountain men who were the first settlers from the States, did not understand. They could only understand that brutes were made to kill, and hence the dissatisfaction, and consequent complaint. Having improved his stock, and accomplished a proper degree of increase, the Doctor was ready enough to sell on reasonable terms, though, to say the truth, he did not find a very ready market. The business of sheep raising on a small scale is scarcely worth attention. The wolves are sure to kill the animals, unless they are continually attended by a shepherd, and carefully folded at night; and besides, woollen goods can be had here so cheap, that their fleece hardly pays for the care required to raise it, and the raising of horned cattle, and wheat, is much more profitable. So far as its own individual interests are concerned (without regard to the claim to sovereignty from exclusive occupation), it is not the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company any longer to retard the settlement of this country. The beaver have nearly been exhausted from the region; the Indians are year by year rapidly passing away, and even those that remain, can bring nothing to the Company in the way of trade. By settlements from the States, the Company, who monopolize the commerce and manu-

factures of the place, obtain white men for customers, the trade of one of whom is worth that of forty Indians, who have nothing to sell.

The prices of groceries and clothing at Vancouver, are, upon a general average, the same as in the States, some that cost more, being balanced by those that come at less. Loaf sugar of the first quality is worth 20 cents per lb.; coffee, 25 cents: brown sugar, 12½ cents. Tea is better and cheaper than in the States, the road to China being so much shorter than from the Atlantic coast, and lying as it were right opposite the door of the Columbia river. Woollen goods and ready made clothing being introduced here without duty, as it is considered an English port, are greatly cheaper than with us. A very good woollen quality of blue broadcloth six quarters wide can be had for one dollar and twenty-five cents per yard. A very neat cloth roundabout comes at $4.37½; pantaloons at five dollars; heavy, well-made cotton shirts are worth 83 cents; Mackinaw blankets of superior quality, $3.50 each. All articles of cutlery are also cheap from the same reason as the above. Calicoes and brown cottons are about the same as in the States. Iron is about 10 cents a pound; gunpowder, 25 cents; lead 12½ cents, and shot the same. Irons and shots are yet very high, and crockery of all descriptions is also dear. Chains, tools, and farming implements are very reasonable; the best Carry ploughs can be had to order from an excellent blacksmith at the place at 31¼ cents per pound. Wheat is worth one dollar a bushel; potatoes, 40 cents; fresh pork, 10 cents, pickled 12½; fresh beef, 6 cents per pound. American cows bring from $50 to $75, and Spanish from $30 to $40; oxen from $75 to $125, per yoke; American horses from $50 to 75 dollars each. There is an abundance of poultry in the country, and there are also a plentiful supply of the two classes of domestic animals known by the familiar appellations of cats and dogs, but still I would advise emigrants to bring dogs with them that are of a good breed, as in a country where so much game abounds, and where there are herds to watch, they are calculated to be very useful.

All the goods sold at Vancouver are of the most superior quality, and the purchaser in this region of general honesty and enterprise, receives them at twelve months credit; so thus the greatest obstacle to the poor emigrant after his arrival here vanishes at once. This is a country of peace and good will; every new comer is received as a brother; the poor man's wealth lies in his arms, and the industry and enterprise which brought him here to claim by his labor heaven's first gifts in the riches of the soil is accepted as the substantial and sufficient guarantee of his good faith.

The utmost liberality characterizes all the dealings with the stranger and even with the resident. If your fortunes have been adverse, and you are not able to pay for last year's dealing, you are required to give your

note, drawing interest at five per cent. Instances have come to my knowledge since my arrival, in which Dr. McLaughlin has extended the credit of some of his customers for two or three years together. He has supplied most of the members of last year's emigration with such articles as they needed, taking in payment only the pledge of their honest faces and hard hands.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Chief Factor's Probity—Departure From Vancouver—Wappato Island—Game—The Willamette—Lizettas—Fallaty Plains—The Klackamus—The Falls—Fallaty River—Thomas McKay—Yam Hill River—Multnomah—McFarley and Dumberton—Their New Positions—The Half Breeds.

I have stated before that the special object of my journey to Vancouver was to consummate the arrangements I had made with Mr. McKinley of Fort Wallawalla, in regard to the exchange of our cattle. On the morning after my arrival, I therefore opened my business with the Doctor, and presented him with the aforesaid gentleman's order. The old gentleman at once gave evident signs of displeasure. He saw in a moment that Mr. McKinley had taken advantage of our ignorance to drive a sharp bargain, and gave an immediate and decided dissent to the whole proceeding.

"Are you aware," said he to me, "that our Spanish cattle are much inferior to yours?"

I told him I thought they were from the specimens I had seen at his place.

"And you have learned," continued he, "that cattle may be safely driven from Walla Walla to this port?"

I admitted that the success of our emigrants in bringing through their stock, had convinced me of that fact.

"Mr. McKinley has done very wrong," said he, shaking his head, "very wrong indeed! Your cattle are superior to those I should be obliged to give you, and you would be much the losers by the arrangement. I will not consent to profit by your reliance in our good faith. I will write to Mr. McKinley to take good care of your animals, and to deliver them to you wherever you have settled upon your final residence.

*There is nothing wonderful in all this. The Doctor could do business in no other way with the class of customers he works, and as for the taking of the note at the end of the year, when the misfortunes of his creditor would have left him unable to pay, it was simply a matter of course. Honest, and has nothing of generosity in it. The Doctor is doubtless a very excellent man, but the above circumstances only prove him to be a very good merchant.

If you should decide upon settling near us, we shall have the advantage of improving the breeds by them. But come, Mr. ——, leave this matter to me: let us drop business for the present, and take a turn down towards the river; I wish to give some directions to an expedition to Fort George, and then I wish to show you a splendid stallion which I bought from an Indian this morning."

It may be supposed by some that Dr. McLaughlin, under the idea that I was one of the leaders of our formidable expedition, was practicing upon me a piece of most adroit finesse, to enlist my favor at the outset, but, as I have had much the best opportunity to judge, I shall not hesitate to decide in favor of his entire sincerity.

That I may not overlook it, I will take this opportunity to state that when I was at Vancouver, the cattle of our emigration which had been driven clear through to the Willamette, were improving rapidly, and many of the oxen were already so far recruited as to be able to be worked daily in the plough.

Having concluded my business at Vancouver, and after having spent three very pleasant days in the hospitable society of the place. I determined to proceed on to the Willamette to make a selection of my final location.

Five miles sail down the Columbia brings you to the eastern mouth of the Willamette. The first object that strikes you immediately upon your entrance is Sauvy's Island, or as it is sometimes called, Willamette or Wappato Island. This is a long tract of low land about twenty miles in length, and about five in width. It lies directly in the mouth of the river, and thus splitting the stream, causes it to disembogue by two outlets into the Columbia at a distance of fifteen miles from each other. Its surface is mostly a low bottom prairie which overflows every summer, and it is intersected in every direction with small shallow lakes in which grows a species of Indian potatoe called "Wappato," similar in flavor to the Irish potatoe, and being a most excellent and nutritious description of food. There are, however, several spots of fir timber on it, on high ground above high water, and also a large amount of cottonwood, white oak and ash timber in several portions of it. There are immense numbers of wild hogs upon the island, the issue of some placed there several years ago by the Hudson's Bay Company, which find a plentiful subsistence in the Wappato root, and on the mast of the oak. On the lakes, marshes and rivers of this place may be found innumerable swarms of wild fowl, consisting of ducks, geese and swans. These the Indians kill in great numbers and sell to the whites at extremely low rates, the former being charged at four, the second six, and the latter at ten loads of powder and shot each. A family could easily be

supported here on wild fowl alone. After you pass up the river for two miles, you come to the Willamette slough, where the stream divides itself; the smaller portion turning to the left and running down in that direction along the island till it reaches the Columbia 15 miles south of the northern mouth. From the slough starts a ridge of lofty mountains about fifteen hundred feet in height, running parallel with the bank of the river up along its course. These are covered with immense forests of fir, white cedar, hemlock, cherry, maple, and some other kinds of trees, but the fir and cedar constitute nine-tenths of the whole body of the timber. The space between this ridge and the river is low bottom land, which overflows in some years, except at a point five miles from the river's mouth that has since been laid out by General M'Carver and myself under the name of Linnæan. This stands upon a high piece of level land about five feet above the level of the stream, and from its being the nearest eligible site for a settlement on the Willamette, it appeared to us to offer superior advantages for a town. As I may be supposed, from the fact I have above stated, to be interested in this point, I will pass it without further remark. When you reach Linnæan you have as yet seen no fine farming or grazing country, except that which is covered with immense bodies of timber requiring too vast a labor to remove. From Linnæan, there is a good road passing over the ridge of mountains I have mentioned, and leading out ten miles to the famous Fallatry Plains. As you approach within five miles of this region of exuberant fertility, the timber, which is mixed fir and cedar, becomes more scattering, and the country gradually more open. These plains, as they are called, consist of a succession of small prairies about three miles long, and two broad, separated from each other by small groves of timber, and stretching west from Linnæan, until they connect with the Yam Hill country, which I shall hereafter describe. These beautiful plains are almost encircled by a ridge of verdant mountains, in the form of a horseshoe; its convex sweeping toward the Willamette and the open end running into the Yam Hill valley. This ridge of mountains is in many places heavily timbered, and in others the timber is very scattering, the surface of the mountain being covered instead with fine grass, constituting an inexhaustible range. How far apart this horseshoe is at the base I cannot with exactness tell, but I suppose it, from a cursory observation, to be from twenty to thirty miles, and enclosing in its boundaries land enough for two fine countries. These plains are gently undulating smooth prairies, with a black fertile soil upon a clay foundation. The fir timber comes immediately up to the prairie, so that in five steps you can be out of the open field, in whose velvet smoothness not even a twig can be seen, into the dark green recesses of an everlasting forest of the tallest, straightest timber, studded in the

thickest and most formidable array. I should think there were rail timber enough upon ten of these acres to fence five hundred.

There are no deep branches running through these plains, but the water runs off in little valleys about ten yards wide, and where these valleys reach the forest, they are covered with black ash and white oak timber. There is also at various places around these prairies fine bodies of white oak timber. Take them altogether, I have never in my life seen prairies more beautiful than these are, or that were situated more advantageously for cultivation. The first settlements in this voluptuous region were made about three years ago, and they now extend to about fifteen miles into their bosom, and already embrace many fine farms, some containing as much as a hundred and fifty acres in fine cultivation. Were I possessed of a poet's imagination, I might describe in spontaneous song the superlative loveliness of this delightful scene as viewed from the slope of one of the encircling hills, but not being gifted with the poet's frenzy, I must leave the features of this delightful region to the imagination of the reader.

The Willamette river is navigable for ships for five miles above Linnton, but after passing up that distance, you come to a bar which forbids the further passage of vessels of any draught. Small vessels and steamboats, however, can ascend to within a short distance of the Falls. Three miles below the Falls, you come to the mouth of a stream called the Clackamus, which enters the river from the east. It rises in the President's range, and in its course of thirty miles, collects a considerable body of water, which it contributes to the main stream. Its current is rapid and broken, and not navigable to any available degree, and its tide sets with so strong a force into the Willamette, as to offer a serious impediment to boats stretching across its mouth.

As we neared the Falls, the water was shallow and fretted by the irregular surface of the bottom, and we were obliged on coming up to it to make a portage beyond. At the place of our debarkation, on the eastern bank, rose a perpendicular wall of rock, stretching some distance down the river. Through this, however, you find an easy avenue, but recently cut, to the high land above, which as soon as you ascend you find yourself amid the forests and the prairies of the upper plains.

After rising above the Falls, we came in view of Oregon City, the town of secondary importance in the territory. Here is situated, at the present time, from eighty to an hundred families, with stores, mills, workshops, factories, and all the concomitants of thriving civilization. They have likewise an independent government of their own, and as far as things have progressed, everything has gone well. Great improvements are medi-

tated at this place, and Dr. M'Laughlin, who is the owner of the first establishment you meet in rising from the lower bed of the river, mediates the project of cutting a canal around the Falls for the purpose of the more easy transportation of the harvests and manufactures of the upper settlements of the Columbia.*

The Falls presented a beautiful sight as they rushed in alternate sheet and foam, over an abrupt wall of dark rock stretching obliquely across the stream, and the hoarse uproar of the waters as they tumbled into the bed of the river below, lent an additional solemnity to the imposing grandeur of the scenery around.

The river's edge, for several miles above them, is bordered by a row of mountains, shutting out the surrounding prospect by their continually intervening hulks, from us who sailed upon the silvery bottom of the immense green trough between. There was nothing forbidding in their aspects, however, for their sides were covered with umbrageous forests of thickly studded timber of the most magnificent description. About fifteen miles above the falls, these hills, by a gradual modification of their altitude, roll into verdant undulations, spreading at last into level grassy plains, and alternating with flourishing clumps of timber land. At this point we came upon McKay's settlement, which is situated on the eastern bank, and presents all the evidences of a flourishing little town. Thomas McKay, its founder, is a native of this region in the fullest sense of the word, being the joint descendant of one of the early fur traders belonging to the Pacific Company, and a Chippeway squaw. The son, following the fortunes of his father, grew up in the service of the North West Association, and transferred himself, at the time of its dissolution, into that of the Hudson's Bay. Having at length acquired a competence, he retired from their arduous service, and established himself in his present location. He may now be said to be the most wealthy man in the valley of the Willamette, having an extensive and well stocked farm, and being the owner of a grist mill of superior construction, which must have cost him several thousand dollars to erect. He is a fine specimen of the two races, and combines the energy and perseverance of the one, with the strong passions and determined will of the other. His life has been one scene of wild adventure, and in the numerous conflicts of the early trappers with the savage tribes, he was always foremost in the fight, and the most remarkable in his display of daring bravery and enduring courage. Many a red man has fallen in conflict beneath his rifle, and the warlike bands that have gradually moved away, or been subdued into obedience, well recollect the terrible prowess of their dreaded cousin.

*We have already seen that this project is in course of consummation.

Between this town and the mission establishment above (a distance of forty miles), farms are sprinkled all along, and at twelve miles above McKay's, we meet another flourishing village, called Jarvis's settlement, containing between thirty and forty families, which are about divided as to national distinction. It was originally a mere collection of retired Hudson's Bay servants, but the gradual accession of American settlers has thus changed its complexion. This is a significant circumstance, and clearly indicates that it is our destiny to first alter and then reverse the political balance of every settlement in Oregon.

In my progress up the river I omitted to mention the fact that at a short distance above the falls, we come to the mouth of another small tributary on the west, called the Fallatry river. It takes its rise in the northern portion of the range of mountains which I have described as encircling the Fallatry plains, and in its course through them, pursues a southeasterly direction until it empties into the Willamette.

The next stream entering the Willamette on its western bank is the Yam Hill river. This tributary rises in a west, or southwest direction from the point of junction with the Willamette, in the range of low mountains that run along the edge of the coast. It starts from its source in a northwest direction, and receives a number of smaller tributaries in the shape of creeks. The valley of this stream is a very fine country, consisting of prairie, spotted with groves, and oak timber growing upon the same rich vegetable soil that is spread upon its plains. It extends to the bases of the mountains in which the Yam Hill takes its rise, and from its westernmost limit the roar of the adjacent ocean can be heard. The route to California passes some distance along the line of this valley, and a most excellent road can be had leading from it, through the Fallatry plains, to Linnian.

The country all along the eastern bank of the Willamette, above McKay's settlement, is as good as the Yam Hill country, or the Fallatry Plains, and is much the same, both in regard to its natural productions, and its soil. There are fine facilities for intercommunication with its different points; the line of travel is level and easy, and it has in consequence secured throughout its course a row of settlements which in a few years will extend into a continuous chain.

After you leave Jarvis's settlement, you proceed up the river for about thirty miles, when you come to the principal town of Oregon. This is situated on the eastern bank of the Willamette, and a ninety-four miles from the Columbia river. It was first formed in 1834, by a party of American missionaries under the directions of Messrs. Lee, Shepherd, and others, and its vicinity had, even previous to that period, been selected by several retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. It has, ever since

the above period, been the seat of the Methodist Episcopal mission, and has now become the headquarters of the operations of the district. Passing the period of my first visit to it, I will take this opportunity to state that there are at the present moment (March, 1844) at this place over two hundred families, and that there are in the whole valley of the Willamette, more than a thousand citizens of the United States. A church, a hospital, an academy, mills, workshops, comfortable dwellings, a herd of five thousand head of cattle, and all the accompaniments of civilization and refinement are to be found here, and any man who can be content to live beyond the limits of a densely populated city, can find at this place all the comforts and enjoyments which a rational being, uncorrupted by false appetite, can crave.

Already a court-house has been erected, and a military organization formed, the object of which is, protection against any formidable attack from the border Indians, or a means of resistance to any attempted aggression on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is, however, proper for me to say that there is not the slightest dread of either of these circumstances, as no hostile demonstration has been made, for several years, upon any of the white settlers in this region, and we have received evidence upon evidence, that the authorities at Vancouver are willing that we shall take the burden of civil and criminal jurisdiction from their shoulders, so far as regards the government of ourselves. It is, doubtless, their wisest policy. An American from the States grows up with the notion that he has a right to help govern himself, and he submits with a very bad grace to any exercise of sovereignty on the part of an Englishman. Indeed, he will not submit to it at all, and I have no kind of doubt that had the Hudson's Bay Company been unwise enough to truckle to the policy of their national government, and to insist, in despite of their own interests, on exercising legal control over us, the peaceful valleys of this region would, ere now, have been dyed with human blood.

McFarley and Dumberton both appear to appreciate the value of the field that is here thrown open to their ambition, and already these aspiring spirits have adopted a system of harranguing "The People," with a view of effecting new political arrangements. Each evidently thinks Nature intended him for a legislator, and constantly endeavors to lead Destiny some aid in the immense uphill nature of her task. As might be supposed, in a rivalry of this kind, the opponents represent opposite sets of principles and opinions. McFarley being a red-hot, ultra radical, and Dumberton, representing the cold and calculating conservative. Each have managed already to secure a clique, and while McFarley is regarded by his faction as "a thunder-an-lightnin-smart-feller"; Dumberton is revered

by his "following" as "a *tremendous* man." I am inclined to think McFarley will get the best of the struggle, if there is to be any beat about it, for he advocates extending the elective franchise to the Indians, with whom he has already secured an extensive interest and admiration, by his experiness with the rifle and in spearing fish: while Dumberton confines himself to profound and ponderous speculations on the more abstruse propositions of political economy.

Whether Messrs. McFarley or Dumberton will have anything to do with it or not, I have no doubt, that the civil and criminal government of the little colonies of this territory will shortly be perfectly organized: and in a manner too that will render us entirely independent of the jurisdiction or assistance of the United States; in which case, inasmuch as she has neglected this region so long, she must look out, say some of the old settlers, that she does not lose it altogether.

There are a large number of Indians about this settlement and valley, who are under the care of the missionaries, and who perform much of the servile labor of the mission establishment. Indeed they are employed the same way by these religious establishments, throughout the territory, as they are by the Hudson's Bay Company; so if there is anything which smacks of slavery in the one case, it necessarily follows in the other.

There is another, and pretty numerous branch of population growing up here, which cannot be passed without notice. This is the class of half breeds, the issue of the Indian women, who are either married to, or fall otherwise in the hands of the careless trapper, or the indifferent woodsman. As there is a great scarcity of white women in the territory, this state of things naturally results, and the consequence will be, that the half breeds, during the next five or six years, will form by far the most numerous native born of the population. Some of these are fine specimens of the two races, and if the cross turns out many such men as McKay, there will be no reason to regret this perversion of fancy, or rather this push of necessity on the part of their male progenitors.

At a short distance above Multnomah, a stream called the Santa Ann, I believe, enters the Willamette from the east, along the banks of which there is a vast body of fine country. It takes its rise in the portion of the President's range in the vicinity of Mount Jefferson.

The portion of the Willamette valley lying between the Cascade ridge and the range of low mountains next the ocean is from fifty to one hundred miles wide, and about two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet long. It consists of rich prairie land and timber, and let who will say to the contrary, is one of the finest pieces of farming land to be found in any country. There is very little difference in the several portions of this val-

ley, with the exception of the circumstance, that the timber is larger and a little more abundant in some places than in others, and now and then the prairies vary to some extent in size. This section constitutes the great body of the prime farming and grazing section of the lower region of Oregon, though there are other beautiful portions in the valleys of the Tootootutna, the Umpqua and the Klamet farther south.

CHAPTER X.

Passage Down the Columbia—Astoria—The Mouth of the Columbia—Lawyers in Oregon—Law Suit—Agitation of the Community—Luminous View of the Gentleman From Big Pigeon—The Philosophy of Soul Saving and Mode of Converting Savages in Oregon—How to Raise Wheat—Facilities for Farming Purposes—General View of the Valley of the Willamette.

To reach the Willamette, I had proceeded down the Columbia to the eastern mouth of the former river at Wappato Island; and for the purpose of completing the route to Astoria, I will now take the river up at that point again and trace it to the ocean. Passing along Wappato for fifteen miles, you come to the western mouth of the Willamette. The island at this point is high and has a bold rocky shore, right up to which, the water is of sufficient depth to allow a large class vessel to lie up and unload, an important advantage in case the point should ever be selected for commercial purposes. On the southern bank of the river immediately below the lower mouth of the Willamette, is a situation which would afford a fine site for a settlement or a town. It is true it is covered with fine heavy timber, but it rises gently from the river, and through the forests in the rear, a natural gap may be seen, which offers facilities for an avenue directly to the riches of the Fallatry plains behind. The Hudson's Bay Company perceiving the advantage of the situation, have already built a house there and have established one of their servants in it. They have many houses thus spotted about on eligible sites, the whole object of which in many cases must merely be the eventual assumption of a prior right, by pre-occupation, in case others should wish to settle in the same place.

As you pass down the Columbia, you find no plains along the river, but it is still bordered with its row of mountains running along the banks on either side, and bearing upon their sides the everlasting groves of timber. A few miles below Wappato Island, on the other side of the river, you strike the mouth of the Cowelitz river, in the valley of which I am told some very good land is to be found, though most of the soil on the north

bank of the Columbia is poor, and is unfit for the production of wheat or the esculent grains, except sparsely and in spots. This feature increases as you proceed northward, and the land in the vicinity of Nisqually, on Puget's Sound, is incapable, as I am told, of ordinary production.*

Below the Cowelitz river, the Columbia begins to widen, and at the distance of ten miles from the sea, it spreads to a width of several miles, forming by its angular extension at this part, the portion which British navigators have called Gray's bay, for the purpose of making the world believe that Captain Gray did not discover the Columbia, but only entered *the bay into which it disembogues, to the distance of twenty or thirty miles.*

Astoria, or Fort George, as it is now called by the company who have it in possession, is situated on the south bank of the river, about ten miles from the ocean. It stands on a hill side, and consists only of a few acres which have been redeemed by industrious clearing from the immense forests running behind it. Some of these trees are of the most enormous size, and the soil can only be got at with immense labor in the way of clearing. Until our arrival, it consisted only of three or four log houses in a rather dilapidated condition, but now it is revived by its old name of Astoria, by Captain Applegate and others, who have laid off a town there, and divided it into lots. It will hardly answer the expectations of those who go to it. The ground is rendered too wet for cultivation, by numerous springs that run through it in every direction, and the ocean air is sure to blast the wheat before it can ripen. Garden vegetables, however, grow there finely. Beyond Astoria, and nearer to the ocean, you find a small prairie about two miles long by three wide. It has been formed, it is said, by the ocean, and its soil is represented to be a rich black sandy deposit, varying from eight to fifteen inches deep, when it comes to a foundation of pure sand.

The mouth of the Columbia is the only harbor for ships upon the whole Pacific coast of Oregon. Its channel is very difficult, being tortuous in its course, and perplexed by sand bars, and on account of the violence of its breakers, caused by the sudden confluence of the river's descending volume and the ocean tides, it is extremely dangerous for more than two-thirds of the year to attempt to enter it. Once in, however, and there is good anchorage and safe navigation. The whole coast, in fact, is perilous to approach, and a northeast wind by giving navigators a lee shore of black overhanging rocks, heightens their danger not a little. The only place of refuge for vessel south of the Columbia on the Oregon coast is the mouth of the Umpqua, a river entering the Pacific in 42° 51', where vessels draw-

*This is at variance with the account of Lieutenant Wilkes, who represents the Nisqually establishment as a very good one, and as furnishing, for its productiveness, supplies to other stations and to the Russians.

ing eight feet of water may securely enter. A similar harbor may be found between forty and fifty miles to the north, called Gray's Harbor, which also affords like security for vessels of the same draught.

Having now completed the account of the line of route from the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia, I will now return to the valley of the Willamette as the point of the greatest interest, and after a few more remarks concerning it, will turn my attention to some of the general features of the territory.

As I said before, ships ascend the Columbia to the lower mouth of the Willamette at Wappato Island (and as high as the Cascades, in a direct onward course if they please), and turning into the river, sail for miles up it to Linnton, and beyond that, five miles more. There, a bar forbids the further progress of any but small vessels which may proceed onward to within seven or eight miles of the falls, and boats may go nearly up to it. Above the falls, the river is navigable for steamboats for over fifty miles.

Before passing Oregon city, I will take this opportunity to mention a circumstance in relation to it, which is not a little amusing in its character, as well as significant of the progress of civilization and social refinement in this primeval wilderness. It appears that Doctor McLaughlin, and some of the missionaries of the settlement above, are rival claimants to a portion of it, and one of the reverend gentlemen connected with the mission, has given way to his litigious feelings and employed a Mr. Ricard, a lawyer (we have lawyers here, too, you see), to institute a suit against the doctor for the site in dispute, in the United States courts, with the hope of compelling an ejection of the trespasser. Mr. Ricard has commenced proceedings, by putting up a very large hand bill, giving an abstract of the title to the mission, and notifying the doctor and all other persons to quit the premises—warning those, moreover, who have not as yet encroached, by no means to do so, without obtaining special leave from the owners aforesaid. I know very little about the merits of the dispute, but I do know that this is the fruitful source of one-half of the debates of the settlements. It takes the place of foreign and domestic news of other portions of the world, and wonderful are the speculations that are projected on its score. It may be readily supposed that such a circumstance as this has not been overlooked by McFarley and Dumberton: on the contrary, both snapped at it with the avidity of hungry tigers. McFarley is very strenuous in favor of the claims of his own countrymen, and has made out a deduction in their favor, which is based, I believe, on the treaty of Utrecht, or some other equally satisfactory basis. He is very decided in his attention of sustaining them with his personal influence and talents, and has solemnly pledged himself even to the extent of fighting it out with the

rifle. Dumberton, on the other hand, though equally decided in favor of the mission claimants, avers that he cannot but regard the circumstance of this dispute with the highest degree of satisfaction. "An opportunity is now furnished us," says he, "through this insignificant controversy, to settle the title of the whole country, and to expel the governmental trespassers from every point and portion of its dominions." "This," he adds, "will bring war between the United States and Great Britain; Ireland will revolt: Canada will secede; the monarchs of the Indies will throw off their slavish yoke: Russia unrestrained will snap up Turkey as a famished mastiff would deal with a fresh kidney, and, in short, the whole world would be revolutionized, and the balances of power altered by the controversy in relation to this scrip of land." This opinion, backed as it is by the weight of Dumberton's enormous reputation for profound sagacity, has created no slight sensation in our little world. I believe Doctor McLaughlin has first made acquainted with these views of the gentleman from Big Pigeon, but whether their forcefulness created any serious alarm in his mind, or whatever other effect they have been attended with, I have not been able to ascertain.

So far as the philanthropic objects of the mission are concerned, I do not see that they can derive any direct or indirect benefit from the possession of the place they strive for; though I, for one, am decidedly in favor of their relinquishing no right of settlement they have acquired in any portion of the territory; but I here feel bound to say, as a portion of my general remarks upon this territory, that all the Missionaries whom I have seen within it have succeeded much better in making farms, raising stock, erecting mills, establishing stores, and improving their own worldly condition, than they have been in saving the souls of the Indians. I have, however, no right to criticise and condemn the peculiar system of these gentlemen, for they should certainly know more about the redemption of souls than I, who never worked at it. I, therefore, is not for me to say that the Indian will not more readily imbibe regenerating grace by digging the ground and carrying logs on his shoulders, than in wearing out his knee-pans in fruitless ejaculations.

The Yam Hill river, which I have spoken of before as entering the western bank of the Willamette, is navigable for canoes and keel boats up to its forks, about fifteen or twenty miles from its mouth. Above this still, and at the head of navigation on the Willamette, is another town laid out, called Champoe, but I do not know that any lots have as yet been sold at that place.

I look upon the Willamette valley as one of the finest agricultural countries in America. The soft, rich soil of the prairies is easily broken up from its original imbeddedness with a single yoke of oxen, or a team of

horses, and the moderation of the climate allows you to sow spring wheat as early as the middle of February, and from that until the 15th of May, as the season happens to run. You commence ploughing in October, and plough and sow wheat from that time to the fifteenth of May, to suit the spring or fall crops. There is not much difference in the yield of the early and late sowings, but you must put about twice as much seed in the ground for the latter as for the former. The land yields from 25 to 40 bushels to the acre. I saw a field of five acres sown about the 15th of May last, in new ground, which produced one hundred and ten bushels of the most excellent grain.

The wheat of this country is better than that of the States. The grains are larger and plumper, and a bushel weighs several pounds more.

The country produces oats, peas, tomatoes, and garden vegetables generally, in great abundance. Irish potatoes and turnips grow better here than in the States. Sweet potatoes have not yet been tried, with the exception of an inferior specimen, from the Sandwich Islands, and they did not succeed well. If we had some good seed from the States, I have no doubt we could make them produce very well. Indian corn does not succeed well, and it is not so profitable a crop as other grain, yet it can be raised here in sufficient quantities for all useful purposes, for you need but little, in consequence of not being obliged to feed your stock.

Fruit, such as apples, peaches, cherries, plumbs, pears, melons, etc., thrive here exceedingly well: while wild fruit and berries abound in the utmost profusion. Cranberries are found in great quantities near the mouth of the Columbia, and are brought up here and to Vancouver, by the Indians, and sold for almost nothing. Blueberries, raspberries, sal-lal berries, thorn berries, crab apples, a kind of whortle berry, and strawberries are found in large quantities in every direction in this section of Oregon. The strawberries of this country are peculiarly fine; they are larger in their size than those of the States, and possess a more delicious flavor.

As regards the country for grazing, it is certainly all that anyone could wish it. Cattle require no shelter nor feeding, and upon the Yam Hill plains numerous salt springs supply another necessary of their fodder. Cows calve here when fifteen and twenty months old. This is also a good country for raising hogs; upon the Willamette below the falls, and on the Columbia, they live upon the wappato root, and upon the plains they find a plentiful subsistence in the grass and fruit of the white oak. The grass of this country, as I have had occasion to say before, is peculiarly nutritious, and cattle who have been put here to recruit, recover their physical energies with wonderful rapidity while feeding on it. In the last of November, the period of my first visit to this place, I saw a fine sorrel horse, which had

been brought to this country by Mr. John Holeman of Clinton County, Missouri, that was turned upon the grass in Fallatry Plains in the middle of the previous month. He was then so reduced and feeble, with the fatigues he had undergone during the trip from the States, that he could barely raise a trot; but when I saw him, he was in fine condition and curvetting about the plains as gaily as any of the other horses, with whom he was enjoying primitive independence. Cattle that were worked from the States to the Dalles, and from there brought down to the Willamette valley last year, have borne the winter well, and are now thriving rapidly.

The climate of this lower section of Oregon, is indeed, most mild. Having now passed a winter here, permanently and most comfortably established at Linntan, I am enabled to speak of it from personal experience. The winter may be said to commence about the middle of December, and to end about the 10th of February, and a notion of the genial nature of its visitation may be gained from the fact that I saw strawberries in bloom about the first of last December in the Fallatry Plains, and as early as the 20th of February the wild flowers were blooming on the hillsides. The grass has now been growing since the 10th of February, and towards the end of that month, the trees were budding and the shrubbery in bloom. About the 26th of November, we had a spell of cold weather, and a slight fall of snow, which, however, was gone in a day or two. In December, we had very little snow, all of it melting as it fell; in January we had more, but all of it, like the previous falls, melted as it came down, with the exception of one visitation, that managed to last upon the ground for three days.

The soil has not been frozen more than one inch deep during the whole winter, and ploughing has been carried on without interruption throughout the winter and fall. As regards rains in the winter, I have found them much less troublesome than I anticipated. I had supposed, from what I had heard of the incessant storms of this region, but I have work could not be done at all here, during the rainy season, but I have found that a great deal more labor of this description can be performed here than during the same period in the western states. The rains fall in gentle showers, and are generally what are termed drizzling rains, from the effect of which a blanket-coat is an effectual protection for the whole day. They are not the chilly rains which sting you in the fall and spring seasons of the eastern states, but are warm as well as light. They are never hard enough in the worst of times to wash the roads or fields, and consequently, you can find no gullies worn or cut in your fields, by this means.

(To be continued)

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN THE FAR NORTHWEST

The following few extracts taken from logs, narratives, and journals of American seamen, explorers, traders, and travelers, in the Oregon territory, and the Pacific Northwest, have no great historical significance. They are a recital of the manners in which the anniversary of Independence Day was observed by those intrepid men, long ago.

As to what constitutes a Fourth of July celebration, each individual must be his own judge.

The celebrations hereinafter mentioned, whether attended by few or many, by simple or elaborate ceremonies, were equally inspired by patriotism and the means employed to celebrate were the best their respective circumstances would permit.

During the time that George Washington was presiding over the deliberations of the Convention of 1787, certain Boston merchants, attracted no doubt by the prospects of immense profits to be derived in the fur trade of the North Pacific Ocean, purchased and fitted out an expedition, the ship "Columbia" of 212 tons burden, John Kendrick, commander; and the ninety-ton sloop "Washington," Robert Gray, commander. Sailing from Boston in the autumn of 1787, they arrived on the Northwest Coast the following year.

It is said that between the years 1782-1792 at least thirty American ships, mostly from New England, were engaged in the fur trade in the North Pacific Ocean."[1] This was the beginning of the golden age of the American merchant marine, when American built ships, fleet and staunch,

[1]Among the number were Captains Mayne, in "The Margaret"; Crowell, in the "Hancock"; Coolidge, in the "Grace"; Roberts, in the "Jefferson"; Metcalf, in the "Elmira"; Ingraham, in the "Hope," and Cole, in the "Florinda" of Macao. "The most miserable thing that was ever formed in imitation of the Ark," according to Haswell, one of the Columbia's officers.

flying the American flag, were to be seen on every sea, however remote..[2]

Some of the above mentioned ships were on this coast during those years on the anniversary of Independence Day. Captains Kendrick and Gray were at or near Nootka Sound on July 4, 1789. Some of these officers and seamen had served in the Revolutionary War. We know that Captain Kendrick "did considerable privateering" and that Captain Gray "was an officer in the American navy during the Revolutionary War." And so doubt they observed so important an event as celebrating every Fourth of July in a proper manner. There may be records of such celebrations.

JULY FOURTH, 1791

The following is an extract taken from the log of the ship "Hope," Captain Ingraham, recording such a celebration held on Queen Charlotte Island, named Washington Island by Captain Ingraham, July 4, 1791. George Washington was then serving his first term as president; the western boundary of the United States was then the Mississippi River. Michilemockinac, on Lake Michigan, Detroit, Fort Erie, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie, Port-au-fer, and Dutchman's Point were garrisoned by British troops and English officers still exercised jurisdiction over the adjacent territory. Neither Kentucky, Tennessee nor Ohio had as yet been admitted into the Union.

While the English and American governments did not agree as to the division of the territory, it was generally understood by both claimants that the Oregon country included all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, north of latitude 40° to 54° 40' north, and included Queen Charlotte and Vancouver Islands.

"Thursday, the 16th Sept., 1790, the Brigantine Hope being ready for sea under my command, destined on a voyage round Cape Horn to the N. W. coast of America, from thence to China and back to Boston, making the circuit of the globe. Having experienced much tempestous weather on my last voyage in doubling Cape Horn, I was under some apprehension as to the safety of the Hope being only 70 Tons burthen

[2] Rev. Edward O. Parker, referring to the North River, Massachusetts where the "Columbia" was built, said:

"One who sees it today peacefully wandering through quiet meadows and around fertile shores would hardly believe that over one thousand seafaring vessels have been launched on its banks." Quoted in the Twenty-fourth Annual Session of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1896. Portland, Oregon, 1872, p. 73.

While the English and American Governments did not agree as to the division of the territory, it was generally understood by both claimants that the Oregon country included all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, north of latitude 40° to 54° 40' north, and included Queen Charlotte and Vancouver Islands. See map in Twiss (Sir Travers) Oregon Question Examined in Respect of the Law of Nations, London, 1846; Travers Twiss' History of Oregon and California and the Other Territories on Northwest Coast of North America, second ed., Boston, 1846, p. 31.

and slightly built. However I conceived it the time to make Hay while the sun shone. The trade to China from N. W. being lucrative and in its Infancy it was not to be long neglected especially as since the return of the Columbia many of our enterprising seamen seem'd bent towards an Adventure to try what could be done notwithstanding the ill success of the first attempt, and when I considered these things I was determined to be among the first that Embark'd—at all events altho I had been on shore but 5 weeks since my last voyage round the world which instead of an elevation only tended to embitter my situations being only a mere dream of Felicity from which I was loth to be awakened; however Fortune is not alike kind and propitious to all therefore with a good a grace as possible I submitted to my fate—and on the morning before mentioned several Gentlemen of the Company who fitted my vessel and others of my acquaintance accompanied me on board in order to sail out in the bay with us and to return in the pilot boat."[4]

The brig "Hope" was fitted out by Thomas H. Perkins, of Boston, who carried on a great commercial business, chiefly with the Northwest of America, China and Boston, in the early part of the nineteenth century. No private firm in the world transacted more business in China.[5]

The "Hope" left the Sandwich Islands for the Northwest Coast of America June 1st, 1791.

July 28, 1791—"* * * * We saw part of Washington Island bearing N. E. * * * *"

June 29—" * * * * We saw 3 openings which we had observed on the preceding evening. I stood for the northernost which had the most promising appearance and bore N. E.ᵉ of us. When we got within a league of the entrance I sent an officer with a boat mann'd and arm'd to examine it ere we entered in with the vessel. In the meantime I had the Brig by the wind and lay off and on. At 11 o'clock the boat was seen coming out with a Jack flying which was the signal if in case it proved a good Harbour. We bore away and met her in the entrance of a fine sound; at 4 Oclock we moored in a snug cove in the East arm of the sound as I never had any Information that there was a sound or Harbour where we fortunately found so good a one. I fix'd it necessary it should have a name. I therefore nam'd it Magee Sound, after Capto

[4]Journal-of-The Voyage of-The Brigantine "Hope"-From Boston To-The North-West Coast of America-1791-1793—By-Joseph Ingraham—Captain of the "Hope." Book 2, p. 1.

Copy used is a Photostat copy in the Library of the University of Washington, taken from Original in Library of Congress (hereinafter cited as Log of the ship "Hope").

[5]Weeden, (William B.), Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789, v. 1, p. 521. Boston, 1890.

James Magee, of Boston and one of the Company which own'd the Hope under my command."[1]

"July 4th. [1791]—* * * * On the 4th, being the anniversary of American Independence I caused a Hog of 70 lbs. weight to be roasted whole on which we all din'd on shore. I with my Officers and seamen drank the president's health and made the forest ring with 3 cheers, after which every one return'd to their several employments as we could not spare time to set longer after dinner * * *."[2]

Magees sound is situate in the Lat 52° 46' North; Longe 61° 16' West of Boston, or 131-46 West of London. It is on S. E. side of Washington Island on what the English term Prince Edwards or Charlotte Isles thus named by 2 different Captains on their first falling in with them.[3]

JULY FOURTH, 1792

Captain Ingraham, in ship "Hope," returned to the Northwest Coast of America and was at the Washington Islands in July, 1792, where he again celebrated the anniversary of American Independence, as following extract from his journal shows:

"July 2 [1792]—Lat. 53°-54 No.; Long. 224°-25E.

"* * * * * We saw past of Washingtons Islets bearing E. B. N. Dist'ce 8 leagues. I intended anchoring in Cows Duglas or Crab Cove, I keep off to N, leaving all the highlands to the South, or on the starb'd hand.

"At noon our Lat. was 54°-5 N. at which time Cunneyoha straight bore N. E. 4 leagues we stood in under all sail * * * * * at 4 in the afternoon we anchored in 15 fathoms water nearly in same place we did on our last voyage."

July 4 [1792]* * * * * "being the anniversary of American Independence in order to celebrate it in the best possible manner our situation would admit of I had as on my last voyage a Hog of 60 pounds weight roasted whole on the beach and invited Capn. Crocl and his officers to dine with me at 12 Oclock we fir'd a gun hoisted our colours and gave 3 Cheers—which the Hancock return'd. As the Hope was on Careen we din'd on shore under a Tree near the beach. Old Cunneyah was one of our guests—however the day did not end so pleasantly as it began for in the afternoon when Capn Crocl and his officers were return'd on board and we were trading with the natives some of the Hancocks men who

[1]Log of Ship "Hope." Book 3, p. 79.
[2]Ibid. Book 3, p. 93.
[3]Ibid. Book 3, p. 92.
[4]Ibid. Book 3, p. 102.

were cutting wood on shore lost an axe (perhaps by carelessness). However they challenged the Natives with the Theft and seiz'd several skins and 2 spear's on which I saw the Indians which had taken their temporary abode near us, embarking on hearing the cause, I repair'd on board the Hancock to inform Capn Crool that he might take proper care of his men. Capn Crool immediately went on shore and brot the men off with him leaving the skins with my chief Officer. Shortly after 2 or 3 natives return'd to the beach and Captn Crool desir'd me to give orders that the skins might be given to those people which I did after the men were possess'd of the skins they offer'd them for sale for a Jacket & Trousers which one of the men was trying on when a man came alongside the Hancock and said the skins were his on which Capn C. desir'd I would hail again & give orders that the skins might be given to the man who claim'd them last this I did likewise.

The man that was bargaining for them seeing the right owner coming to receive them endeavor'd to run off with the Jacket and Trousers on which my Chief Officer gave orders to pursue him and the Centinals on the beach to fire which they did 2 muskets were fir'd before I was able to stop the men from persuing, the Jacket was recover'd and the Trousers the man carried off.. I was very sorry it Happened. I was on board Hancock at time as the native informn' me the man was wounded in the side which had I been on shore I should have prevented so might the Officer had he been trading where he ought to have been (on board the Brig) etc etc."[14]

Captain Ingraham subsequently entered the navy of the United States as a Lieutenant, and was one of the officers of the ill-fated brig Pickering, of which nothing was ever heard after her departure from the Delaware in August, 1800.[15]

The location of this, the second celebration of Captain Ingraham, is not quite so clear. It probably was on the North West point of what is now known as Graham Island (of the Queen Charlotte group) or the small island, just northwest; or it may have been on one of the Prince of Wales Islands, then called Douglass, or on mainland just north of Portland Canal. If at either of last two mentioned, it was held in what is now Southeastern Alaska.

Between the years 1790 and the beginning of the War of 1812 numerous American ships annually visited the Northwest Coast. And it

[14]Ibid. Book 2, p. 164.

[15]Greenhow (Robert), History of Oregon and California, 2nd ed. 1845, p. 332.

is safe to assume that where you find Americans on July 4th you will find them celebrating the anniversary of American Independence.

JULY FOURTH, 1806

The Lewis and Clark Expedition left the River a Dubois, opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, Monday, May 4th, 1804,[1] on their overland journey to the Pacific Ocean. They passed their first Fourth of July [1804] near present site of Fort Leavenworth.[11]. On July 4th, 1805, they were at the Great Falls of the Missouri River.[14]

Having reached the Pacific, where they passed the winter of 1805-1806, they were now returning to the States.

They reached the Bitter Root Valley on July 3, 1806,[15] where they separated temporarily, Captain Lewis to take a short cut to the Missouri River, Captain Clark to explore the Yellowstone.

Captain Clark's camp on July 3, 1806, was nearly opposite where the town of Carvella, Montana, is now located.[16]

This was in the Oregon territory and formerly a part of the Territory of Washington.

Captain Clark makes the following entry in his journal:

"Friday, July 4 1806.

I ordered three hunters to Set out early this morning to hunt & kill some meat, and by 7 A. M. we collected our horses took breakfast and Set out; proceeded on up the Valley on the West Side of Clarks river crossing three large deep and rapid Creeks, and two of a smaller size to a small branch in the Spurs of the mountain and dined; the last Creek or river which we pass'd was so deep and the water so rapid that several of the horses were sweped down some distance and the Water ran over several others which wet several articles. After crossing this little river, I observed in the road the tracks of two men whome I prosume is of the Shoshone nation. Our hunters joined us with 2 deer in tolerable order. On the side of the Hill near the place we dined saw a gang of Ibex or big horn Animals. I shot at them running and missed. This being the day of the declaration of Independence of the United States and a Day commonly scelebrated by my Country I had every disposition to celebrate this day and therefore halted early and partook of a Sumptious Dinner

[1]Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Editor. N. Y., 1905. Vol. I, p. 94.

[11]ibid. Vol. I, p. 16.
[14]ibid. Vol. 3, p. 110. Vol. 7, p. 110.
[15]ibid. Vol. 5, pp. 183, 241.
[16]ibid. Vol. 5, p. 246, note 2.

of a fat Saddle of Venison and much of Cow (roots). After Dinner we proceeded on etc etc."[1]

Clark was accompanied by twenty men, besides the Indian woman, Sacajawea, and her Child. Nathaniel Pryor, John Shields, George Shannon, William Labiche, Richard Windsor, Hugh Hall, George Gibson, Charbonneau, Pierre Coarraize, John Colter, John Collins, Alexander Willard were of the party.

JULY FOURTH, 1807

"William Tufts, Esq.,[2] of Boston, * * * * * who was on the coast as supercargo of the ship Guatimozin, of Boston, in 1807-8, writes me from Boston, February 6th, 1857, that he was on the Coast for eighteen months, from the 20th of March, 1806, to the 24th of September, 1808. * * * *

"I was in the Columbia River from about the first to the middle of July, 1807. Our dinner on the 4th of July was roast moose and boiled salmon."

Mr. Tufts also procured at the same time a medal given to the Indians by Lewis and Clarke. It was pewter, and with inscription upon it * * * * *."

The ship Guatimozin, of Boston, Captain Glanville, master, owner by T. Lyman, was on Northwest Coast in 1807-1808, and was wrecked on coast of New Jersey, February 3, 1810.[3]

JULY FOURTH, 1810

The following is a condensed statement taken from a speech by Hon. James G. Swan delivered before the Washington Pioneer Association at Port Townsend in 1887:

Captain Nathaniel Winship in the ship "Albatross" of Boston entered the Columbia in the latter part of May 1810, and attempted the construction of the first trading establishment on the Columbia River, and "planted the first seeds in the virgin soil." Discouraged by floods and the hostility of the natives, they abandoned the settlement and left the Columbia River July 19th, 1810.[2]

[1]Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Dr. Thwaites, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904, Vol. 1, p. 183.

[2]William Tufts was an uncle of James G. Swan. "Transactions of the Washington Pioneer Association for the years 1883 to 1888, inclusive, with Constitution and By-Laws and Lists of Members and Officers, and other matter of interest to Pioneers. Compiled by Charles Prosch, Seattle, 1904, p. 91.

[3]Swan, James G., The Northwest Coast; or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory. N. Y., 1857, p. 406. Hunt's, p. 121.

"Transactions of the Washington Pioneer Association for years 1883 to 1888, inclusive, with Constitution and By-Laws and Lists of Members and Officers, and other matter of interest to Pioneers. Compiled by Chas. Prosch, Seattle, 1904, pp. 94, 95.

If Franchere, Ross Cox, Alexander Ross or Irving mentions any 4th. of July celebration among the "Astorians" I have not found it. It is said that in all the Association there were but five native-born American citizens, and of these one was manager, three were clerks, and one cooper. This doubtless refers to the Company of the ship Tonquin. That there were more Americans in the overland party of Mr. Hunt seems certain, though of the total number they were a very small minority. Even this small number doubtless celebrated Independence Day.

JULY FOURTH, 1811

The following celebration, though not held in the Oregon country, is, however, worthy of mention, owing to the fact that some of those present afterward became prominent in the history of Oregon.

Mr. Astor's overland party, under command of Mr. William P. Hunt, consisted of nearly sixty persons. In this party were John Bradbury, the English naturalist; Mr. Nuttal, the naturalist, and Donald McKenzie, Ramsey Croats, Joseph Miller, Robert McLellan, partners: John Reed, clerk; John Day, hunter, etc., etc. Forty were Canadian "voyageurs" or "engages."

They embarked at Nadowa, near junction of the Missisippi and Missouri Rivers, early in March 1811, "in four boats, one of a large size mounting a swivel and two howitzers," bound for Astoria. Shortly after, Manuel Lisa, the well-known head of the Missouri Fur Company, also fitted out an expedition of twenty-one well-armed and selected men to make a trip to the Rocky Mountains and visit his forts on the Missouri River, and had a swivel and two brass blunderbusses mounted in his boat.

Mr. H. M. Brackenridge, a well-known writer, and Sacajawea, her husband, and child were in the party. Speaking of her, Brackenridge says: "We had on board a Frenchman named Charbonet with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake Nation, both of whom had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific and were of great service. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition, greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and dress she tries to imitate; but she had become sickly, and longed to revisit her native country."[1]

Lisa's party left St. Charles April 2, 1811, more than twenty days after Hunt's party.

Realizing the danger to a small company passing through the hostile Sioux Nation, Lisa put forth every effort to overtake and join Hunt's

[1]Brackenridge (H. M.), Views of Louisiana, Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in 1811. Pittsburgh, 1814, p. 262.

pany before they reached the Sioux Country. They succeeded in overtaking Hunt, soon after he had entered it.

Chittenden says: "This remarkable keel boat race, covering a period of just two months and a distance of about eleven hundred miles, is one of the notable events in Western history."[75]

The parties traveled in company up the river, the leaders mutually distrustful and suspicious of each other. They later quarreled. Afterwards became partly reconciled. They finally arrived at Fort Lisa, situated on the Missouri River, near the Mandan Villages near where the present town of Stanton, North Dakota, is now situated—where on July 4th, 1811, they celebrated Independence Day, probably the first ever observed in Dakota.

Brackenridge, who was with Lisa says: "On the Fourth of July, we had something like a celebration of the day. The two principal chiefs happened to be with us. The borgne is one of the most extraordinary men I ever knew. The description of Abelino might give some idea of the man. He sways with unlimited control all the villages, and is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant. In stature he is a giant, and his one eye seems to flash with fire. I saw him on one or two occasions treat She-he-ke with great contempt. Mr. Lisa citing something which She-he-ke expressed, "What," says the other, "does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?"[76]

Mr. John Bradbury, who was present, says:

4th [1811]—"This day being the anniversary of the independence of the United States, Mr. Lisa invited us to dine on board his boat, which was accepted by Messrs. Brackenridge, Lewis, Nuttal and myself; and as Le Borgne and the Black Shoe, the two Minetaree chiefs, called at the Fort before dinner, they were invited also. They ate with moderation and behaved with much propriety, seeming studiously to imitate the manners of the whites."[77]

JULY FOURTH, 1823

There is a famous old landmark known to many of the fur traders, trappers and pioneers coming overland on the old Oregon trail—Independence Rock. It is an immense oblong block of oval, but irregular shape, along the southern base of which lay the river (Sweetwater) and along the northern base the old Oregon trail. A monument raised by Nature

[75]Chittenden (Hiram Martin), American Fur Trade of Far West, Etc., New York, 1902. Vol. I, p. 183.

[76]Brackenridge (H. M.), Views of Louisiana, Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River in 1811. Pittsburgh, 1814, p. 169.

[77]Bradbury (John), Travels in the Interior America in the Year 1809, 1810 and 1811, etc., London, 1819, p. 101. Same, Early Western Travels, Vol. V., p. 167, Cleveland, 1904, Dr. Thwaites, Editor.

and which was dedicated to commemorate a Fourth of July here celebrated by the first party of whites who made the journey by South pass. "The name is of early date, probably before 1830, and if so, coming from the Ashley Expedition. The incident which gives rise to it is well-known, from various references all of which indicate that a party of hunters encamped at the base of this rock on a Fourth of July and here celebrated the anniversary of the Country's Independence."[50] Sage says that "it derives its name from a party of American on their way to Oregon under lead of one Tharp, who celebrated the Fourth of July at this place"[51]—they being the first company of whites that ever made the journey from the States via South Pass. As Oregon then included everything west of South Pass, this may very likely refer to the first Ashley party that followed the route probably in 1823." [52] [53]

Sage says further that "the surface (of the rock) is covered with names of travelers, traders, trappers, emigrants engraved upon it in almost every conceivable part for the distance of many feet above its base—but most prominent among them all is the word 'Independence' inscribed by the patriotic band who first christened this lone monument of Nature in honor of liberty's birthday." This is confirmed by Farnham,[54] who refers to the rock as "a large rock, oval in form on which the old trappers many years ago carved word 'Independence' and their own names."

It is also mentioned by Father DeSmet, who passed "Independence Rock" July 5th, 1841.[55]

JULY FOURTH, 1832

Speaking of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth's first expedition to Oregon, his kinsman, John B. Wyeth, said that Captain Wyeth was greatly influenced to undertake this venture by the writings of Hall J. Kelley. Of the latter he says:

"He believed all he read and was firm in the opinion that an Englishman and American, or either, by himself could endure, and achieve anything that any man could do, with same help. That a New England man or 'Yankee' could with less."[56]

[50] Chittenden (Hiram Martin), American Fur Trade of Far West, Etc., New York, 1902. Vol. I, p. 178.

[51] Sage (Rufus B.), Rocky Mountain Life, Etc., Boston, 1859, p. 144.

[52] Chittenden (H. M.), American Fur Trade of Far West, V. I., p. 172.

[53] Farnham (Thomas), Travels in Great Western Prairie, Etc., Vol. I., p. 71. Also Early Western Travels, Dr. Thwaites, Editor, Vol. XXVIII., p. 141. Cleveland, 1906.

[54] DeSmet (P. J., S. J.), Letters and Sketches, with a narrative of a year's residence among the Indian tribes of Rocky Mountains. Philadelphia, 1843, p. 79.

[55] Wyeth (John B.), Oregon, or a Short History of a Long Journey, Etc., Cambridge, 1833, p. 4. Same, Early Western Travels, Thwaites, Ed., Vol. XXI., p. 14.

That party consisted of Capt. Wyeth, and company of twenty-one. They left Independence, Mo., in May, 1832, at which place they were joined by William Sublette, and a party of sixty-two.

July 4th, [1832]—"Decamped and at noon crossed the divide and drank to my friends with mingled feelings from the waters of the Columbia mixed with alcohol and eat of a Buffaloe cow. Made this day 30 miles and 25 yesterday. The snow clad mountains now entirely surround us, the streams this side increase rapidly. One bear seen this day. The grass much better and some fertile land here the earth in places was frozen snow yesterday and today. Three of my men are sick and I have no spare animals for them."[1]

John B. Wyeth, who was one of Captain Wyeths party, says:

"On the 4th of July, 1832, we arrived at Lewis' fork, one of the largest rivers in these Rocky Mountains." (Probably Hoback's River, a branch of Lewis or Snake River in Western Wyoming just south of Yellowstone Park.) He says further:

"This being Independence Day, we drank the health of our friends in Massachusetts in good clear water, as that was the only liquor we had to drink in remembrance of our homes and dear connexions. If I may judge by my own feelings and by looks of my companions, there was more of melancholy than joy amongst us."[2]

July 12th John B. Wyeth and several others of Captain Nathaniel Wyeth's party decided to return, which they did, joining Captain William Sublette's party, and later returned to the States. He lacked the proper qualifications to become a pioneer. Captain Wyeth continued his journey and reached the Pacific Coast.

JULY FOURTH, 1834

Capt. Wyeth's second expedition to Oregon.

In the party were John K. Townsend, Thomas Nuttal, Jason and Daniel Lee, the missionaries. They left St. Louis in March, 1834, and had reached the Bear River, near the border of Washington, Wyoming and Idaho.

July 4th, 1834—"This being a memorable day, the liquor kegs were opened, and the men allowed an abundance. We, therefore, soon had a renewal of the coarse and brutal scenes of the rendezvous. Some

[1]Sources of History of Oregon. "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6. Vol. I, Parts 2 to 6, inclusive, p. 168.

[2]Wyeth, John B., Oregon, or a Short History of a Long Journey. Cambridge, 1833, p. 94. Same, Early Western Travels, Thwaites, Ed., Vol. XXI., p. 88.

of the bacchanals called for a volley in honor of the day, and in obedience to the order, some twenty or thirty 'happy' ones reeled into line with their muzzles directed to every point of the compass, and when the word 'fire' was given, we who were not 'happy' had to lie flat upon the ground to avoid the bullets which were careening through the camp."[732]

Captain Nathaniel Wyeth made the following entry in his journal:

"July 4th. [1834]—Moved up the Creek about 1 mile, then leaving it made W. by N. over a divide and by a pass which occurs in lower part of a high range of hills 7 miles then W. 13 miles down a ravine which had a little water in it to its junction with another small run and the two are called Muddy. Here we celebrated the 4th. I gave the men too much alcohol for peace, took a pretty hearty spree myself. At camp we found Mr. Cerry and Mr. Walker, who were returning to St. Louis with the furs collected by Mr. Bonnevilles Company, about 10 packs and men going down to whom is due 10,000$."[733]

JULY FOURTH, 1835

At Fort William, Wyeth's New Settlement on Wappatoo Island, which is about fifteen miles from lower mouth of Willammet.

1835—"July 4th.—This morning was ushered in by the firing of cannon on board our brig, and we made preparations for spending the day in festivity, when, at about 9 o'clock, a letter was received from Mr. Walker, who has charge of the fort at Wappatoo island, stating that the tailor, Thornburg, had been killed this morning by Hubbard, the gunsmith, and requested our presence immediately, to investigate the case, and direct him how to act. Our boat was manned without loss of time, and Capt. L. [ambert] and myself repaired to the fort, where we found everything in confusion. Poor Thornburg, whom I had seen but two days previously, full of health and vigor was now a lifeless corpse; and Hubbard, who was more to be pitied, was walking up and down the beach with a countenance pale and haggard from the feelings at war within etc."[734] The brig referred to was the "May Dacre," Captain Wyeth's vessel.

[732]Townsend (John K.), Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, Philadelphia, 1839, p. 89. Same, Early Western Narratives, Thwaites, Ed., Cleveland, 1905, Vol. XXI., p. 186.

[733]Sources of the History of Oregon. The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6, Eugene, 1899, p. 24, p. 224.

[734]Townsend, Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains p. 205. Same, Early Western Narratives, Thwaites, Ed., Vol. XXI., p. 321.

JULY FOURTH, 1836

The missionary party, consisting of Marcus Whitman and wife, H. H. Spaulding and wife, W. H. Gray and the two Nez Percé boys, had overtaken the caravan of the American Fur Co. late in May, 1836, at Loup Fork of the Platte River. The overland caravan consisted of about two hundred persons.

"On the Fourth of July [1836] they entered the famous South Pass, where the Rockey and Wind River Mountains almost come together."[26]

"July 4th they entered the South Pass of the Rockey Mountains, the dividing line between the Atlantic and the Pacific Slopes. There on Independence Day, they alighted from their horses, and kneeling down, with the Bible and the American flag in their hands they took possession of the Pacific Coast as the home of American mothers and for the Church of Christ."[27]

There is some doubts as to whether this party had reached the South Pass on July 4, 1836.

JULY FOURTH, 1841

Part of the United States exploring squadron under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., was on Puget Sound during part of the spring and summer of 1841, and they were present and took part in the great Fourth of July celebration held near Fort Nisqually in 1841. This was a large celebration and according to modern formula, nothing was omitted. They fired salutes with cannon, sailors and marines[28] marched to music. With flags flying, the Declaration of Independence

[26]Barrows (William), Oregon, the *Struggle for Possession*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1885, p. 122. Cites no authority.

[27]Eells (Myron), Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot, Seattle, 1909, p. 97. Cites no authority. For Whitman's journey across the continent he gives Messrs. Parker, Gray, Lovejoy, and Mrs. Whitman as his authority. Mrs. Whitman (i. e., Marcus Whitman and Eliza Hart Spalding), pp. 71, 72; Cite H. H. Spaulding, in the Oregon Native Son, Vol. I, p. 116; Cite Mrs. Spaulding, in Ib., Vol. I, pp. 115-116, Portland, 1900. p. 118 "About the 20th of July." Transactions of the Nineteenth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891, Portland, O., 1892. Journal of Mrs. Marcus Whitman, p. 46, July 7: "Had quite a brush with Indians a few days since."

[28]Eells (Myron), Marcus Whitman, p. 97—The chaplain's office was offered by Dr. Richmond. The Declaration of Independence was read by sergeant of marines; the Scriptures were read by Captain Wilkes. Two songs were sung, viz: "The Star Spangled Banner and My Country 'Tis of Thee. The oration was delivered by Dr. Richmond.

Also an article by Myron Eells, entitled, The Fourth of July Celebration at The Place of Nisqually, Arrested, published in "Commemorative Celebration at Steilacoom Lake, Pierce County, Washington, July 5, 1906, at Fourth Annual Reunion of the Washington Territory Pioneer Association." Compiled by H. D. McCormick and W. M. Ostrom, Tacoma, 1906, p. 11. Mr. Eells was present at the Fourth of July celebration and of those who took part therein. Unfortunately the book is not easy to get.

was read, a Fourth of July oration delivered. They had athletics, horse racing, feasting, and the usual Fourth of July casualty.

Captain Wilkes says:

"Wishing to give the crew a holiday on the anniversary of the Declaration of our Independence, and allow them to have a full day's frolic and pleasure, they were allowed to barbecue an ox, which the Company's Agent had obligingly sold me. They were permitted to make their own arrangements for the Celebration, which they conducted in the following manner: The place chosen for the purpose was a corner of the Mission Prairie, before spoken of. Here they slaughtered their ox and spitted him on a sapling supported over the fire, which was made in a trench. The carcass could thus be readily turned, and a committee of the crew was appointed to cook him. Others were engaged in arranging the amusements etc. All was activity and bustle on the morning of the 5th, as the 4th fell on Sunday. Before nine o'clock all the men were mustered on board in clean white frocks and trowsers. And all including the marines and musicians were landed shortly after to march to scene of festivity about a mile distant. The procession was formed at the observatory where we all marched off with flags flying and music playing, Vendovi and the master-at-arms bringing up the rear. Vendovi was dressed out after Feejee fashion. It was truly gratifying to me to see them all in such good health and spirits, not a man sick, and their clothes as white as snow, with happy and contented faces. Had it not been for want of news from the Peacock and the consequent apprehension in relation to her fate I should have felt and enjoyed the scene much more than I did. But the continual feeling that the ship might have been lost on some coral reef and the idea of the suffering her officers and crew would, in such case, undergo, tended to repress all other thoughts. This anxiety was not only felt by myself but officers and crew partook of it in a great degree. It was impossible to conjecture her fate. Yet her continued absence and detention beyond the time of her anticipated arrival naturally excited many fears and surmises, which as time passed on, made each one more certain that some disaster had befallen them.

"Two brass howitzers were also carried to the prairie to fire the usual salute. When the procession reached Fort Nisqually they stopped, gave three cheers and wasted sailor like until it was returned. This was done by only a few voices, a circumstance which did not fail to produce many jokes among the seamen.

"On reaching the grounds various games occupied the crew, while the officers amused themselves in like manner.

"At the usual hour dinner was piped when all repaired to partake of the barbecue. By this time the Indians had gathered from all quarters and were silently looking on at the novel sight and wistfully regarding the feast which they saw going on before them. At this time a salute was fired, when one of the men, by the name of Whitehorn, had his arm most dreadfully lacerated from sudden explosion of the gun.

"This accident put a momentary stop to the hilarity of the occasion. Dr. Fox, who was on the ground, thought that an amputation of the arm above the elbow would be necessary, but it was deemed better to delay it for a time. The wound was dressed as well as it could be, and a litter made on which he was at once sent under charge of his messmates to the ship.

"Men-of-War's men are somewhat familiar with such scenes, and although this accident threw a temporary gloom over the party, the impression did not last long, and the amusements of the morning were now exchanged for the excitement of horseracing, steeds having been hired for the purpose from the Indians. This sport is always a favorite with sailors on shore and in pursuit of it they had not a few tumbles, but fortunately none were seriously hurt. At sunset they all returned on board in same good order they had landed.

"All the officers, together with Mr. Anderson, Capt. M'Neil and Dr. Richmond, dined with me at the Observatory, and we were in hope of having the company of Dr. McLaughlin, but owing to his having lost his way he did not arrive til following morning. He was gladly welcomed, and it gave us all great pleasure to acknowledge the attentions that had been heaped upon us by his orders, and the kindness of the officers of the fort."[14]

Joseph G. Clark, who was a seaman with the Wilkes Expedition and present at the celebration at Nisqually, July 4, 1841, says:

"July 4th [1841] coming on Sunday we celebrated the 5th. Commencing in the morning with a national salute of twenty-six guns which were fired at the Observatory on shore. Capt. Wilkes gave a dinner and invited the officers to it. An ox was roasted whole for the crew en a plain about one mile from the ship. At 9 o'clock every man and officer was ordered on shore, except Mr. Vanderford, who was left in charge of the ship. On landing the men proceeded up the hill to the Observatory, where Capt. Wilkes was residing, there to await his orders. At 10 oclock the procession was formed and marched in order, the star-

[14] Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841 by Charles Wilkes, U. S. N. Philadelphia, 1848, Vol. 4, p. 415, etc.

board watch in advance, the marines in center, the larboard watch bringing up the rear. We proceeded through a narrow strip of woods for about half a mile, when we came to the Company's fort; there we halted and formed in front of it, and gave three cheers which were returned by people in the fort, and answered by us. The procession was again formed and marched as before, about one mile further when we came to a deep valley, crossing which we came to a plain several miles in circumference in which Dact. Richmond's house is situated. Here was the place selected for the exhibitions of the day; various kinds of amusements were proposed, in which Capt. Wilkes took an active part. Everything went well for a time and bade fair for a day of recreation and pleasure, but soon an accident occurred which could not but disturb the feelings of all. At 12 oClock, when firing a salute Daniel Whitehorn, Jr., gunner, while loading one of the guns it accidentally discharged and lacerated his forearm very seriously. All the integuments, from midway of the forearm to wrist, were blown off—the carpal extremity of the ulna exposed for about two inches upon outer face. All the tendons for about three inches from corpus were much torn. The surgeon having thoroughly examined the wound decided that it was his duty to recommend the removal of the limb. At the time the accident happened the weather was quite warm and tetanus was to be apprehended. All the large blood vessels were either carried away entirely, or much injured and the consequence of an attempt to save the arm was much to be dreaded. Dr. Richmond, physician to the mission family, was called upon who agreed in opinion with our surgeon, that amputation was the only means to insure life. The doctors then stated to the patient their views of the case and recommended an operation. He declined for the present and chose to risk an attempt to save the limb.

"The amusements proceeded but not with that spirit with which they were commenced; a deep melancholy seemed to mark the countenance of many. Whitehorn was much esteemed by all his shipmates."[*]

He survived.

JULY FOURTH, 1846

The following extract is from an address of Hon. S. F. Chadwick before the first annual reunion of the Pioneers of Oregon, at Buteville, Marion County, Oregon, November 11, 1873:

"On the 4th of July, 1846, months before you received the news of the adoption of the treaty of the 15th of June preceding, and while

[*]Clark Clemph. G.L. Lights and shadows of a Sailor's Life. Boston, 1858, p. 218. For another account see George M. Colvocoresses, "Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition" (New York, 1852), p. 224.

you were yet ignorant of what had taken place in regard to Oregon, you celebrated, in a hearty rain, the Anniversary of American Independence. The Oregon Rangers, a military company organized in May previous, were out in force, and despite the inclemency of the weather, acquitted themselves creditably. There is nothing in rain to deter an Oregonian from pleasure or duty. There may be some of that company here today. This celebration was not for display. It was not mere pomp and parade to gratify the applause of men, for this small band embraced a good portion of the Settlers. Nor was it an idle pastime. It was actual in its nature, sincere in its object and eminently patriotic. These pioneers were repeating for the purpose of preserving, the traditions of their fathers in a land which, for aught they knew was still claimed, as it had been, by Great Britain, and liable to fall in part or wholly into her hands through the skill of diplomacy, or by arbitrament of war. What a Fourth of July that would have been to you, had you but known that your own land —your Oregon—had, like that of your fathers, been conceded to you by the only adverse claimant among the powers of the earth: that the Government of your fathers was now yours, and that the day you were celebrating was legitimately a day for Oregon."[4]

JULY FOURTH, 1852

The following extract is taken from W. H. Gilstrap's paper read before Pierce County Pioneers' Association, July 5, 1906:

"While there may have been social gatherings, horse racing or a dance on Fourth of July anniversaries by the early settlers, the first regular Fourth of July celebration, held in what is now the State of Washington, after American citizens settled here, was held in Olympia, July 4, 1852.

"It was a great event; a celebration trait would be a credit in older communities. Quite elaborate preparations were made. One of the streets was set apart for the occasion. An arbor was made by setting posts in the ground and putting poles across, on which were placed fir boughs. This arbor was the width of the street and about 150 feet long. One or more oxen were barbecued. The celebration attracted settlers from all parts of Northern Oregon and from the down-Sound settlements.

"The late Daniel R. Bigelow of Olympia was the orator of the day. Simpson P. Moses read the Declaration of Independence and Frank Shaw acted as marshal. After the ceremonies of the day had been concluded,

4Constitution and Quotations from the Register of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1875. Salem, Oregon, 1875, p. 18.

an enthusiastic meeting was held and the division of the territory discussed."[48]

JULY FOURTH, 1853

The following is an interesting account of a Fourth of July celebration held at Shoalwater Bay, Washington Territory, as recorded by Hon. James G. Swan, who was present:

"After my return [to Shoalwater Bay, Washington Territory] from Chenook, nothing of any particular interest transpired till toward the first of July, when it was announced to me that the boys, as the oystermen were termed, intended celebrating the 4th of July at my tent; and accordingly as the time drew near, all hands were engaged in making preparations; for it was not intended that I should be at the expense of the celebration, but only bear my proportionate part.

"The day was ushered in by a tremendous bonfire, which Balat and myself kindled on Pine Island, which was answered by everyone who had a gun and powder blazing away. Towards two o'clock they began to assemble, some coming in boats, others in canoes, and a few by walking round the beach, which they could easily do at any time after the tide was quarter ebb.

"Each one brought something, one had a great oyster pie, baked in a milk-pan; another had a boiled ham; a third brought a cold pudding; others had pies, doughnuts, or loaves of bread, and my neighbor Russell came brining with him a long oration of his own composing and half a dozen boxes of sardines. When all were assembled, the performances were commenced by the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Mr. St. John, extracts from Webster's oration at Boston on Adams and Jefferson, then Russell's oration, which was followed by a banquet and after that a feu-de-joie by the guns and rifles of the whole company. These ceremonies over, it was proposed to close the performance for the day by going on top of the cliff opposite and make a tremendous big blaze. This was acceded to, and some six or eight immediately crossed the creek and soon scrambled to the top of the hill, where we found an old hollow cedar stump about twenty feet high. We could enter this on one side, and found it a mere shell of what had once been a monster tree. I had with me a little rifle which measured stock and all but three feet long. With this I measured across the space and found it was six lengths of my rifle, or eighteen feet, and the

[48]Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake, p. 44.

tree undoubtedly when sound, must have measured, with bark on, at least sixty feet in circumference.

We went to work with a will, and soon had the old stump filled full of dry spruce limbs, which were lying about in great quantities, and then set fire to the whole. It made the best bonfire I ever saw; and after burning all night and part of next day finally set fire to the forest, which continued to burn for several months, till the winter rain finally extinguished it. The party broke up at an early hour and all declared that, with the exception of the absence of a cannon, they never had a pleasanter 'fourth.'"[1]

Mr. Thomas W. Prosch has contributed a paper to the Pierce County Pioneer Association on Later Celebrations in Pierce County, Washington,[2]

GEORGE W. SOLIDAY.

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[1]Swan (James G.), North West Coast, *or* Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory. New York, 1857. p. 315. Swan also mentions following persons living on Shoalwater Bay at the time: Joe, a Dane, p. 42; Captain James R. Partington, p. 43; Captain Fisher, p. 43; Captain Wilson Price Hunt, p. 43; Samuel Woodward, Henry Whitcomb, Mr. Bullard, Mark Bullard, p. 44; Captain Charles Wilkes, Captain Charles Stewart, Captain David E. Wadden and (the first lady), p. 44; George Watkins, p. 45; George G. Barnett, Stephen Marshall, p. 69; John W. Champ-Baldt, p. 87.

[2]Commemorative Celebration at Steilacoom Lake, Pierce County, Washington, under auspices of the Pierce County Pioneer Association. Compiled by R. L. McCormick and W. H. Gruthap, p. 15.

THE STORY OF THREE OLYMPIC PEAKS

The countless thousands who, from year to year, admire the three prominent peaks at the southeastern end of the Olympic Range would find themselves gazing at the wonderfully beautiful picture with even keener rapture if they but knew a part of the history interlocked with the names these peaks bear—Elinor, The Brothers, and Constance. There are probably no other geographical features in the Pacific Northwest whose names involve a richer history. A beautiful and tender modesty screened the identity of the personalities behind those names, while a struggle one of the four people survived. The last of the four was gathered to her fathers two years ago, and it is now possible to learn who were the people whose names have become so well known as geographical terms.

In the first place let us see when and by whom the names were given to the mountains. The most accessible source is the Pacific Coast Pilot, which says:[1] "When a vessel is going northward, and is clear of Vashon Island, the Jupiter Hills show over Blake Island, with Mount Constance to the southward."[2] A little further on the same work says: "Behind the Jupiter Hills is Mount Constance, 7777 feet elevation; The Brothers, 6920 feet, and Mount Elinor, estimated at 6500 feet. These great masses, rising so abruptly as wild, rocky peaks, are marks all over Admiralty Inlet and Puget Sound, but seem to overhang the main part of [Hood] Canal. The Brothers, a double peak, is less than seven miles from the water."[3] Similar information is given in the reports made at the time of the surveys.[4] The author of the reports and of the Pacific Coast Pilot was the same man and he was appealed to for information about the persons honored by those names. In a long correspondence, covering many points of historical geography, the nearest that Professor Davidson would come to giving the facts about the names of the mountains was this: "I may add that while in charge of the survey in that region I had command of the U. S. Coast Survey Brig 'R. H. Fauntleroy,' and that the names refer to his family."[5]

In the same letter he says: "In 1853-57 I conducted the triangulations from Point Roberts to Nisqually. About 1856 I observed from sev-

[1] Pacific Coast Pilot by George Davidson, Assistant United States Coast and Geodetic Survey; fourth edition, Washington, 1888. P. 612.

[2] Ibid, p. 629.

[3] Annual Report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey for 1857, p. 119.

[4] Letter from Professor George Davidson dated at San Francisco, February 28, 1895.

eral stations to determine the position and elevation of prominent peaks, with these results and names given by me to them: Mount Constance, 7777 feet from Point Hudson and 7794 from Point Wells; I adopted 7777 feet merely because it would readily be recalled; The Brothers, S. W. Brother, 6920 feet; Mount Ellinor, 6312 feet."

In the same series of surveys, Fauntleroy Cove was named in honor of the little brig. The record reads: "This slight indentation on the east side of the sound is between Point Williams on the north and Brace Point on the south; the distance apart of these points is a little over three-fourths of a mile, and the shore recedes a quarter of a mile to the eastward. The immediate shore is low, except under Point Williams, where the bluff reaches the water. We found good anchorage here in ten and twelve fathoms of water; but when on the range of the two points the depth increases and the bottom drops away suddenly outside. Fresh water is easily obtained in the vicinity. We named this cove in 1857."[5]

Anchored in that cove the young geographer looked across the water to the beautiful mountains he had named and his heart throbbed with joy. We feel sure of that now, for his most death sent us looking up his own personal history and it was learned that in one year after he had named the cove he was married to Ellinor Fauntleroy.[6] In a comparative wilderness he had bestowed upon geographical features the names of his sweetheart, her sister, her two brothers and her father. That sweetheart kept his home bright for almost half a century, preceding him to the grave in 1907.

Professor Davidson died on December 1, 1911, since which time the correspondence has been carried on with his surviving daughter, who bears the name of her mother and the mountain—Ellinor. She says the Survey Brig "was named after my grandfather, Robert Henry Fauntleroy, who was an officer of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and under whom my father acted as aid when starting on his career. He was of old Virginia stock and a man of considerable ability in many lines (mathematical, engineering, musical, inventive) apart from his profession. He married the daughter of Robert Owen, the socialist and philanthropist."[7]

Here she has introduced a wide vista for those who would know all that the names of those mountains suggest. Most scholars know something of the social reform work of Robert Owen at New Lanark, Scotland, and at New Harmony, Indiana. This last was referred to as "a success-

[5]Pacific Coast Pilot, p. 411.

[6]Coast Survey Report for the year 1912-1913, p. 219.

[7]Letter from Ellinor Campbell Davidson, dated at San Francisco, June 11, 1912.

tal failure" by Professor Barnes of Stanford University. Besides these practical efforts to benefit the condition of his fellow men, he wrote many books, all with the same humanitarian bent. He was aided by his son, Robert Dale Owen, who achieved a remarkable career before his death in 1877. While a member of Congress he introduced a joint resolution on the Oregon question that facilitated the settlement of the boundary in the treaty of 1846. He joined forces with John Quincy Adams in securing the legislation to establish the Smithsonian Institution. He was very much in favor of the emancipation of the slaves and early in the Civil War he wrote a letter to President Lincoln on that subject. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase says the Owen letter "had more effect in deciding the president to make his proclamation than all the other communications combined."* Robert Dale Owen also wrote many books. His speeches, especially on the Oregon question, had a wide circulation. Two brothers, David Dale Owen and Richard Owen, became famous as early American geologists. It was into this family of remarkable talents that Robert Henry Fauntleroy married.

On the death of Lieutenant Fauntleroy his widow took the four children to Germany to complete their education. The two boys, Arthur and Edward, "The Brothers," both died unmarried. Arthur became a civil engineer. He died in 1884 at the age of forty. Edward came to the Pacific Coast as an aid to Mr. Davidson. He died in Oregon while under twenty years of age. As already stated, Ellinor was married to Mr. Davidson in 1858. Miss Davidson writes:

"My mother was always more or less of an invalid, but had the spirit and spiritual insight for a poet, a finely tuned mind, imparted in an abstract sort of way and leaning to the metaphysical. Her knowledge of life and the world made her inclusive rather than exclusive—an universalist in religion and deed. I like to think of her as always smiling, gracious, gentle in her judgments and holding herself in firm control, refusing the finer things we look up to and take inspiration from. Hers was essentially a private life, while Mrs. Runcie's was a public one."†

The Mrs. Runcie referred to was Constance Fauntleroy. She was born in Indianapolis, January 15, 1836, and died at Winnaka, Illinois, May 17, 1911. Her long life was spent wholly in the Middle West of the United States, except the five years of schooling in Germany. On April 9, 1861, she was married to James Runcie, D. D., a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. She had a brilliant career, but will probably be remembered longest as having organized the first permanent

*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, IV., p. 456.

†Letter from Miss Davidson, June, 1913.

woman's club in America. In 1859 Constance Fauntleroy organized the Minerva Club at New Harmony, Indiana. This was nine years before the famous Sorosis Club was organized in New York. A delegation from a late biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs went to New Harmony to do honor to her old home. Mrs. Runcie was further recognized by being chosen an Honorary Vice President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation of Women's Clubs of the State of Washington might well perpetuate the honoring of this notable pioneer in their work by searching out ways to make known the beauties of Mount Constance.

Mrs. Constance Fountleroy Runcie also organized the Brontë Club of Madison, Indiana, in 1867, and the Runcie Club of St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1894. Of the last she was made "perpetual president." She was the author of a number of books in prose and verse. Her poems—Anselmo, the Priest," and "Zaira—A Tale of Siberia"—have been given frequently from various platforms. She was also a composer of note, some of her principal works being the opera "Incognito," the cantata "We Have Sinned Unto Death," and many songs, such as "Take My Soul, O Lord," "Invocation to Love," and violin and piano solos. Everyone who admires Mount Constance should be pleased to know that it bears the name of a woman of splendid talent who gave to her fellows a long life of useful service.

The man who conferred those interesting names on the three Olympic peaks had a wonderful career of valuable service, mostly on the Pacific Coast. George Davidson was born in England in 1825. He came to the United States in 1832 and graduated from the Central High School of Philadelphia in 1845. Before his retirement from active work he had been made a member of many learned societies throughout the world. He started his career as Secretary to Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey in 1845. His activity in that branch of service, in geodesy, field, and astronomical work, continued in the Eastern States until 1850, when he was transferred to the Pacific Coast. On this coast he was active for a period of forty-five years and was in full charge of the work from 1868 to 1895. The University of California recognized his ability by making him Honorary Professor of Geodesy and Astronomy in 1870. The same university created for him the Chair of Geography in 1898. He also served that institution as a Regent from 1877 to 1884. When Roald Amundsen visited San Francisco after his discovery of the Northwest Passage, the first man he asked for was Professor Davidson. Seafaring men held him in high esteem, as

did all others who knew of his character and his great record of achievement.

His greatest book, the Pacific Coast Pilot, is one of his best monuments. Here is how he tells about writing it: "The first edition of the Directory of the Pacific Coast of the United States was undertaken while I had command of the United States Survey Brig 'R. H. Fauntleroy' during the years 1854-'58. It was written wholly outside of official hours and official duties, and part of it was first published in one of the daily journals of San Francisco."[18]

The three interesting peaks are in full view of the City of Seattle. Moreover, the city has expanded until it includes Fauntleroy Cove and street cars run regularly to Fauntleroy Park. Who can measure the full value to be inherited by generations of citizens who may stand on the shore of that cove and, while enjoying the picture of the sun setting behind the distant peaks, recall the charm of the names—Constance, Ellinor, and The Brothers? EDMOND S. MEANY.

[18]Pacific Coast Pilot, p. 7.

STORIES AND SKETCHES FROM PACIFIC COUNTY

[Isaac H. Whealdon is an old settler in the Willapa country. For the benefit of posterity he has written down these stories and sketches, which, through his friend, T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, he has transmitted to the Washington Historical Quarterly. After this article was in type news was received that the aged pioneer author met a tragic death near Willapa on June 15, 1913.—Editor.]

The Sunset-Pacific Monthly has in its issue for May, 1912, an article on the Tomanowus rune and how it came into existence. This communication by Samuel M. Evans is introduced by a beautiful legend—The Breath of the Chinook—and this legend brings to my memory one related to me by an old Indian named Matil.

A long, long time ago there was no peninsula or bay or Indians, but ere day there came from the siah cold illahee [far cold country] a big canoe with a hundred warriors with their klootchmen and papooses. They tried to enter the Columbia, but hiyu winds, hiyu skookum pe-wake, yaka charco copa [but great strong winds prevented an entrance] Columbia. So they paddled ashore just where the hill and rocks terminate at the south end of what is now the peninsula. Here they moored their big canoe, tying the stern to the rocks at the south and anchoring her bow to the north. Caching their paddles and other things in a cave in the rocks, they took the old Indian trail for the Columbia river and what is now old Chinook.

After many moons they returned, charco miami, halo, kanim. Yaka nanich okok kanim yaka clatawa keekwulee icta tenas sandspit. No, there was not a sign of their canoe, only they found a little sandspit with a clam bed and the ocean on the west. A few small pine trees grew on top. At the east were some bushes with hiyu ollallies of a bright red color. These were cranberries. A little father out to the east, tenas siah mitlite tenas chuck. This was only a little water, but 'tis now Whealdon's Pond or Black Lake. When the Indians saw this they built a house on their sand sunken canoe and their children grew and multiplied and as the tribe grew so grew the tiny sandspit and a little bay was formed which became a mighty water. So from the big canoe grew the peninsula and the bay and from the one hundred Indians grew the Shoalwater tribe.

Acelan's Story

There used to be an Indian about Oysterville some forty years back, who was undoubtedly of the royal family.

This young man was, for his chance in life, very intelligent; he had quite a little farm cleared up and in cultivation, and had planted a nice little orchard. It was situated on the place now owned by Mr. John Hill, a little above the Nasel Landing and known as the I. H. Whealdon homestead.

But to our story—I once asked Acelan about the earliest account the Indians had of the first white men to visit our bay, and this is the story he told:

"Alncutie ict tenas schooner, yaka charco siah copa cold illabre"—(a long time ago a little schooner came from a cold country far to the north).

She hove to, just outside our bar, lowered away a whale boat and manned it with "toltun tillicums" (110 men), pulled over the bar into what was first called Lighthouse Cove, but now North Cove, which was then a fine landlocked harbor.

It was "tenas sun" (early morning) when they crossed, so they remained here all that day, trading with the Indians for fish, clams, and deer and elk meat. Acelan said they seemed to be "hias hungry," he also told that they had very long beards and said they were neither Boston nor King George men. That they were "Lushan Tillicums,' 'and no doubt they were Russians and the vessel none other than the "Juno," bought by Count Von Baranoff from Captain De Wolf, an American who sailed into Sitka. Rizanoff and his garrison at Sitka castle were starved out in the winter of 1815-6 and started in the "Juno" for the Columbia river, but then, as now, the water was rough, and so only their whale boat entered and got supplies from the Indians who have always been good and kind to the whites.

This, in brief, was Acelan's account as handed down to him by the Indians of the first white men to enter Willapa Harbor.

Historical Sketches

The first white man to permanently locate on land in Pacific County was John E. Pickernell. He settled at the mouth of the Wallicut river, probably about the year 1842. He has told me that the only man, at that time, who spoke the English language with whom he met was a negro named Saul, who was living nearly where the officers' quarters now stand at Fort Canby.

The first vessel to enter Shoalwater Bay for oysters was the barque "Equity," commanded by Captain Hansen. The ill fated brig, "Robert Bruce," came before Hansen with the "Equity." She arrived at Bruceport December 11, 1851. Her officers consisted of: John Morgan, captain; Sam Winneat, first mate; Thomas Foster, second mate; and for crew, Dick Hillard, Mark Wineat, Frank Garrison and Dick Millwood. But this vessel took out no oysters, as she was set afire by the cook, an Italian, who escaped in the small boat and was never heard of again. The officers and crew were taken off the burning vessel by the Indians. They landed on the south side of North Shoalwater Bay and founded Bruceport. The first shipment of oysters was made by Captain Morgan and Sam Wineat in the schooner "Equity" about May 12, 1852.

Captain Weldon located at Hawks' Point on the north side of North Shoalwater Bay, just west of the mouth of North river, in the year 1852. With him came Captain Crocker and V. S. Riddell. Weldon got out and shipped to California a cargo of piling on the barque "Pahe" with himself as master of the vessel. This was the first shipment of lumber of any kind from our county. Weldon commenced the construction of a water mill in Smith's creek in 1853, but this mill was never finished.

Pacific City was platted in 1851 by J. D. Holman, who settled in 1850. E. G. Loomis and another man, whose name has escaped me. But before the plat was made Mr. Holman had completed a fine and substantial hotel of one hundred rooms. This hotel, however, was afterward burned by United States troops, Mr. Holman receiving indemnity from the government. E. G. Loomis, Mr. Holman, and the other individuals built at Pacific City the first steam saw mill ever built in Pacific County. It was afterward moved to the John Crellins Donation Claim, near Nahcotta.

Captain James Johnson, the first Columbia river bar pilot, settled at Wheeldonburg, that is, Ilwaco, in the year 1848 and was drowned off the Columbia river bar by the capsizing of his pilot sloop in the year 1854.

The first court convened in Pacific County was held at Chinook in the spring of 1853, and was presided over by Judge Monroe, a Kentuckian, appointed by President Pierce. Court was held in Job Lamley's dwelling house. Job Lamley, first sheriff of our county, had the summoning of the first jury. Many years afterward he gave me their names as he then recalled them to his memory: John Mildrum, foreman; Henry Feister, who was our first representative and county clerk; E. G. Loomis; William Edwards, who was afterward murdered by Indians; Hiram Brown; John

V. Pickernell; Henry Neese and Thomas Martin. All that was done at this term of court was that the grand jury found two true bills.

As our first representative, J. W. Cruthers was elected, but died before taking his oath of office. Then Henry Foster took the place, but fell dead just as he was stepping up to the bar to take the oath of office. Finally James C. Strong was elected and served his full term, thus really making him Pacific County's first representative in the state legislature.

The first salmon cannery in this county was built at Chinook by Ellis, Jewett and Chambers in the year 1870, J. G. Megler joining them in 1871.

The first salmon packed in salt was put up by Patrick J. McGowan in 1854, and was shipped in the "Jane A. Falkenburg." This last date may be wrong.

ISAAC H. WHEALDON.

DID DANIEL WEBSTER EVER SAY THIS?

[The following article was published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer March 10, 1907. Since then it has often been sought and is here reproduced for those who failed to save a copy on its first publication.—Editor.]

"What do we want with the vast, worthless area, this region of ravages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands, and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or these endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the Western coast, a coast three thousand miles, rockbound, cheerless and unmoving and not a harbor on it? What use can we have for such a country? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it is now."

The recent death of Dr. Henry M. Field, of New York, a member of the distinguished Field family and an editor and writer of note, calls again to mind the query whether Daniel Webster ever used the language of the above quotation which appears on page 173 of Dr. Field's book entitled, "Our Western Archipelago." The same quotation is given upon pages 518-19 of H. H. Bancroft's "Chronicles of the Builders." In both books the statement is made that a bill was pending before congress for the establishment of a post road from the west line of Missouri to the Pacific ocean, and that upon the floor of the senate Mr. Webster broke out as follows; and Mr. Field gives the year of this speech as 1844.

Some interesting information as to how Mr. Field came to use this alleged quotation is given in some memoranda of the late Prof. William I. Marshall, of Chicago, from which the writer is privileged to copy. Mr. Marshall's notes read: "I have received a letter from Rev. H. M. Field, who says his only authority in a letter from some one whose name he has forgotten. P. S.—A later letter from Dr. Field gives one George L. Chase, of Hartford, Conn., as his authority, November 16, 1896. I have received a letter from Mr. George L. Chase, of Hartford, Conn., stating that he sent the quotation to Dr. Field without in any manner indorsing it (as it seemed to him very unlike Webster's style), but only to get Dr. Field's opinion on its authenticity and with no expectation that Dr. Field would publish it."

The late Rev. Myron Eells of Twana, Wash., used this same quo-

tation in almost the same words as given herein in his "Reply to Bourne," page 82, published by Whitman College in 1902, but with this footnote: "The writer cannot give the book and page where this is to be found. It is a part of a reply of Mrs. C. S. Pringle to Mrs. F. F. Victor's attack on Dr. Whitman, written December 1, 1884, which the writer has in manuscript." Mrs. Pringle is an elderly lady reported as now living near or in Spokane, Wash.; she is one of the survivors of the Whitman massacre. Her authority for the speech is not known even to her, according to Mr. Eells, who knew her well and questioned her about it. In another connection Mr. Chase is reported to have said that he read the article containing the speech while upon a journey to the Pacific coast and there is a possibility that it is Mrs. Pringle's article that he sent to Dr. Field. It is even possible that Mr. Bancroft took it from Mrs. Pringle; the "Chronicles of the Builders" was copyrighted in 1890 and published at San Francisco in 1891, and "Our Western Archipelago" was published for the first time by Scribner's in 1895.

It would be interesting to mention the further use that has been freely made of this quotation in post-prandial efforts, in addresses before college students and Sunday school scholars, in newspaper discussions and even in books that claim to be histories as illustrating the ignorance and intolerance of Eastern statesmen to the physical and political value and character of the Pacific Northwest during the early '40s, and the indifference of Mr. Webster at the time he negotiated the Ashburton treaty and in later years; but such mention might be taken in the light of controversy. Suffice it to say that there seems to be no reason to believe that Mr. Webster ever used such language, and readers of Northwest history have known this for some years.

Mr. Webster was a member of the senate from 1828 until February 22, 1841, when he resigned to become secretary of state under the Harrison administration. He continued in the same office under President Tyler until May 8, 1843, when he resigned, and again returned to the senate in March, 1845, as the successor of Mr. Choate.

Mr. Webster was a member of the cabinet of President Tyler and was engaged in negotiations with Lord Ashburton in 1842 when Lieut. Charles Wilkes, of the United States navy, filed his official report of the official exploring voyage made under his command, which included a very extensive examination of the Puget Sound and Columbia River waters and the countries adjacent thereto and of the coast of California; and of San Francisco Lieut. Wilkes reported there to be "one of the finest, if not the very best harbor in all the world." In view of this

circumstance alone it is not probable that Mr. Webster ever said what this quotation reports him as saying.

Mr. Webster was a man of very dignified bearing and speech and the style of this quotation does not compare at all with his common form of expression. Further than that, the speeches of Mr. Webster upon the floor of the senate are a matter of record in the Congressional Globe and Debates in Congress and a careful search has been made for this speech, and it has not been found, and scarcely anything by him that can be called disparagement of the Pacific Coast has been found. The first bill to establish post roads from the western line of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia River originated in the committee of the senate on postoffices and post roads, and was introduced in the senate on March 2, 1846, and no such speech by Mr. Webster has been found in connection with that bill.

Our query is of small importance in itself, but it has a bearing upon Northwest history as against the theory that the Oregon country or Columbia River country, as it was originally called, was saved to the United States by any one person or by any one event; particularly because students of the diplomatic side of our history are saying more and more that the term "Saved Oregon" is an erroneous one. Daniel Webster was a very important factor in the negotiation of the treaties which settled our Northeastern and Northwestern boundaries with England; more influential than either President Tyler or President Polk in that particular sense. The Ashburton treaty was distinctly Webster's own, and in 1846 Mr. Webster was in the senate when President Polk referred the question to that body before he undertook to negotiate finally the Treaty of Washington. Henry Cabot Lodge, a scholar and himself a writer of history, in his biography of Mr. Webster (Amer. Statesman series, Vol. 21, page 257-8), says: "In regard to the Northwestern boundary, Mr. Webster agreed with the opinion of Mr. Monroe's cabinet that the forty-ninth parallel was a fair and proper line." And historians generally agree with him. Some of the direct relations of Mr. Webster with this question may be mentioned in a subsequent paper."

C. T. JOHNSON.

DOCUMENTS

The original of the following letter was recently secured by Thomas W. Prosch of Seattle. It has been published in part in L. G. Tyler's "Letters and Times of the Tylers," Volume II., pages 48-49. That work was issued in limited numbers, and is not very accessible in the Pacific Northwest. The letter is printed here in full as the text of an interesting document that last found its way into one of the local collections and especially because it reflects some of the diplomatic interest that prevailed just before the Treaty of 1846 was completed:

Letter From John Tyler to His Son

Sherwood Forest, Dec. 23, 1845.

My Son:

Letty passed up the James on Saturday and I committed to her care for you a box containing a dozen bottles of 27 year old wine to be drunk on Mr. Cooper's visits to Bristol. Ask his kind remembrance of me whenever he takes a glass of it, and give him the assurance of my high respect and regard for him always. I had flattered myself that you would have received it in time for Christmas, but Letty so long delayed her return that all hope of it finally vanished. I fear that the ice will still further detain her, as it has been exceptionally cold for some days—so much so as to freeze the steamboat up at Richmond and thus I fear to deny me the happiness of seeing Mr. Waller and his family during the holidays. They were to have reached us today.

You have now seen the whole of the diplomatic correspondence relative to Oregon, and can better appreciate the unguarded expressions in the message as to my offers of compromise. None was in fact ever made, yet when it was believed that the negociations were to be conducted in London Mr. Everett was authorized to feel the pulses of the B. Ministry as to the 49 degree. I have no recollection of his having so far advanced with the negociation as to have submitted formally any proposition—and yet the language of the message very clearly embraces me in its terms. Buchanan's last letter to Pakenham is more definite and precise. It is an able vindication of the American claim and leaves G. Britain without any strong pretence to urge. He might have more strongly retorted the inconsistency of her claim under the Nootka Sound convention and McKenzies exploration of Frasyers River. The letter however is very able—and yet it is altogether too late to say that the question is not one of compromise. By the

very terms of the Treaty of Ghent by which Astoria was restored to us, it is made a subject of negociation. I think it would be a high stroke of policy to interest G. B. in our negociation with Mexico so as to lead her to concede California and thus to bring about a tripartite Treaty, according to G. B. the line she offers and our taking California G. B. to pay so much towards the purchase. It would require great skill to bring this about. I ask now no other basis for negociation, with Mr. Polk holding the opinions he does, and I fear a war for the whole would lose us the whole. These are speculations for yourself but time will take care of itself as it always has done, and my trust is ever one in an overruling Providence.

I have heard nothing of or from John since he left me. My hope is that he intends to surprize me by obtaining his license. He requires nothing but doing his duty to insure success. Neither Julia or myself have of late been well. I suffer from catarrh, but am not confined to the house. My dependence is now on the plough, and there is wisdom in the old lines—"He who by the plough would thrive: Must either hold the reins or drive."

Give my love to Pris and Tish.

Yr. Father
J. TYLER.

How do you come on in your profession?

Robert Tyler, Esq.
Att. at Law
Philadelphia
Penna.

BOOK REVIEWS

A PICKED COMPANY. By Mary Hallock Foote. (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1912. Pp. 416. $1.30.)

This story has to do chiefly with the journey of a band of immigrants to Oregon in 1842 and with their settlement in the valley of the Willamette. Much of the journey was made without expert guidance and through numberless perils and difficulties. Little has been written of it, so much has it been overshadowed by the larger and more important immigration of 1843, for which it paved the way. Says Medorem Crawford: "The departure of our company for Oregon was extensively published and commented on throughout the western states and our safe arrival here was reported by Dr. Whitman, who returned that fall and winter, hence the next emigration had the knowledge that one company had safely preceded them."[1]

That this most interesting expedition should have been made the subject of a novel by Mrs. Foote naturally arouses a considerable degree of anticipation. A disappointment awaits the reader, however, for he speedily discovers that the historical background is of the slightest. Nearly a fourth of the book is taken up introducing the principal actors in their New England home. The account of the journey across the plains is just full enough to furnish a vehicle for the story, following closely the authentic record, the diary of Medorem Crawford.[2]

Few known historical characters appear. Doctor Whitman blows in and out of the tale in a single chapter, a bluff and breezy man, portrayed most excellently, like all the characters, by what he says and does. The plot does not directly involve the political questions of the day, and they are left so far as possible out of the story. Occasionally, when a few historical facts are needed, they are put in, neatly condensed into a paragraph convenient for skipping.

The reader of the author's earlier books will look here in vain for the poetic charm that characterized such stories as The Chosen Valley and A Led Horse Claim, stories which cast over the reader the spell of great empty plains and wildernesses. Perhaps the author is less at home in the Oregon country than on the plains of Colorado. At any rate, her appreciation seems that of an outsider, and her slight descriptions give no feeling of intimacy.

[1]Occasional Address. Ninth Annual Meeting, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1843, p. 16.

[2]Journal of Medorem mCrawford. Sources of the History of Oregon, Vol. I., No. 1, Eugene, Ore., 1897.

The primary purpose of the writer seems to have been the production of a popular novel. Except for an occasional dull conversation, anything that might be expected to weary a reader impatient for the next development of the tale has been carefully eliminated.

Of plot there is little. The play of character upon character furnishes the chief motive force of the story. It is indeed in its drawing of types of character that the chief merit of the book consists, both from the standpoint of the historian and from that of the casual reader. There is here a careful and just appreciation of the qualities of those strong men and women who settled and held the Northwest for the nation. The influence of the missionaries and of those they drew after them is given its full due. To have helped to an appreciation of the services of these early pioneers is in itself justification enough for the book. A story as popular in character, and put out by so well known an author and publisher, is likely to have a considerable circulation and will help, no doubt, to call attention throughout the country to an interesting period in our history.

CHRISTINA DENNY SMITH.

ALASKA, AN EMPIRE IN THE MAKING. By John J. Underwood. (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. 1913. Pp. 440, $2.)

In this book the author paints, in very bright colors, a picture of Alaska as he sees it and as others like him will see it in the future. He grows quite eloquent over the resources of that country and the wonderful possibilities of that region. (Incidentally, the Puget Sound country, and especially Seattle, comes in for a share of boosting.) The book has its value in that it shows how certain people regard Alaska; its defect consists in not giving the other side of the story. For the impartial historian the book has no value. The author has not taken pains to consult the best historical books on Alaska, and his chapters on the history of Alaska are very misleading.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

ANTOINE OF OREGON: A STORY OF THE OREGON TRAIL. By James Otis Kaler. (New York, American Book Co. 1912. Pp. 149. 35 cents.)

Under the pseudonym of James Otis, Mr. Kaler has written the story of a supposed trip over the Oregon Trail in the year 1845. While the narrative is fictitious, it is carefully based upon known historical and geographical facts and furnishes a useful supplementary reading book for

the grades. The book was published but a few months before the death of Mr. Kaler, the well known author of "Toby Tyler" and other stories for boys.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1912, OF THE AMERICAN SCENIC AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION SOCIETY. (Albany, N. Y., The Argus Company, Printers, 1912. Pp. 668.)

This is a report to the Legislature of the State of New York and is devoted mostly to activities of the Society within that State. There are some features of the book, however, of interest to the Pacific Northwest. Pages 253 to 264 are devoted to the National Parks and Monuments with a list brought up to date. Two of the largest in America are within the State of Washington—Mount Rainier National Park, 207,360 acres, and Mount Olympus National Monument, 608,640 acres. Pages 421 to 432 are devoted to The Transcontinental Trails. There is a map and illustrations of this work, including the old Oregon Trail. The article on Stadiums, Ancient and Modern, mentions the great stadium of the Tacoma High School (page 418), and there are two full-page illustrations, one showing Old Woman's Gulch before the stadium was built and the other shows the folk dances at the time of dedicating the completed work.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES ON THE OREGON TRAIL SIXTY YEARS AGO. By Ezra Meeker. (Seattle, The Author, 1912. Pp. 150. 30 cents.)

Under a new title, Mr. Meeker has reissued in cheaper form "The Ox Team," first published in 1906. Considerable change has been made in the arrangement, but apparently no new material has been added.

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913. Pp. 11; 20; 128.)

These are three pamphlets containing the Opinion, Minority Opinions, and Hearings and Arguments in the matter of the application of the Rainy River Improvement Company for approval of plans for a dam at Kettle Falls. The same Commission has issued other pamphlets giving rules of procedure and reports on the Livingstone Channel in the Detroit River. The Kettle Falls case refers to th State of Washington. The hearing was held under the Treaty between the United States and Great Brit-

ain of May 5, 1910. The Joint Commission must give its approval before the natural level of waters at the boundary can be raised or lowered. The application for the dam at Kettle Falls was dismissed.

California Genealogical Society. (San Francisco, the Society, 1913. Pp. 14.)

This slender little pamphlet contains the list of officers and members of the society. It is evidence that efforts will soon be made to publish some researches that will be helpful to students on the Pacific Coast.

The International Mind. By Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913. Pp. 121.)

This is a collection of the annual addresses by the President of Columbia University at the Lake Mohonk Conference. It is distributed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. It is an excellent book for cultivating public opinion in favor of international peace.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (Madison, Published by the Society, 1913. Pp. 260.)

The portion of this book which relates to the Pacific Northwest is found on pages 87 to 123, where John Thomas Lee gives additional data about Captain Jonathan Carver. Anything relating to the man who invented or first used the word "Oregon" is of interest in this region. Mr. Lee seeks to defend Carver from the critics and he submits a number of documents from the British Museum and elsewhere. It looks as though Carver will emerge with a fairer name than his critics left him a few years ago.

Pickett and His Men. By La Salle Corbell Pickett. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913. Pp. 313. $2.50 net.)

The widow of General George E. Pickett has here issued a revised and enlarged edition of her well known book. The new illustrations include a picture of the military bridge built by Pickett across Whatcom

Creek in 1857 and "Idlewild" at Friday Harbor, San Juan Island. This little building was used as headquarters by Captain Pickett while on San Juan Island. At that time, however, it was on the southern end of the island. Later Judge E. D. Warbass, who greatly admired Pickett, moved the building to Friday Harbor and occupied it as his home during the balance of his long life.

The reunion of the "Blue" and the "Gray" at Gettysburg will refresh the memories of many that the man who led "Pickett's Charge" had part of his early career on Puget Sound. Mrs. Pickett's book has two chapters on San Juan.

Other Books Received

AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, BUREAU OF. Twenty-Eighth Annual Report, 1906-1907. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 308 plus xxxv.

ATWOOD, E. L. The Modern Warship. (Cambridge, England, University Press, and New York, Putnam's, 1913. Pp. 146. 40 cents.)

BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN GRIFFITH. A Short History of the American Negro. (New York, Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 247. $1.25.)

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. Year Book for 1912. (Washington, 1913. Pp. 165.)

CRAIGIE, W. A. Icelandic Sagas. (Cambridge, England, University Press, and New York, Putnam's, 1913. Pp. 120. 40 cents.)

FAXON, FREDERICK WINTHROP. Annual Magazine Subject-Index, 1912. (Boston, Boston Book Company, 1913. Pp. 299.)

HEWETT, EDGAR LEE; HENDERSON, JUNIUS, AND ROBBINS, WILFRED WILLIAM. The Physiography of the Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico, in Relation to Pueblo Culture. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913. Pp. 77.)

JOHNS, C. H. W. Ancient Babylonia. (Cambridge, England, University Press, and New York, Putnam's, 1913. Pp. 148. 40 cents.)

MAWER, ALLEN. The Vikings. (Cambridge, England, University Press, and New York, Putnam's, 1913. Pp. 150. 40 cents.)

WOODS, FREDERICK A. The Influence of Monarchs. (New York, Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 422. $2.00.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

The Naming of Portage Bay

On May 1, 1913, the Port Commission of the Port of Seattle adopted the following resolution:

"That the Port Commission hereafter designate upon its maps and other records under the name Portage Bay that portion of Lake Union in the City of Seattle which lies to the eastward of the Latona Bridge."

At the same time the President of the Port Commission, General H. M. Chittenden, framed the following reasons for the adoption of the name:

"That part of Lake Union which lies east of Latona Bridge is so detached from the main lake as to make it practically a separate body of water. A great deal of confusion arises in description because 'Lake Union' in the popular mind means the main body of the lake west of the Latona Bridge. A separate name for the east arm of the lake is of practical importance, and Portage Bay has been suggested as a suitable name. It is peculiarly appropriate because it commemorates in permanent form an important feature of the history of the city which will pass away with the completion of the canal. From the very beginning of the city the portaging of traffic across the narrow neck of land that separates the two lakes has been carried on by various means, among which are a tramway, a lock canal, and the log shuteway at present in use. All of this will be finally done away with when the open channel is completed between the lakes and they are made practically one body of water."

Interest of Women's Clubs in Local History

Miss Bessie Wanser of Seattle, Secretary of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, is authority for the statement that there are more than two hundred women's clubs in the State of Washington, embracing five thousand members, and that two-thirds of them will study local history during the coming year.

The general interest in the subject was also reflected in the annual election of officers. Mrs. Ruth Karr McKee of Hoquiam was chosen President of the Federation. In her work for the clubs and for libraries she has been a strong advocate for the study and preservation of the

history of the Northwest. This part of her character can easily be traced. Her mother was a Walker and was born in the Spokane branch of the famous Whitman mission. Missionary Walker was one of the reenforcements sent out into Oregon in 1838. Mrs. McKee and her mother were both native daughters and being a part of the history they know its interest and importance.

Exploring Mountains

Two mountain clubs will be at work in the State of Washington during the present summer. The Mazamas, with headquarters in Portland, Oregon, will visit Mount Adams, August 2 to 17. The Mountaineers, with headquarters in Seattle, will traverse the Olympic Range, starting at Port Angeles and emerging at the mouth of the Quinault River. The time scheduled is August 2 to 23. Both outings are primarily for pleasure, but there will also be done considerable work of scientific and historical value.

Journey of the Liberty Bell

School teachers from the Pacific Coast States have in person presented the petitions of thousands of western school children asking the authorities in Philadelphia to send the old Liberty Bell on a visit to the Pacific Coast during the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915. Many patriotic citizens worked to secure and compile the petitions. One of the most active in the State of Washington was Richard Saxe Jones of Seattle.

Washington Pioneer Association

The Pioneer Association of the State of Washington held its regular annual meeting at the Association's hall, Madison Park, Seattle, on June 3 and 4, 1913.

The officers elected for the ensuing year were as follows: President, Morgan J. Carkeek; Vice-President, H. C. Comegys; Secretary, Edgar Bryan; Treasurer, William M. Calhoun; Trustees, Thomas H. Cann, M. R. Maddocks, Frank H. Winslow, W. V. Rhinehart and Leander Miller.

The principal address of the occasion was delivered by Judge R. B. Albertson. Besides glowing tributes to the worth of the pioneer men and women, the address was replete with valuable historical references, especial-

ly relating to professional men in the Territory in 1883, when Judge Albertson was a newspaper man about to begin his career as as lawyer.

Death of Haven W. Edwards

Mr. Haven W. Edwards, vice-principal and head of the history department of the Oakland (California) High School, and Secretary of the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Society, died at his home, in Berkeley, on April 27. He was a graduate of Stanford University and had done post-graduate work at Harvard. His teaching experience was obtained at the St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., and in Redlands, Cal. At the time of his death he was making, for the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association a report on the Archives of California, a task nearly completed. He had also been a frequent contributor to the History Teachers' Magazine. He was also one of the founders of the "May First History Club," now in the fourth year of its existence.—The History Teachers' Magazine for June, 1913.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

VI. Explorations by Land (Continued).

5. Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, 1832-1836.
   a. His letter of instructions, 1831.
   b. Organizing for the fur trade.
   c. Trapping, hunting and exploring.
   d. Visits to Fort Walla Walla.
   e. Return to civilization.
   f. Commander at Fort Vancouver.
6. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1832-1837.
   a. Inspired by Hall J. Kelley.
   b. Prepared for his trip at Cambridge.
   c. The "Natwyethma."
   d. Help of Boston merchants.
   e. Arrived at Fort Vancouver, Oct. 29, 1832.
   f. John Ball begins first school, Jan. 1, 1833.
   g. Organized Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company
   h. Charter of ship "May Dacre."
   i. Fort Hall established in July, 1834.
   j. Fort William established, in September, 1834.
   k. Failure of trade.
   l. Sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company.
   m. His letter about wrecked Japanese.
   n. Prophetic nature of his work.

VII. Settlement of Old Oregon

1. Northwest Company of Montreal.
   a. Followers of Mackenzie.
   b. Posts established in Northern British Columbia.

c. Race for the Columbia River.
d. Purchase of Astoria, 1813.

2. Astoria.
   a. See outline in Volume IV., No. 2, p. 137.

3. Hudson's Bay Company.
   a. Chartered in 1670.
   b. Absorbed Northwest Company, 1821.
   c. Fort Vancouver established, 1825.
   d. Fort Langley at mouth of Fraser River, 1827.
   e. Fort Nisqually established, 1833.
   f. Puget Sound Agricultural Company, 1838.
   g. Cowlitz Farms and other settlements.
   h. Numerous trading posts.
   i. Steamer "Beaver's" arrival, 1836.
   j. Attitude toward Treaties of Joint Occupancy.

4. Doctor John McLoughlin.
   a. Education and training.
   b. With Northwest Company at first.
   c. Sent to the Columbia River district, 1824.
   d. Moved headquarters to Fort Vancouver.
   e. Aid for the botanist, David Douglas.
   f. Growth of his power.
   g. Kindness to missionaries and settlers.
   h. Now called: "Father of Oregon."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Private collections and library collections in this region are growing richer day by day in manuscript and published materials pertaining to the exploration and settlement of Old Oregon. The books cited below ought to be easily accessible, especially in the larger cities of the State. Smaller towns might arrange loans from some of the larger libraries except in case of the rarest items.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVIII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. II.), pages 417 to 712; Vol. XXIX. (Oregon, Vol. I.), pages 1 to 53. The footnotes will give guidance to sources if such are accessible to the reader.

CHITTENDEN, HIRAM M. American Fur Trade of the Far West. The reader will find much of interest in this valuable work. In Vol. I., pages 396-397, will be found the author's declaration that Captain Bonneville was a "history-made man."

COMAN, KATHARINE. Economic Beginnings of the Far West. The table of contents and index of these two volumes will lead to topics in this syllabus.

DYE, EVA EMERY. McLoughlin and Old Oregon, and McDonald of Oregon, a Tale of Two Shores. These two books were published by A. C. McClurg of Chicago. The author has sought to emphasize the human interest phases of her subjects.

HOLMAN, FREDERICK V. Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. This dependable book of 301 pages is well described by its title. It was published by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1907. It ought to be in all of the libraries of the Northwest.

IRVING, WASHINGTON. Astoria, and the Adventures of Captain Bonneville. These are classics easily obtained everywhere. In the Bonneville book will be found the Captain's letter of instructions and also a part of a letter from Nathaniel J. Wyeth about the shipwrecked Japanese.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. Pages 80 to 105 will cover the field of this syllabus and footnotes will guide further researches if desired.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest. This book, cited for each syllabus, will be found helpful in this case also. See pages 94 to 158.

SOMERVILLE, T. David Douglas, an interesting and valuable article in the Overland Monthly, Vol. VII., beginning at page 108. The magazine is for August, 1871. The article throws light on the founding of Fort Vancouver as well as on the work of the famous botanical explorer.

WYETH, JOHN A., M. D. Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the Struggle for Oregon, an article in Harper's Magazine for November, 1892, pages 855-847.

YOUNG, PROFESSOR F. G. Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-6. This prime source material will be found in Sources of the History of Oregon, Vol. I., parts 3 to 6, published by the University Press at Eugene, Oregon, in 1899.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

As to wind, I have witnessed less, if such a term can be used, than at any other place I have ever been in, and I have but to say, that if the timber we have here, spread their lofty branches in the States, they would be riven by the lightning, and blown down to an extent that would spare many of them the blow of the settler's axe. Here, I have heard no thunder, and have seen but one tree that had been struck by lightning.

CHAPTER XI.

Aborigines of Oregon—Their Numbers and Character—Their Canoes—Their Mode of Fishing—Game—Timber—Fisheries—Water Power—Mountains—A Volcano—Commercial, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Features of Oregon—Value of the Arm of Labor.

The aborigines of Oregon form, at present, nine-tenths of the population of the whole country, and from their newly adopted habits, are deserving of a place in the social census. They were formerly much more numerous, but like all the savage race, they melt away from the white man's approach like shadows before the advancing sun. I have no means of accurately ascertaining their number, as large bodies of them are in the habit of moving from place to place to reap the varying harvests of the fisheries, but I believe they somewhat exceed 20,000. They are most numerous in the Nez Perces country, which extends eastward from Wallawalla, and considerable numbers of the Cherookos attracted by the fisheries, are to be found at the Dalles and at the mouth of the Columbia river. They are, however, degenerate and broken, and instead of the proud and warlike being which presents itself to the imagination when the

idea of an American Indian enters it, they but offer to the actual beholder the specimen of a creature degraded almost to the level of a beast, and capable of submitting to the most servile abasement. Indeed, so completely are they under the control of the superior intelligence of the Anglo Saxon settler, that they can scarcely be considered in a much more dignified light than as a race of natural villeins or serfs. The Nez Perces Indians retain in a greater degree than any other, their ancient independence; but even the members of this tribe fall readily under the control and mastery of the whites.

The Indians between Wallawalla and the Dalles are a cowardly and thievish set, and the portion of them situated at the latter place, in addition to being degraded and ignorant in the extreme, are so addicted to stealing, that they lay hands on every trifle that comes within their reach. These portions at Vancouver and in the valley of the Willamette, are abject, servile, and filthy in their habits, and most of them go half naked during the whole year. In both this and the adjoining region, they perform a great deal of work for the whites, and where labor is so scarce as it is here, they are of no slight assistance to the settlements. Many of them make very good hired hands, and they are found particularly useful in rowing boats, paddling canoes, herding cattle, and in the menial operations which require a sort of refuse labor, if such a term can be used, that would be dear at the outlay of a valuable settler's time. You can hire a Chenook to work upon a farm a week for a shirt worth 83 cents.

These Indians construct the finest canoes in the world. They make them out of the cedar which grows at the mouth of the Columbia, from twenty to thirty feet long, and from three to four feet wide. Their bottoms are flat, like those of skiffs, and being light, this construction, together with the sharp form of the bows, makes them very swift. In fashioning the canoe, they commence upon the middle and taper it gradually to a sharp point at each end, not turning it up with a flourish like the bows and stern of ordinary vessels of the kind. The only ornament they put upon them, is a sort of figure head made of a separate piece of wood, which is fitted on the bows, and is generally beautified with a rude mosaic of sea-shells imbedded in various figures in the wood.

The conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the Indians, has been prompt and discriminating, both in the distribution of benefits, and in the punishment of offences. They have not held a whole tribe responsible for the unauthorized acts of individuals, but have in all cases carefully sought out the real perpetrators and punished them without fail. When the country was first visited by the whites, the natives were of a ferocious and warlike character, and it required sixty men to pass up

the Columbia in boats, to ensure the safety of the expedition; but now, a single individual can pass without molestation to the Dalles, and a squad of six or eight may travel in perfect security through any portion of the territory. The Flatheads and Snakes, formerly the most incorrigible, have long been peaceable, honest, and friendly. One of the gentlemen belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, told me that in the many trading expeditions they had had with these tribes, they had never lost the first article, and many times they had purposely exposed their goods to trifling depredations, for the purpose of testing their honesty.

All of the tribes of Oregon wear their hair long, and are exceedingly fond of the dress of the whites; but nothing holds so strong a claim to their admiration, or so firm a seat in their affections, as a *shirt*. A pair of pantaloons holds the next place, a coat next, and so on through the inferior articles of apparel. They show the most extravagant delight when dressed in these garments, but still prefer to display the shirt on the outside of all. Candor, however, compels me to declare, that those who are fortunate enough to possess one of these articles, generally makes it do the duty of a full dress. They call the Americans, "*Bostons*," which title they have adopted in consequence of having been originally informed by Captain Gray, the first pale face who ever entered their territory, that he came from a place called Boston. The English they call King George.

The Indians of Oregon are exceedingly addicted to gambling, and have been known to pursue this demoralizing passion to the fatal length of even staking their liberty on a game, and playing themselves, by a run of ill luck, into a state of perpetual slavery. When we estimate the love of a savage for independence, we can arrive at some measurement of the degree of passion which exacts its sacrifice. Upon the whole, these Indians are of vast benefit to the whites of this region. In the present condition of the settlements, we should lose much by their absence.

Fisheries.—The fisheries of this country are very great, and foremost among all the varieties which they produce, is the unrivalled salmon. It would be impossible to estimate the numbers of this excellent fish annually taken in the Columbia and its tributaries; but they have been set down at ten thousand barrels a year, which number I do not think by any means too large. The salmon in this country are never caught with a hook. They are sometimes taken by the Indians with a small scoop net, but generally are caught with a sort of spear of a very peculiar description. These are made by the natives after the following fashion. They take a pole, made of ash, or of some hard wood, about ten feet long and one inch thick, and gradually tapering to a point at one end. They then cut a piece, about four inches long, from the sharp prong of a buck's

horn, and hollow out the large end so that it fits the pole. About the middle of the buck horn, they make a small hole through which they put a cord, or leather string, that runs along the pole and fastens to it about two feet from the lower end. When they spear a fish with this weapon, the pole is withdrawn and the buck horn barb is left imbedded in the animal's body, or having run through and through it, remains fastened on the other side. Escape is thus rendered impossible, and the prey unable to elude the prong, is securely drawn in by the string. All the salmon caught here are taken by the Indians, and sold to the whites at about ten cents each, and frequently for less. One Indian will take about twenty upon an average per day.

The salmon taken at different points, differ greatly in kind and quality, and it is only at particular places that they can be taken. The fattest and best are those taken at the mouth of the Columbia, and the next best are those taken in the Columbia, a few miles below Vancouver, at the Cascades, and at the Dalles. Those taken at the Willamette falls, are smaller in size, and inferior in flavor, and are said to be of a different kind. What is singular, this fish cannot be taken in any considerable numbers with large seines, and this is only to be accounted for, by their remarkable shyness, and their superior activity. I believe no white man has yet succeeded in taking them with the gig. They make their appearance in the vicinity of Vancouver, first in the Klackamus river, and the best quality are taken in June.

There are several other kinds of fish in the bays, rivers, and creeks of the territory, of which a species of cod and the sturgeon are the most important. The later are a large fish, and afford great sport in a leisure hour to take them with a hook and line. They are taken in the Willamette, below the falls; in the Columbia, at all points, and in the Snake or Saptin river, as high up as Fort Boisé. Of shell-fish, we have the crab, clams, muscles, and a small description of oyster.

Game.—The wild animals of this, the first section of Oregon, are the black bear, black-tailed deer, raccoon, panther, polecat, rabbit, wolf, beaver, and a few others. Of these, the deer and the wolves are the most numerous. We have no buffaloes, antelopes, or prairie chickens here, but in the second section the latter species of feathered game are plenty.

Of fancy birds, we have blue jay, larger, and of a deeper blue than those of the States; the mut-town wren, a most beautiful and gentle little atom, scarcely larger than the humming-bird; also a species of bird, which resembles the robin in form, color, and size; and also a species of nightingale, that sings the livelong night; but though I have heard these evening songsters, time and again, I have never yet managed to get sight of one.

The bald eagle, so well described by Wilson, is found along all the rivers; but here, he is obliged to compromise a portion of his lordly character to his necessities, and to work for his own living, having no fish-hawks to catch his game for him. He feeds principally upon the dead salmon he gleans from the surface of the water, as they float downward in the stream, and changes his diet by an occasional swoop upon some unlucky duck, which he catches either while on the wing, or while feeding in the river. If the duck when pursued in the air, can reach the surface of the water, he does so with the utmost speed of wing, and seeks a momentary refuge by diving under it. The eagle, balancing himself over the spot of his victim's disappearance, waits until he rises, and then strikes at him again and again, until the latter's strength becomes wasted with the unusual effort, and giving out at length, the relentless conqueror bears him off as he rises languidly and for the last time to the surface of the water. We have also pheasants in abundance, likewise partridges, grouse, brant, pelicans, plovers, wild geese, brush, gulls, cranes, swans, and ravens, crows and vultures. For a sportsman, this region is a paradise, and a dog and a gun will afford him a chapter of elysium every day of his life.

There is one peculiarly attractive feature, which this country possesses over most others, and that is, that like Old Ireland itself, it has no poisonous reptiles or insects, and better than Ireland, we are not burdened with obligations to any saint for the saintly office of extirpating them. The only snake we have, is the harmless garter-snake, and there are no flies to annoy the cattle.

Timber.—The timber of this section of Oregon, constitutes the main source of its wealth. It is found in inexhaustible quantities on the Columbia, and on the Willamette, just where the water power is at hand to cut it up, and where ships can easily take it on board. The principal timber of this section is the fir, the white cedar, white oak and black ash. There are three kinds of fir; the white, yellow, and red; all of them fine for plank, shingles, boards and rails.

The white fir makes the best shingles. The fir is a species of pine, which grows very tall and straight, and stands very thick upon the ground. Thick as they stand, however, when you cut one, it never lodges in its fall, for the reason that it never forks, and the limbs of the others are too small to stop the descent of its enormous bulk. In the Cascade mountains, and near the mouth of the Columbia river, they rise to the height of three hundred feet. They split exceedingly well, and make the finest boards of any timber I have ever seen. I cut one tree, from which I sawed twenty-four cuts of three foot boards, and there are plenty of such specimens all around me, yet untouched.

The white cedar is very fine timber, and is nearly if not quite equal to the red cedar of the States. In the vicinity of Liantan, it grows to the size of three feet in diameter, and is tall enough to make six rail cuts to the tree. I have cut two waste-house logs, thirty feet long, off one tree, and three of the same logs off a red fir, which was only about fourteen inches in diameter at the stump. The cedar splits remarkably well, makes fine rails, shingles, or house-logs, and lasts a lifetime.

The white oak timber is better for wagon-making than any specimens to be found east of the Rocky Mountains, and it is the best wood that can be had for axe-handles, and for similar purposes. It grows about as tall as in the States. The *black* oak, which also grows profusely in our forests, makes excellent fire-wood, and answers likewise for many other purposes.

In the range of mountains back of Lintaan, we have plenty of the hemlock, the bark of which is fine for tanning hides; and I have no doubt that ere long, the skins that will be stripped from our large herds of stock, will be extensively converted into leather by its agency. We have also the dog-wood and cherry-maple, sprinkled among the firs and cedars. The hazel of this country is four times larger than that of the States, and is also much tougher in its texture; it is extensively used for hoops, and for the manufacture of a coarse kind of scrub broom. The fruit of this tree is of a lighter color than the hazel-nuts of the States, and they are of the shape and size of a chinkapin acorn. Persons coming from the States will find very little timber here like that to which they have been accustomed, for all of it is on a grander scale. The black ash and dog-wood are very similar to those of Tennessee and Kentucky, and the white oak is perhaps but little different from any eastward of the mountains. But we have no walnut, hickory, persimmon, pawpaw, locust, coffee-nut, chestnut, sugar-tree, box-elder, poplar, sycamore, or elm.

Water Power.—The water power of this country is unequalled, and is found distributed through every section. That at the falls of the Willamette cannot be surpassed in the world. Any quantity of machinery can be put in motion there; but the good water power is not confined to the Willamette falls, for in many places on the Columbia, the Willamette, and the other rivers, there are mill sites as good, though none of them are quite so large. These advantages for converting the timber which surrounds them, into a marketable commodity of great value in the neighboring ocean, will ere long be appreciated to a far greater extent by even this region, than at present.

Mountains.—We have the most beautiful scenery of North America—we lie upon the largest ocean, we have the purest and most beautiful

streams,[8] the loftiest and most majestic trees, and the most stupendous mountains of the continent. The latter, as I have had occasion to mention before, are divided into three great ranges, but as the description of the features of the lower region is at present my especial object, I will pass over the Rocky Mountains and the Blue, and confine myself to the President's range which forms the eastern wall of our valley. The several peaks of this range are grand and imposing objects. From Vancouver you have a full and fair view of Mount Hood, to the south, which is called by some the tallest peak of the Cascades, and rises more than sixteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and ten thousand above the mountain immediately around it. This lofty pile rises by itself in a regular and perfect cone, and is covered with perpetual snow. It is the only peak you can see from Vancouver, as the view in other directions is obscured by tall fir timber. At the mouth of the Willamette, as you enter the Columbia, you have a full view of Mt. St. Helens or Mount Washington, and also of Mount Hood. From Lintan you have a very fair view of the former mountain, which is almost fifty miles distant from this point, though it looks as if it were almost within reach. This peak is very smooth and perfectly conical in its form. It is nearly as tall as Mount Hood, and is the most beautiful of the range. It lies immediately on a line with the mouth of the Columbia, and is a land-mark visible several miles at sea and useful in directing vessels to its harbor. Like Mount Hood it stands alone in its solitary grandeur far above all surrounding objects and awing them into insignificance. This mountain, which until last year, towevered serenely in the air covered with ten thousand perpendicular feet of snow, suddenly burst into a burning volcano, in which state it now remains. The crater is in its side about two-thirds of its distance from its base, and by the account of the Indian inhabitants in its vicinity, it emitted a flood of lava at the time of its eruption, which poured its stream of fire though the whole depth of the virgin sheet that wrapped its sides. A savage who had been hunting deer some distance up the mountain, finding his return to his wigwam thus cut off, took a run and attempted to jump across it, but not being able to clear its breadth, he fell with one foot in the glowing torrent, and was so severely burnt, that he came very nearly being lamed for life. He hastened to Vancouver, however, and by the assistance of Dr. Barclay at the Fort, was gradually cured.

This mountain is second in height to but one in the world, (Cotopaxi in South America), and like other volcanoes it burns at intervals. On one side of it near its top, is discovered a large dark object amid the

[8] We protest against the claim for their rivers, for it is at variance with the writer's own description of the whole line of streams which he traversed from the Rocky mountains to the ocean.

surrounding snow, which is supposed to be the mouth of a huge cavern, and doubtless is the ancient crater of some expired issue. On the 16th February 1844, the mountain burned most magnificently. Dense masses of smoke rose up in immense columns and wreathed the whole crest of the peak in sombre and massive clouds; and in the evening its fire lit up the flaky mountain-side with a flood of spit yet brilliant radiance. The range, of which this is the most distinguishing feature, runs throughout the whole length of the territory and is remarkable for its seperate and independant cones.

Commercial, Agricultural and Manufacturing Advantages.—The commercial advantages of this country are very great. The trade with the Sandwich Islands is daily increasing, and surrounded as we are with a half civilized race of men, our manufacturing power will soon have a home market for itself; besides, South America, California and the Sandwich Islands must depend upon us for their lumber. Already large quantities of shingles and plank are sent to the latter market, and we shall also have a full demand for all our other surplus productions at the same port, for most vessels visiting the north Pacific, touch at these islands for the purpose of obtaining supplies of fresh provisions. The Russian settlements are already dependent upon us, and even the markets of China are within our reach. For the supply of the regions of the Pacific, and the more northern settlements of the coast, there can be no competition with us in the way of provisions, as we have no neighbors in the producing line.

I consider Oregon, in many respects, superior to California, as in the latter country, the climate is so warm that pork and beef cannot be put up, and consequently the grazer loses half his profits; besides, its enervating temperature like that of all warm countries, has a degenerating effect upon the enterprise of the inhabitants. For a commercial and manufacturing people, the climate of Oregon is warm enough. We can here preserve our pork and beef without danger of its tainting before the completion of the packing; and we have finer timber, better water power, and are not subject to the ruinous droughts of California.

Since our arrival, the prospetcs of the country have very much improved. Business of all kinds is active and times are flourishing. We live in a state of primitive simplicity and independence; we are the victims of no vices; there is no drinking or gambling among us, and Labor meets with such ample inducements and ready rewards, that lazy men are made industrious by the mere force of the influences around them.

Farming is considered the best business of this country. The business of making and putting up butter, which is never worth less than twenty cents per pound, is very profitable. A good fresh article is, I am told,

never worth less than fifty cents and often brings one dollar per pound in the Pacific islands. There are now in operation, or will be this summer, mills enough to supply the whole population with flour. There is no scarcity of provisions at the prices I have previously stated, and I find that the emigrants who came out last year, live very comfortably, are perfectly content with their change, and are much improved in their appearance since the time of their arrival.

We have the finest spar timber, perhaps, in the world, and vessels arriving at the Columbia often take off a quantity for that purpose. The saw mills at the Willamette Falls cut large quantities of plank which they sell at two dollars per hundred. In speaking of the fir before, I omitted stating that it made excellent coal for blacksmith's purposes; and I will further remark that it is singular that neither the fir nor the cedar, when burned, makes any ashes. It has been supposed that the timbered land of his country will be hard to clear up, but I have come to a different conclusion from the fact that the fir timber has very little top, is easily kindled, and burns readily. It also becomes seasoned very soon, and it is the opinion of good farmers that the timbered land will make the best wheat-fields of the country.

When an individual has any idle time, he can employ himself in making fir and cedar shingles, for the first of which he can get four dollars a thousand, and for the second, five; any quantity of them can be disposed of at these rates. Carpenters and other mechanics obtain three dollars per day and found. There is employment in abundance for every one desiring it, and it is only necessary for a man to be industrious to accomplish sure success and surround himself with all the comforts of an earthly paradise.

CHAPTER XII.

Concluding Remarks—Directions to Emigrants—Line of Route and Table of Distances, Etc.

Having now completed an account of all the material points of our expedition into Oregon, and furnished the inquirer a general idea of its character and capabilities, the only thing that remains for me to do in the limits of this sketch, is to add a few more directions for the emigrant, for whose particular benefit, as I said, before, these imperfect notes are furnished. I have shown, indeed the result of our general expedition proved, that the route from the Rendezvous in Missouri, to this point, is practicable for any description of conveyance, and the success of our cattle in coming through, adds an assurance that it is remarkable as well, for

its extraordinary emigrating facilities. If this needs any corroboration, a would of evidence can be furnished to sustain it, as well as every fact I have advanced; but in support of the peculiar feasibility of the route across the Indian territories of the States and along the line of the Platte, I will merely refer the reader to the fact, that Mr. Ashley, in an expedition in 1836, drew a field piece, (a six pounder) from Missouri, across the prairies, through the southern pass, to a fort on Utah lake (to the south of our southern boundary line,) the whole journey being a distance of 1200 miles: and to the additional fact that in 1828, a large number of heavily laden wagons performed the same journey with ease and without an accident, as will be seen by a reference to Congressional documents on file.

It will be remarked that I have slurred over portions of the route and neglected the regular incidents of much of our daily travel, but when it is remembered that the journey lasted six months, and that the events of many successive days scarcely varied from each other, the reader will come to the conclusion that it would have been hardly wise in me to have taxed his patience with each day's dull routine. The great object, I considered to be, the furnishing the course of the route, a view of its general aspect and difficulties, the distances between points of travel, (the main object of the present chapter) and to impart an accurate notion of the region which the settler must make his future home. I have therefore avoided everything that did not contribute to this design, with the exception of a few trifling incidents of humor inseparable from such an expedition, which I introduced to enliven the monotony of the narrative, and which, moreover, I considered useful as affording an idea of camp life, and the amusements of a journey over the prairies.

Emigrants should start as early as possible in ordinary seasons. The first of May should be set down if possible as the outside limit, and even as early as the first of April, would do. For those coming from the Platte country, it is thought to be most advisable to cross the Missouri at McPherson's ferry in Holt county, and to take up the ridge between the Platte and Kanzas rivers.

Companies of forty or fifty wagons are large enough, and I would advise bodies of travellers for this region to keep within that measure. Large bodies prove unwieldly to arrange and to control; the numerous stock attached to them become troublesome, and moreover large bodies of Americans are prone to differ in opinion. Small collections offer but few inducements to a disordered ambition, but large ones are conducive of selfish strife and discord. This has been seen to have been the case with our expedition; which divided after crossing the Kanzas; and which was further subdivided afterwards, on the other side of the mountains. I did

not particularize this latter circumstance because I considered it of minor importance at the time, and it is now sufficient for my purpose to mention it here, as a caution against the error which induced it, in the future.

In driving stock to this country, about one in ten is lost; not more. Having started, the best way to proceed to save your teams, is to drive a reasonable distance every day, and to stop and go into camp about an hour before sundown. This gives time for all the necessary arrangements of the encampment and affords the teams an opportunity to rest and eat before the night sets in. About eight hours drive in the long days—resting an hour at noon—is, I think enough for one day's travel, and you should make it a rule never to drive irregularly if you can help it. Along the whole line of the Platte, on the Bear and Boisé rivers, and in many other places, you can encamp at any point you please; but at some points of the route you will be compelled to drive hard to get water and range for your cattle.

When you reach the country of the buffalo, never stop your wagons to hunt, as you will consume more provisions during the delay than you will save by the amount of your game; for it is generally consumed at once from the difficulty of curing it, in consequence of the warmth of the weather. Let your horsemen and scouts perform this duty, and supply this want for you; and if they use proper exertions, they can keep you all in fresh meat throughout the whole of the country of game. Any one wishing the amusement of this sport, should bring along an extra horse, and not use him until he reaches the buffalo region, as the hunting of this animal is rough work, and emigrants must needs be very careful they do not break their horses down. A prudent care should be taken of horses, teams, and provisions from the start, and no extra exertion should be required from the two first, and nothing of the last should be thrown away that can be eaten.

If a prudent course is taken, the trip can be made in ordinary seasons, in four months. It is true it took us longer, but we lost a great deal of time upon the road, and besides, we had the way to break. I have reason to believe, that other and better routes than the one travelled by us can be found. Captain Gant, our pilot, was decidedly of the opinion, that to keep up the south fork of the Platte, and to cross it just above the stream called the Kooshlapood, and thence up the latter stream, passing between the Black Hills on your right, and the Rocky Mountains on your left, and striking by this course at last the ordinary route by Green river, would be a better and nearer way into Oregon, and more plentifully supplied with game than the one we took. He had travelled both, and only brought us through the road he did, to avoid the large

bands of Sioux and Black feet Indians, whom he had been informed were hunting upon the southern route.

The following table of distances, it is proper for me to say, is a rough calculation made up from an estimate of our daily travel. It consequently does not claim the accuracy of a geometrical admeasurement, but it is thought by those to whom I have submitted it, to be not far out of the way.

A Table of Distances From Independence, Missouri, to the Intermediate Points Between That Town and Astoria at the Mouth of the Columbia River

	Miles.
From Independence to the Rendezvous,	20
Rendezvous to Elm Grove	15
From Elm Grove to Walpalusia,	22
Walpalusia to Kanzas river,	31
Kanzas River to Big Sandy creek,	31
Big Sandy to Hurricane Branch,	12
Hurricane Branch to East fork of Blue River,	20
East fork to West fork of Blue River,	15
West fork to where we came in sight of the Republican fork of the Blue River	41
Up Republican fork of the Blue River to where we left it to cross over to the Big Platte River	66
Up the Platte to where we saw the first herd of buffalo,	56
Up the same to the crossing on the South fork of same,	117
South fork to crossing on North Fork of same,	31
Crossing of North Fork to Cedar Grove,	13
Cedar Grove to Solitary Tower,	18
Solitary Tower to Chimney Rock,	18
Chimney Tower to Scott's Bluffs,	20
Scott's Bluffs to Fort Larimie,	38
Fort Larimie to Big Spring at foot of Black Hills,	8
Big Spring to Kenyan on North fork of Platte,	30
Kenyan to crossing of North Fork,	84
Crossing of North Fork to Sweetwater River,	55
Up Sweetwater River to where we first saw the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains,	60
From the above point to main dividing ridge of Rocky Mountains,	40
From dividing ridge to Little Sandy River,	16
Little Sandy to Big Sandy,	14

Big Sandy to Green River	25
Down same	12
To Black's fork of Green River	22
From Black's fork to Fort Bridger	30
Fort Bridger to Big Muddy River	20
Big Muddy to Bear River	37
Down Bear River to range of hills mentioned as running up to its bank	57
Down Bear River to Great Soda Spring	38
From Soda Spring to the Portneuf River, the first water of the Columbia	25
To Fort Hall in the Snake or Saptin River	58
From Fort Hall to the Portneuf again	11
Portneuf to Rock Creek	87
Rock Creek to Salmon Falls on the Saptin	42
Salmon Falls to crossing on the Saptin	27
From crossing of Saptin to Boiling Spring	19
Boiling Spring to Boisé River	48
Down same to Fort Boisé on Saptin	40
Fort Boisé to Burnt River	41
Up Burnt River for	26
From last point to Powder River at "the Lone Pine"	18
From "the Lone Pine" to Grand Round	15
Grand Round to the Umatilla River on the west of the Blue Mountains	43
Umatilla to Dr. Whitman's Mission	29
Mission to Fort Wallawalla	25
Wallawalla to the Dalles Mission	120
Dalles to Vancouver	100
Vancouver to Astoria	80
Astoria to the ocean	10
Making in all from Independence to the Pacific ocean	2036

From Independence to Vancouver by the above computation is 1946 miles by the route we traveled. I am well satisfied that the distance does not exceed 2000 miles for the reason that our ox teams could not have accomplished a greater distance within the time of their actual employment.

The trip to Oregon is neither a costly nor an expensive one, and an individual can travel here at as small an expense, as he can move from Tennessee or Kentucky, to Missouri. All the property he starts with he

can bring through, and it is worth, upon his arrival, more than when he set out.

To conclude, there is no country in the world where the wants of man can be so readily supplied, and upon such easy terms as in this; and none where the beauties of nature are displayed upon a grander scale.

The chief value of this country, I must remark in closing, lies in the advantages it offers to the United States for a direct route to the East Indies and the ports of the Pacific ocean. Already these have been embraced by the Hudson's Bay settlers, and even now, the products of this region have grown to an importance that would make them sadly missed by several of the inland markets and settlements upon the western coasts which they have of late supplied. Every day adds to their amount and their demand, and an ordinary sagacity may see in this fact, the promise of our future importance in the commercial world. There are many considerations involved in the first steps of our advance which it would please me to allude to in detail, but they are not embraced within the scope of my present purpose, and I leave them to the treatment of abler political economists.

* * * * * * * * * *

The more extended political organization of which I before spoke, is about to take place, and I was waited upon two or three days ago by a party from the Falls, to consult upon a plan of a general territorial government, with a legislature of two houses, and a Chief Justice for its first executive officer. This arrangement will embrace all the settlements of the valley into one common government, the representatives of which will convene in general congress, at stated periods, at Multnomah or Oregon city, and there transact all the necessary business for our little body politic. When this plan is adopted, (as it doubtless will immediately be), it will perhaps, be the peculiar honor of your humble servant, to sit in a curule chair of the first Republican Government beyond the Rocky mountains. We shall then be able to make our own laws, and likewise to do our own voting and our own fighting. Let not our brethren of the States mistrust our ability to maintain ourselves in our new position! We have strong arms and stout hearts; we have despised the toils of two thousand miles of travel to build our homes upon the soil, and we will never leave its face, until we sink beneath it.*

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*Recent accounts from the west inform us that there are now gathered near Independence, Missouri, about 7,000 emigrants, all destined for Oregon and California. They are to set out in convenient detachments about the 1st of June.

CONCLUDING NOTE.

FALCONER'S RECENT WORK ON THE OREGON QUESTION.

The author cannot say his last word without allusion to a British republication which appeared when the foregoing pages were in press. It is entitled, "THE OREGON QUESTION; OR A STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH CLAIMS, IN OPPOSITION TO THE PRETENSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THOMAS FALCONER, BARRISTER AT LAW, OF LINCOLN'S INN."

It is unnecessary to our purpose to travel after the writer through all his tortuous sophistries, as they are fully answered by the plain statements of the previous portions of this work; but, as Mr. Falconer is a special advocate of international law, and advances some rather novel and interesting positions, it may not be amiss to glance at the main points of his performance. The learned barrister somewhat ingeniously commences by adjudging us the French Title as the foundation of our claims, and having given it this position as his least formidable obstacle, pelts away at it with evident satisfaction. He is welcome to his pains, for if he succeeds in destroying it altogether, it will not affect our claims a jot. He next insists upon the discoveries of Drake with the utmost pertinacity, though he succeeds but poorly, and can manage to defend the veracity of the freebooting Preacher, on whose romantic statements they depend, no better than by asking—what motive he could have to lie? This appeal, in the face of the fact, that navigators had for nearly a hundred years previous been struggling for the renown of the furthenst northern advance, is the very superlative of absurdity, and is undeserving of a grave reply. Mr. Falconer lays great stress upon the concessions of Spain by the Nootka treaty, (a rather strange mode by the way of fortifying the antagonistic claims of Drake and Cook,) and insists that, "this convention was an admission of the right of the English Government to make settlements." Well, suppose it was, what then? She did not consummate that privilege by any settlement, as we have before shown, previous to the succeeding war 1796 which swept the right away with the other conditional agreements and reciprocal privileges dependant upon a state of amity! Had she, in the mean time, made an actual settlement and retained it through the war, her proposition that "the right to make settlements was a cession of territory," would, in its application to this case, wear a graver aspect. But throwing aside the Nootka treaty, and granting Britain the privilege of settlement in unoccupied wastes as a nat-

ural right, and still she gains nothing by it, for, by her own rule: "discovery alone and an *alleged intention* to occupy do not give a perfect title, unless an actual occupation takes place." This is an unfortunate quotation of the learned barrister's, for we have seen that Britain's very first settlement in any part of Oregon, was at Astoria, after the purchase of the Pacific Fur Company's effects in 1813; while on the other hand, the United States reaps the harvest of the principle by a number of explorations and settlements extending from 1792 to the above period. But these formidable circumstances must be overcome, and the gentleman of Lincoln's Inn seeks to accomplish his purpose by a farther burrowing into international law. By the outlay of a little industrious research, he finds that this grand system accords to the subjects of monarchial governments privileges by discovery and settlement, which *it denies* to the Citizens of a Republic; that while the former may be empowered by their sovereign to discover countries, to take possession and establish laws, the latter cannot receive similar powers from the President of the United States, "and without such authority," continues he, "they are mere outcasts and vagabonds upon the face of the desert, and no political inferences can be drawn from their acts. Hence," concludes the learned barrister, "the British settlement on the Columbia in 1813, was the first of a national and legal character, recognizable as such, by foreign nations." This is all very well as an ingenious obliquity of argument, but no understand the political distinction between Americans and Britons in a different sense. By our institutions every Citizen of the United States is in himself a sovereign, and possesses, as a matter of course, every natural right and its consequences, that monarchs grant by special act of grace to their obedient subjects. While Europeans range in varying subordinate degrees, the Citizens of our glorious Republic have a right to rank with kings.

Satisfied with his deductions, the learned gentleman finally winds up with an appeal to the commercial interests which will be injured by a state of war, and with a suggestion that the whole dispute be referred to the arbitration of some foreign power.

Do we need more than this to prove the absurdity of international law as applied to us? Is not the above insulting construction of our institutions, a sufficient argument to induce us to reject at once the system *it* is based on with the contempt it deserves! Instead of gravely inquiring what might have been the opinion of this or that monarchial writer some hundreds of years ago, would it not be more dignified—more just, to decide for ourselves upon the merits of the case, and according to first principles?

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE—TREATIES AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA, SPAIN, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST PORTION OF THE FOREGOING WORK.

(No. 1.)

Convention between the United States and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, on the 17th of April, 1824.

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed that, in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, or South sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of restoring to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles.

ART. 2. With the view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing, exercised upon the great ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting powers, from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the north-west coast.

ART. 3. It is, moreover, agreed that hereafter there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of said States, any establishment upon the north-west coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, *to the north* of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, *south* of the same parallel.

ART. 4. It is, nevertheless, understood that, during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hinderance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

ART. 5. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and

munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold, to the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated, that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandise, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever, towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects.

(To be continued.)

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THE ORIGIN OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON*

The Constitutional Convention of the Territory of Washington met at Olympia, on July 4, 1889, pursuant to the Enabling Act of Congress and the election therein authorized to form a constitution for the proposed new state. The convention was composed of seventy-five members, elected by the people, drawn from different callings, professions, and avocations, and truly represented the strength and wisdom of the growing commonwealth. These men were locally distinguished for their high sense of honor, their integrity, ability, and purpose to serve the state well, and to give it a broad, comprehensive, and liberal fundamental law; but what was far better, they were endowed with the full measure of human common sense. They thoroughly understood local conditions, and the imminent dangers that would threaten the new, growing state, and were actuated by one motive only, which was to give the proposed new state the benefits of their energy, wisdom and experience in the fundamental law which they should frame. They were well versed in the foundations of the science of justice, and thoroughly understood that this science is most intimately concerned with all living human interests, and therefore with the rights and duties of civilized men; that its spirit is not only in accord with, but is essential to, the prosperity and progress of all our people. They understood that the development of this science can be realized only in the use of scientific methods; by carefully collecting the facts of human experience under all the varied conditions afforded by local and national history; by the comparison and classification of these facts, and by deducing from them the rules and principles upon which human conduct may be regulated and the laws of the expanding commonwealth based. In determining the origin of our constitution then, it is necessary to set forth the general historical basis, and to trace the historical development of our particular form

*Prepared as a thesis for the Master of Arts degree in the University of Washington. The author was assisted by Prof. Edmond S. Meany, his thesis instructor. Mr. Kinnear gathered information from survivors of the convention and newspapers of that day.

of government. The state constitution supplements that of the federal government, which reserves to the people all power not expressly conferred; but a striking distinction exists between the two, contained in the oft quoted expression, "The United States constitution is a grant of power; the state constitution is a limitation on legislation," and, as the necessity for such limitations appears in the ordinary growth and development of political institutions, state constitutions become more and more explicit in dealing with questions that affect the welfare of the whole community. In keeping with the growing distrust of the people in legislative bodies, the constitution of Washington, as well as all late constitutions, enters fully and explicitly into the field of legislative restriction. Some powers there are which are altogether withheld. They are granted neither to congress nor to the legislatures of the state. Such is the power to grant any person or class of persons any exclusive political honors or privileges, and the power to abridge in any way the rights of life, liberty, and property. As a matter of fact, these principles have been so long recognized as an essential part of American political institutions, that nothing is added to the real force or value of state constitutions by their incorporation in that part of the constitution known as the Bill of Rights, but which custom has rendered almost universal among the states, Michigan being the only exception. State governments depend for their structure and power entirely upon written fundamental law, upon constitutions prepared in conventions by the representatives of the people, and adopted by a vote of the electors of the state. It was upon models and precedents furnished by England and the thirteen original states that the federal government was constructed. The state governments proceed from authority higher than themselves not less distinctly than does the federal government. A very great uniformity of structure is observed in the organic law of the several states. One of the most obvious points of resemblance between them is the complete separation and perfect coordination of the three great departments of government, and these are set apart and organized under the state constitutions with a very much greater particularity than characterizes the provisions of the federal constitution. We find then, that the political institutions of the United States, are, in all their main features, simply the political institutions of England, as transplanted by the English colonists, and developed in the course of the centuries preceding the formation of our own constitution. They were worked out through fresh development and new environment to their new and characteristic forms, and always embody the highest and best of the civilization they represent. Though now possessing so large a mixture of foreign blood, a large majority of the people of the United States are of British extraction, and the settlements of New

England and the South at first contained no other element. In the North, and at the mouth of the Mississippi, there were French settlements; in Florida there were colonists from Spain. The Dutch had settled on the Hudson, and held the great port at its mouth, and the Swedes had established themselves on the Delaware. All along the coast there was rivalry among the western nations of Europe for the possession of the new continent; but by steady, and for the most part easy, steps of aggression, the English extended their domain and won the best regions of the great coast. New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas were never seriously disputed against them; and these once possessed, the intervening foreigners were soon thrust out, so that the English power had presently become a compact and centered mass which could not be dislodged, and whose ultimate expansion over the whole continent it proved impossible to stay. England was not long in widening her colonial borders; the French power was crushed out in the North; the Spanish power was limited in the South, and the colonists had only to become free to develop energy more than sufficient to make all the occupied portions of the continent thoroughly Anglo-American.

The growth of English power in America involved the expansion of English local institutions of government; as America became English, English institutions in the colonies became American, and adapted themselves to the new problems and the new circumstances of political life in separate colonies. These colonies were weak and struggling at first, then expanding, uniting, and at last triumphing, and, without losing their English character, gained American form and flavor. However, it would be utterly erroneous to say that the English planted states in America; they planted small isolated settlements, and these settlements grew into states. The process was form local, through state to national organization, and not everywhere among the English of the new continent, was the form of local government at first adopted the same. There was no invariable pattern, but everywhere a spontaneous adjustment of political means to place and circumstances. English precedent was followed by all settlements alike, but not the same English precedent. Each colony with the true English sagacity of practical habit, borrowed what was best suited for its own situation. New England had one system, Virginia another, New York and Pennsylvania still a third compounded after the other two; yet the government of these states bore in all its broader features much the same character as the rural government of England. Organization in the colonies was effected either through the machinery of counties or compact townships, and in either case, the executive power corresponded to that of similar governments in England. Constitutions are supposed to be

bodies of laws by which government is constituted and given its organization and foundation. The regulation of the relation of citizens in their private capacity does not fall within their legitimate province. The principle is fully recognized in the construction of our federal constitution, which is strong and flexible because of its admirable simplicity and its strictly constitutional scope. Constitution making in the states has proceeded upon no such idea. Ours, as well as all late constitutions, goes much more into details in its prescriptions, touching the organization of government. In this it goes far beyond organic provisions and undertakes the very ordinary but different work of legislative enactment. The statutory character of our constitutions is evident in the articles on education, public indebtedness, finance, corporations and municipalities. This leaving the field of legitimate constitution making the invading the legislative department is doubtless a reflex of the industrial condition of the times, and the sentiment which placed the responsibility of financial distress upon the legislative bodies of the country.

Some of the important provisions of the state constitution are the following: The legislative power is vested in a senate and in a house of representatives, the latter to consist of not fewer than sixty-three nor more than ninty-nine members, the former to contain not more than one-half nor less than one-third as many as the latter. Senators shall be elected for four years, and the representatives for two years. The legislature shall never authorize any lottery or grant any divorce. Private and special legislation is forbidden. After January 1, 1890, the labor of convicts is not to be let out by contract, and the legislature may provide for the working of convicts for the benefit of the state. The legislature shall provide for a general and uniform system of public schools, which includes common schools, normal schools, and such technical schools as may hereafter be established. The principal of the school fund shall remain irreducible and permanent. The consolidation of competing lines of railroads is forbidden. The existence of monopolies and trusts in the state is forbidden. The use of the water of the state for irrigation, mining and manufacturing purposes shall be deemed to be a public use. Among the older states of the union there is a more noticeable variety of laws relating to the terms of senators and representatives than in our own. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island the term of representatives and senators is for a single year. In New Jersey senators are elected for three years, one-third of the senate being renewed every year at the time of the election of representatives, who are elected for one year. A large number of the states, both old and new, limit the term of senators to one year, but in Louisiana both representatives and senators are given a term of four years.

The qualifications required of senators and representatives vary widely in the different states, but not in any essential point of principle. It is universally required that members of the legislature shall be citizens, and it is usually required that they shall be residents of the districts for which they are elected, and generally an age qualification is required. In all the states the legislature consists of two houses, a senate and a house of representatives, and in most of them the term of senators is four years, that of representatives two years, one-half of the senators being renewed every two years at the general election. There is no such difference in character, however, between the two houses of the state legislature as exists between the senate and house of representatives of the United States. Connecticut seems to have furnished the suggestions upon which the framers of the national constitution acted in deciding upon the basis and character of the representation in the two federal houses; for, in the Connecticut legislature of that time, the senate represented the towns, as the contederate unit of the state, while the house of representatives represented the people more directly. Even Connecticut has now abandoned this plan of government, and in almost all the states, representation in both houses is based directly upon population; the only difference between the senate and house being that the senate consists of fewer members representing larger districts. Often each county in the state is entitled to send several representatives to the lower house of the legislature, while several counties are combined to form a senatorial district. There is consequently no such reason for having two houses in the state as exists in the case of the federal government. The object of the federal arrangement is the representation of the two elements upon which the national government rests, namely, the popular will and a federal union of states. The state legislatures have two houses simply for the purpose of deliberation in legislation in order that legislation may be filtered through the debates of two coordinate bodies, representing slightly different constituencies both coming directly from the people, that they may escape the taint of precipitation often attached to the conclusions of a single, all powerful, popular chamber. The double organization represents no principle, but only an effort toward prudence. The historical grounds of double representation are sufficiently clear; the senate of our states are lineal descendants of the councils associated with the colonial governors, though, of course, they now represent very different principles. The colonial council emanated from the executive, while our senate emanates from the people. There is also the element of imitation of English institutions. One hundred years ago, England possessed the only great free government in the world; she was our mother land and the statesmen who

formed our constitutions naturally adopted the English fashion of legislative organization, which has since become the prevailing form among all advanced liberalized governments. They may have been influenced by more ancient examples. The two greatest nations of antiquity had double legislatures, and, because such legislatures existed in ancient as well as modern times, it was believed that they were of a superior kind. Greeks, Romans, and English alike, had at first only a single great lawmaking body, a great senate representing the elders and nobles of the community, associated with the king, and, because of the power or rank of its members, was a guiding authority in the state. In all three nations special processes produced at length legislatures representing the people also; these popular assemblies were on one plan or another, coordinated with the aristocratic assembly, and later the plan of an aristocratic chamber, and a popular chamber in close association appeared in full development. The American colonies and states copied the English chambers when they were in this stage of real coordination, before her legislature had sustained that great change which Greece and Rome had also witnessed, whereby all real power came to rest again with a single body, the popular assembly.

Our fathers determined the principles upon which government should be founded. Equally important is the task of the present generation to settle the principles upon which government shall be administered. This question the framers of our constitution attempted to approach by entering and limiting the field of legislative enactment. Had they gone farther in this field, they would have framed a more effective constitution and would have put in force many useful provisions, which have heretofore failed because of the want of legislative enactment.

Passing to a more specific consideration of the scope of local constitutions, it may be observed that the only occasion on which the people in their individual capacity possess any law making power, is in the adoption of their constitution. From that date the exercise of power is surrendered to those who are designated by the constitution to be rulers, but the constitution contains the decrees of the real sovereign, the edicts that are to bind the lawmakers of the future as well as themselves.

The virtue of a written constitution lies in its permanency. If social conditions were permanent, a constitution suitable for one generation would be suitable for the following; but old conditions have proved to be inadequate to the new adjustment of affairs in the states where they were adopted, and in the later states many new and perplexing problems must be solved. We may not expect the institutional life of the Anglo-Saxon race to become so settled and determined that it may be circumscribed

by a code of permanent laws, fundamental or otherwise. The circle must always expand, and the constitutional as well as other laws must constantly change. For the present the *form* of republican government is settled, but all the constitutional details deduced therefrom are in a state of transition. In this state of changing institutional life, one generation is not endowed with a sufficient mental acuteness to legislate for the succeeding. Could our constitution makers become a permanent body, endowed with a few centuries of life and activity, and meet every score of years to revise their preceding work, we might have a constitution approaching completeness and perfection.

The constitution of Washington, like that of other states, with one exception, commences with a Bill of Rights. The declarations contained therein are brief, general and comprehensive declarations of the rights of individuals which are deemed to be sacred. These rights are, by common understanding, considered to be inherent in the constitution of things, and are based on principles which no government can rightfully deny, and the assertion of them in constitutional provisions is not supposed to add materially to the tenure by which they are held. These declarations, of which there are thirty-two sections in the constitution of Washington, are divided into the following classes: First, those declaratory of the general provisions of republican government; such as, "All political power is inherent in the people," and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Second, those that are declaratory of the fundamental rights of the citizen, as, "Every person may freely speak, write, and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right," that the rights of the people be secure in their houses, persons, and property against unreasonable search and seizure shall not be violated. Third, those which insure to the citizen the right of an impartial trial, as "The right of trial by jury shall be preserved." "No person shall be subject to be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense." With different degrees of fullness, all the constitutions agree upon the abstract principle of equality before the law, private ownership of property, religious liberty, and they attempt to safeguard man's pursuit of happiness, but when we come to the provisions for the protection, security, and defense of these rights of the individual against the demands of the country, we find almost as much variety in substance as in form. Upon the question of property rights, the field must inevitably widen, and even the question of religious liberty permits a divergence of opinion. When we enter the field of procedure, the means of enforcing and defending fundamental rights, we find that nothing is settled. The constitution either provides that the legislature shall pass laws to enforce its provisions, or it expects the leg-

islature to pass them, but as it is impossible for the constitution to dictate what laws the future legislatures may pass, many provisions of our constitution remain nugatory. The practical statement of these inalienable rights is, that by reason of the enlightened age in which we live most people are entitled to them, but that any person may forfeit any of them by violation of the laws governing society, and may lose some of them by misfortune without violating any law. We see then that these declarations found in our constitutions contain nothing original, and little of value. They are simply relics of the gage of battle thrown by the people before the oppressive rulers of past decades. They have been repeatedly expressed from the time of the first English Declaration of Rights until there is no one to dispute them in the abstract. A necessary incident to the security of the state is the lodgement of power somewhere to determine under what circumstances these natural rights may be abridged or denied. This is the work of the legislative power of society, and in its final analysis it embraces all power. There is no such thing as coordinate branches of government except so far as constitutional provisions create them. In the nature of things the legislature is supreme and legally omnipotent. A careful consideration of state constitutions will determine that they do not contain much of value except inhibitions, restraints and safeguards against legislative encroachments upon the rights of individuals either by direct enactment or through the agency of other branches of government. Under a government republican in fact as well as in form, such as are the American states, with suffrage nearly universal there is no fear of the invasion of the natural rights of man by those in authority, unless under the color of legislation. This applies to the extension of judicial authority by injunction so often complained of, and which the legislature has power to control. The clause of our constitution relative to the appropriation of money for the support of religious bodies seems to have been taken from the constitution of Oregon, although the provisions of the constitution of California, and the other code states relating thereto does not vary much from the one adopted. Declaration concerning religion and worship were very elaborate in the early constitutions, and, as questions relating to religious liberty have become generally accepted, the principles become more generally stated in the constitutions, but have proceeded with more or less detail to inhibit meddling with religious questions by the government.

In common with all other people who have inherited their system of jurisprudence from England, Americans have recognized the right of trial by jury as necessary to the maintenance of their liberties. The jury has its foundation in the thought that by such a tribunal the individual could be secure against all oppressive influence, but it has its support in the fact,

that in judging the affairs of men, of the meaning and intention of their conduct and words, the purposes inspiring their action, of the motives prompting their motions, the average judgment of a number of persons drawn together from the active business pursuits of the world, is more likely to be correct, than the judgment of any one person devoted for years to a special line of work or thought. Theorists and demagogues will continue to denounce the jury system as a useless and even harmful encumbrance upon the administration of justice, but practical, shrewd business men of the world, and the great mass of lawyers and judges, thoroughly familiar with the rights and privileges of the people and the processes of judicial administration, are not likely to agree with them. In order, however, to preserve the rights and safeguards of trial by jury, it is not necessary to hold sacredly to the ancient form of empanelling the jury, the number of jurors or a unanimity of agreement, especially in civil cases. Many of these fictions and obscurities were created in the dim past, and their only ground for respect and a place in modern jurisprudence is, that they have existed so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Such appendages and subtilities will continue to be created by unscrupulous lawyers to defeat the aims of justice, but wherever constitutional provisions simplify the law it promotes the ends of justice. Trial by jury must be treated as a living useful force, so flexible as to be adapted to the present needs of society, and not an unyielding petrifaction from the past. All the state constitutions contain substantially the following provision: "The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate." All the code states, commencing with New York, have swept away the accumulated rubbish of ages concerning the drawing and testing of the jury, and in civil cases the sacred number of twelve and the unanimous verdict have received like treatment. The most advanced constitutional provisions before the framers of the Washington constitution on the subject of trial by jury were those contained in the constitution of California, where, in all civil cases two-thirds may render a verdict, and a trial by jury may be waived by the parties in all cases not amounting to felony, by the consent of both parties expressed in open court, and in civil cases and in misdemeanors the jury may consist of any number less than twelve upon which the parties may agree. There is no longer a necessity of a grand jury composed as is required by the common law. If a grand jury were a necessity, or could serve any good purpose, a small body of representative men, fairly selected, would be far more efficient, on the rule that small bodies work with more directness and greater effectiveness than larger ones. While the grand jury, which was once considered an efficient instrument of justice, has not been abolished,

it has received scanty recognition in all the constitutions of the code states, and is called only at the discretion of the trial judges. As an instrument of justice, it is known by attorneys to have lost much of its usefulness. It has little force or power of investigation not already in the hands of the court and district attorney. Unless a special prosecutor is appointed by the court, which is rarely done, the district attorney often virtually controls the acts of the grand jury. The calling of witnesses and their examination is usually left to him. No other attorney is present, and he becomes the judge before the grand jury of the sufficiency of the evidence produced to secure a conviction. He prepares the indictments for the grand jury, and also often writes their report to the court, which he usually so words as to whitewash the stains of suspicion that may rest on his friends in office, or to terrify his enemies. It is further a sort of star chamber proceeding, for the free for all discussion of the possible misdeeds of any or all persons in the community. Its usefulness is found in satisfying a popular clamor against officials in office and it also relieves the court and district attorney of the possible odium attached to the suspicion that they are not doing their whole duty in the matter of exposure and prosecution of official crookedness. As a rule, the grand jury creates a public sentiment against the person investigated or indicted, for the public is prone to regard the person even investigated by a grand jury as delinquent and a return of an indictment implies guilt to many people. The passing of the grand jury in some instances and its restriction by constitutional provisions in others, may be regarded as an advance in jurisprudence, and a clearing away of the judicial rubbish of the ages.

The Taking of Private Property for Public Use

Most of the constitutions now in force prohibit the taking of private property for public use without compensation, but experience has demonstrated that such a general provision is entirely inadequate to prevent great injustice, and often the most serious oppression. The taking of private property in many cases is of even less consequence than the injuries inflicted by the use of adjacent property; so, in many state constitutions, provision is made for that class of cases by adding the words "or damaged," in order that the rights of the individual to the enjoyment of his possessions shall not be invaded and he be wrongfully deprived of his property by measures not falling literally within the prohibition against taking private property. So far no state has receded from this provision wherever guaranteed in its constitution.

Citizenship and Suffrage

The constitution restricts the right of suffrage, except in school elections, to the male citizens over twenty-one years of age; but a clause was submitted for the vote of the electors of the state of Washington relative to woman suffrage, the same to be incorporated into the constitution if carried, but the clause was defeated at the same election when the constitution was adopted. The debates and proceedings of the convention show that much pressure and influence was used in the convention for the purpose of securing a clause that would extend the franchise to women; it was defeated and the framers of the constitution evidently acted wisely in the matter, as subsequent events showed that such a clause would in all probability have resulted in the non-ratification of the constitution. From the records of these debates it may be deduced that experience down to that time proved absolutely nothing, one way or another concerning harm, either to the commonwealth or to woman by the extension of the franchise permitting her to vote on all questions at both general and special elections. In the experiments tried in other states it was shown that the state had not been greatly benefited by it. Where the right had been extended the party machinery in the control of the state had not been weakened, and the political atmosphere had not been purified. On the other hand, intelligent and capable women had not neglected the right to vote when given the opportunity. Neither had they neglected home duties for politics, nor had they sought to fill or control the offices so long held by men. The state had not been humiliated or degraded by them, nor had politics been rendered more corrupt. No evidence was before the convention showing that the great mass of women wanted suffrage. As a practical and reasonable solution of the whole problem, it was suggested that the question be submitted to the female population of the state wherein it is proposed to confer the franchise, requiring a majority of at least three-fourths of such population to give the provision force.*

Judiciary

The plan of a judiciary organization adapted in Washington is substantially that which has been in force in California since the adoption by that state of the constitution of 1879. It is a most radical departure from the common law or itinerant system so long in force in England. In 1848 the state of New York became the pioneer in this reform and swept away the complicated machinery that had heretofore encumbered

*NOTE—Since this study was written the Constitution was amended so as to confer suffrage upon women.—Editor.

the administration of justice. Twenty-five states have since followed this reform precedent, and the British judiciary has also adopted it, and in many respects the reform has proceeded more radically and rapidly in England than in America. The judicial system of the federal courts, as with many of the traditional forms of the federal government, descend to us from our English ancestors, and the character thus impressed upon them, though modified somewhat, has not disappeared. The judges are still appointed by the executive head of the government, and with the consent of the senate, and hold office for life. A former citizen of the British Empire, of Scotch descent, contended with all the force in his power, in the Washington constitutional convention for an appointive judiciary. He sincerely believed that it would be subservient to a corrupt political ring and the whims of the rabble if constituted by popular election. This was the tendency and system of all the earlier states, and it was not given up by Oregon until 1878. The draft of our constitution as first submitted to the convention gave the supreme court revisionary power instead of appellate jurisdiction over the lower courts, but this system was not included in the report of the committee on the judiciary. The debates in the committee of the whole show a strong opposition to the executive appointment of judges; that the same is inconsistent with the spirit of republican government, and that the vestment of both original and appellate jurisdiction in the same court is objectionable in principle and inconsistent in practice. The election of judges by popular vote, their tenure fixed at a definite number of years, the vesting of revisionary jurisdiction in courts not composed of judges of the courts of original jurisdiction, seems to be now regarded as necessary to the best realization of republican government. None of the more recent constitutions contain the old judicial system, and the more ancient and cumbersome features of the system have gone out of most of the older ones. In Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, the governor still appoints, subject to the confirmation or rejection of the senate. In Vermont and Connecticut, the justices of the supreme court are elected by the legislature, and only three states now hold to the life tenure of any of the judges; and only one, namely, Delaware, applies it to any but to those of the supreme court. In Vermont the term of the supreme judges is one year; in Ohio five years; in Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and Oregon six years; Maine, New Jersey, Indiana, and Minnesota, seven years; Connecticut and Michigan, eight; Illinois, nine; Maryland and California, twelve, and Pennsylvania, twenty years. The convention discussed at length the Oregon plan with its separate county court, and the California system by which all civil and criminal jurisdiction, law, equity, and pro-

bate, excepting only the small matters given to the justice of the peace, is conferred originally upon a single court called the superior court, without term, always open and subject to the right of appeal to the supreme court. It appeared to the committee and the convention that the latter system is in many ways preferable. It is better adapted to the expeditious transaction of business, to the correct, just and uniform application and administration of the law. The judicial committee of our constitutional convention met these questions with a determination to simplify the processes of the courts, and this committee, headed by one of the ablest lawyers the west has produced, took hold of the matter with intelligent purpose and demonstrated that much that had been thought necessary in judicial procedure was useless rubbish, and much that had been thought to promote justice only obstructed it. These reforms were carried through and made a part of the Constitution of the State of California against the opposition of many able, conservative lawyers, who naturally distrusted any scheme making a radical change in the practice of the courts; but it has proved satisfactory to the members of the bar of California, as well as in this state, where it was adopted by constitutional enactment. This method of procedure has been adopted by all of the new states and is being incorporated into the laws of many of the older states. The vesting of jurisdiction in all classes of cases, law and equity, civil and criminal, in the same court, dispenses with many embarrassing questions, and simplifies others very greatly. This also saves much time of the courts which under other circumstances is consumed in disposing of technical and jurisdictional disputes.

Corporations

The growth of power, and the arrogant disregard of laws and the rights of the people, by corporations made the question of limiting corporate power one of the most vital and earnestly discussed questions before the constitutional convention. The members were keenly awake to the situation, and knew that the growth and menacing attitude of this unscrupulous power must be curbed in some way. They were confronted with the problem of corporate land grabs; the extension of the claims of the Northern Pacific railway to lands not earned by its charter; the attempts to own and control the tide lands, and a strong legislative lobby attempting to pass provisions confirming territorial grants of land; the desire of a number of members to legalize by constitutional enactment the granting of subsidies from counties and cities to aid certain corporations in railroad building opened before the convention the whole question of corporate greed and dominance. It is, therefore, not strange that

the very first resolution introduced into the convention was one limiting corporate power. The convention was also confronted with the fact that Washington was a young, growing state needing corporate wealth for the development of her resources, and the members of the convention were alive to the fact that they must not place such burdensome restrictions in their constitution as would drive corporate enterprise out of the state. They early decided that it was impracticable to provide in the constitution a complete and detailed provision for the control of corporations, so they concluded that the best that could be done was to lay down restrictions that should prevent the oppressive use of corporate power, and to prevent such legislation, under the influence of passion or prejudice as should be unjust to those who risk their fortunes on legitimate corporate enterprises. They knew that if the state was to develop, the free use of capital must be encouraged, the investment of property be made secure, and, at the same time it was evident to all that the rapacity that seems too often to be developed in connection with large aggregations of capital must be restricted. The constitutional provisions enacted under this head have been demonstrated to be wise, and it is probable that little of value was withheld or too much added. It is to be regretted that subsequent legislatures have not acted with similar deliberation and wisdom in the discussion of this question.

Counties, Cities and Towns

The incorporation of cities and towns by special act of the legislature, has, in many instances, proven to be a fountain of evil in the states where it prevails. There is no branch of government more completely adapted to the purposes of those who make the filthiest a trade than the manipulation of city charters, where their enactment is controlled by special laws. The arena for the construction of these charters becomes the feeding ground of the labor lobbyists and corporate henchmen who are sure to besiege the legislators with offers of bribery in one form or another, whenever there is an opportunity in prospect for them to enrich themselves by municipal plunder. The plan of regulating municipal government by general law has been adopted in many of the states, and has proved an efficient remedy for the evil. The direct sources of those parts of the constitution relative to county, township and municipal government do not appear from the published reports of the convention, and their sources must be traced by analogy and comparison. The members of the convention were thoroughly familiar with the evils of special legislation as worked out in several of the states. Sufficient material was introduced on this provision the first ten days of the session to form the constitution.

Corporations, religious and benevolent societies, labor organizations, boards of trade, extreme theorists, and conservative attorneys flooded the convention, and the committees, with their peculiar beliefs, and their suggestions concerning the contents of the constitution. Many members of the convention received impertinent, even insulting, letters from the advocates of different theories of government when some pet scheme did not receive the consideration at the hands of the convention its promoters thought it merited.

A very distinguished lawyer of the state prepared the full draft of the constitution taken from the organic laws of Oregon, California, Wisconsin and Iowa, supplemented with such original clauses as many years of experience in legislation and the interpretation of laws led him to consider desirable in a state constitution. While no part of the document prepared by Mr. Hill was adopted verbatim, its source and merit were such that it received the unbiased consideration of the members of the convention, and it probably contributed more to the finished product as adopted by the convention than any other written document. Mr. Hill's draft of a constitution was published on July 4, the date of the convening of the convention; it at once attracted the attention of all members, and copies of it were eagerly sought and read by the members present. This draft of a constitution was a finished and scholarly product, well adapted to the needs of the new commonwealth, and was the subject of complimentary remarks by many of the members, but just the amount of weight it had in determining the form and context of the adopted constitution can be estimated by none but the members of the different committees. While there are differences in the two states as to minor details, it may be said in general that the draft of the committee on county, city, and township organization, like the judiciary, follows very closely the California plan. For instance, section four in the California constitution of 1879 and the Washington constitution are identical in every respect, subject matter, context, words and punctuation marks. This section provides for the organization of county government which shall be uniform, and the legislature must provide by general law for township government, whenever a majority of the qualified electors of such county, voting at a general election, shall so determine. A similarity exists in other important features. The first part of section ten of the Washington constitution and all of section six are taken from the California constitution. This section provides that corporations for municipal purposes shall not be created by special laws. A long and spirited debate took place in the committee of the whole relative to the size of cities that should be permitted to frame their own charter. The views expressed by the dif-

ferent members of the convention favored a range of from five thousand to fifty thousand inhabitants, but as there were no cities in the state upon which the fifty thousand experiment could be tried, a satisfactory compromise was reached on twenty thousand. On the report of the committee on revenue and taxation it was proposed to limit municipal indebtedness to five per cent of the assessed valuation. Seattle had just suffered millions of dollars of loss in a great fire. Her streets, wharves, and public buildings were in ruins. Should the proposed clause become a part of the constitution, there could be no repairs or other public improvements in the city. The young city immediately manifested what has become known far and wide as the "Seattle Spirit." Public meetings were held. Protests were made. Resolutions were passed, and a delegation of representative men waited on the constitutional committee and presented the case of Seattle's need. The action of the city seems to have changed the minds of the committee. As a result, we have the very excellent provision of the constitution authorizing an additional five per cent indebtedness for supplying the city with water, artificial light and sewers, when the works for supplying such city or town with water, artificial light or sewers shall be owned and controlled by the municipality. This is the source of section six on Revenue and Taxation, and Seattle's misfortune and extreme need is the source of municipal ownership of water and light in that state.

Public Lands

The subject of public lands, especially those belonging to the state by virtue of its sovereignty, lying between high and low water mark, at the margin of our navigable waters, presented many difficult problems to the convention for solution. Its importance in the state of Washington is far greater than in any state that had heretofore been admitted into the Union. In solving these problems it was assumed from the beginning that whatever conclusions might be reached as to their disposal would be unsatisfactory to many persons. It is also noticeable that the question of the disposal of the public lands, especially tide lands, was one of the first subjects discussed in the convention, and was the last one definitely settled. To the honor of the convention and as proof of the integrity of its members, in spite of the powerful and influential lobby maintained by opposing interests, and the great wealth at stake, the convention made a wise and satisfactory disposal of these lands in the closing hours of the session. Some of the members were in favor of leaving the whole question to legislative enactment; others thought the land should never be sold, but that it should be retained by the state, and an income

derived from it perpetually. The situation in Washington was different from that in any other community. When the other states came into the Union the relation of the public and the individual to the lands held by the commonwealth was settled and defined by the previous condition of society. At this time, in most of the older states land was of little value, for the forces that give value to real property had not then been developed, and there was little cause to consider the problems that later developed in Washington in relation thereto. By the Enabling Act of Congress, on the entry of the state into the Union, it became possessed by federal grant of a large amount of valuable land, granted for school and other purposes. This land was recognized to be of great value for its timber as well as agricultural possibilities, and the members of the convention were alive to the fact that they should not be disposed of, or relinquished for a nominal consideration, as had been done with the lands of states that had previously come into the Union. The convention also recognized the fact that not by special grant, but by virtue of the inherent sovereignty of the state, it would hold more of the class of lands called shore lands than any other state of the Union, and by reason of the peculiar situation of these lands on a safe, warm harbor, facing the world's greatest center of population, they were destined to become of inestimable value. These lands embraceall of the shore or waterfront of all of its navigable waters between low water mark and ordinary high water. Their extent and value can hardly be appreciated. The following extract is taken from a paper read before the bar association of Tacoma during the session of the constitutional convention, and is undoubtedly a true representation of the public opinion that influenced the convention in its righteous action concerning these lands: "Every industry on Puget Sound is affected by the settlement of the ownership of the shore lands. Wherever we may turn we find a deadly conflict of interest, and the duty of the wise statesman should be to effect such a settlement as will produce the greatest good to the greatest number. But settled this question must be. There are over twenty-five hundred miles of coast line in the Territory of Washington, and the interests involved are altogether too great to allow doubts to longer exist as to the main points of the controversy. It is asserted that no other state has made constitutional declaration as to its right to this land, and for that reason it is urged that the state of Washington should not do so. To no other state, save some of the original thirteen, has the question been of so great moment. The Gulf states, California and Oregon are the only other states in which this question could have had prominence, and the civilization of none of them had advanced to such an extent as to render the subject of such interest that

a declaration of the constitution would be warranted. It is only of late years that the question has become a mooted one. Some recent writers and recent courts are attempting to establish a different rule of law from that which formerly obtained, and for this reason, if for no other, the people of the state should declare what their rights are in the premises.'

This forcible and clear declaration may be the true source of the clause of the constitution relating to the tide lands; at any rate it is a concise statement of the opinions held by many representative citizens of the state, and it is a noteworthy fact that the voice of the people here expressed was crystallized in the acts of the convention. There was possibly no legal ground for the adverse claims of settlers on the tide flats, or of the corporate interests that hoped to control them, for, before the formation of the constitution, it had been regarded as a settled principle, that all such lands were he property of the state by virtue of its sovereignty immediately on coming into the Union, from which would legally follow the right and power to dispose of them whether occupied by individuals, municipal or private corporations. It was also settled by a recent decision of the supreme court that any grant of land by the United States when the commonwealth was under territorial form of government, conveying any of these tide lands confers no title upon the grantee. Also that riparian or littoral proprietors of land fronting upon the tide lands have no rights in them that the state is bound to respect. In the state of Oregon, the legal position with respect to these lands was identical with that of Washington before it became a state. This question came before the supreme court of the state of Oregon in the case of *Hinman vs. Warren*, and, following the decision of the supreme court of the United States, the state court held that a United States patent was insufficient to convey tide lands, and that the title derived from the state was the true title to the lands in dispute. A glance over the history of the states that have come into the Union will show that the public lands of these states have been generally a temptation and inducement to schemes of speculators, and have thus become a field of jobbery and a source of corruption. These lands, which should be held as a sacred trust for the people, had in most cases been squandered, and the people have realized little from them in proportion to their true value. In the case of Washington the great value of all of these lands tended to aggravate the evils of private and corporate greed, and became the inspiration for original schemes for their capture. It was, therefore, fortunate that state ownership was distinctly declared in the constitution and legislative restrictions placed on their disposal. It is impossible, however, for constitutional provisions to convert professional lobbyists into honest citizens, or speculators into dis-

interested patriots, or to entirely preclude, in all cases, a combination of these classes from partial success in their undertakings. These tide lands are useful for the most part for sites for manufacturing and commercial establishments, and as approaches to the water. The problem before the convention, therefore, was to preserve these lands from the cupidity of the unscrupulous speculator, and to make provisions whereby the state should realize something like the actual value of these lands as circumstances and time should increase their value. All the cities and towns lying on the waterfront are necessarily centers of trade and commerce. Their streets, alleys and public buildings are for the use of the whole people and it is eminently proper that so far as they are needed for streets or other public uses they should be freely devoted to that purpose and no claim or equity of persons who have merely taken possession of them should be allowed to stand in the way of the people in the enjoyment of their higher right in them. It was early apparent that a powerful railroad lobby would be maintained at Olympia opposed to any constitutional restrictions on the subject of tide lands, in order that the whole matter might go over to future legislation, for it was believed by this lobby that if action could be deferred a legislature might some time be favorable to, and amenable to corporate influence, and the complete failure of the lobby in its purpose demonstrates the honesty and democratic tendency of the convention.

Legislature, Scope of the Subject

An examination of the proceedings of the convention in the committee of the whole on the legislative branches of the government does not definitely reveal the source of the article under consideration. It contains, in common with all recent constitutions, a great many restrictions on legislative enactment. Some of them are found in the proposed constitution of '78; some in the constitution of California; others are evidently reflections of the experience and sentiments of individual members of the convention. Changes in the form and wording of the different clauses were made in the committee, and the principal debates seem to cluster around the question of the number that should constitute the house and senate respectively. So far as can be learned, no extreme views concerning the formation of the legislature were expressed. The three departments of government were accepted without question, and the two branches of the legislature were recognized. The proposition for an annual session of the legislature was not taken seriously, nor was the problem of only one legislative body, which was discussed so long and seriously in Dakota, referred to except in a facetious manner. In entending the scope of leg-

islative power the members of the convention seem to have acted with extreme caution. While it has been a settled principle for many generations that the people possess all legislative power, in the past, this has been committed in a most general way to the state legislatures, reserving and saving such restrictions only as are imposed by the constitution of the state. In the absence of these restrictions, the legislature may exercise all power not strictly judicial or executive. The great difficulty of recent conventions has been to define and limit this legislative power. Probably the state suffers from no cause more than from the prolixity of incompetent legislation, which fills the codes with provisions that are inoperative or useless, because of the carelessness or incompetency of lawmakers. Of this a recent session of the legislature afforded a brilliant example, especially in the new criminal code enacted. The general and larger class of legislative prohibitions and restrictions are found in the general principles of the law, and they spring from the fact that the purpose sought to be accomplished by statute is either affected by judicial proceedings or is an invasion of judicial authority. One of these is given in our constitution extending prohibitions to acts authorizing the sale or mortgaging of real or personal property of minors or others under disability. The theory of this prohibition is, of course, that such persons are wards of the state under its special care and guardianship, that all questions of their condition and the disposal of their property become special objects of trust, and matters of judicial determination only. Legislative invasion of this field, therefore, would be manifestly an usurpation of the judicial function of government. Another constitutional prohibition is found in the clause prohibiting the legislature from granting divorces or authorizing the adoption of children. These questions and the consequences growing out of them are usually considered as judicial, and, therefore, their control by legislative authority would be an invasion of the function of the judiciary. Similar reasons might be given for the eighteen prohibitions against legislation in the constitution. That these prohibitions are not copied verbatim from any other constitution shows that the convention contained men of sufficient originality, ability and legal training to formulate these prohibitions along lines they believed to be important. In regard to the limitation of legislative power, the states have been drifting further and further from the fountain head, the source of our form of government. "The power and jurisdiction of Parliament," says the distinguished English authority, Sir Edmund Coke, 4 Inst. 36, "is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined within any bounds." "It has sovereign and uncontrolled authority in the making, confirming, restraining, abrogating, and expounding of laws of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical

or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal." "True it is that what Parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo; so it is a matter most essential to this kingdom that the members of this most important trust be most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge." No such legislative power exists in America, except in the constitutional conventions, when the representatives of the people are assembled to declare the basis of the law, and to impose restrictions upon those that may in the future represent them in the functions of government. It is not believed that the framers of the constitution went beyond their rightful authority in Article Eleven, creating and defining the limits of legislative authority. This article in the constitution of Washington contains thirty-nine sections; that of the constitution of Montana forty-five sections; and the constitution of California thirty-five sections. The clauses creating the legislature, providing for the manner of election, term of office and the organization of the legislature, are similar in all of the constitutions, and we need look no further than to these instruments for the origin of similar clauses in ours. As to the number of members constituting the house and the relative size of the senate, there was a wide difference of opinion. None of the members favored a very small house, for the reason, as they expressed it, that there would be danger of corporate control. Many favored a senate one-third the size of the legislature, and the compromise of section two, fixing the size of the house at not less than sixty-three, nor more than ninety-nine members, and the senate at not more than one-half nor less than one-third of the legislature, was finally passed. Among the provisions not found in many of the late constitutions are the following: "Any bill may originate in either house of the legislature." "A bill passed by one house may be amended by the other." This section is taken verbatim from the proposed constitution of '78, and is an advanced step in democratic government, refuting the time-honored fiction that the senate represents a different factor of the commonwealth than the house, an idea borrowed, of course, from the English Parliament. "The offense of bribery and corrupt solicitation of members shall be defined and punished by law." The constitution here follows that of California in substance, and the clause indicates a growing distrust in the minds of the people of the legislature. California, in her constitution of '79, goes even further and attempts to prevent lobbying for the purpose of influencing the legislature. Another extraordinary and possibly unjust measure is contained in the sweeping declaration against the ownership of land by aliens, and declaring that every corporation, the majority of the capital stock of which is owned by aliens, shall be considered an alien for the purposes of this prohibi-

tion. Efforts have been made to enforce this section literally, but its rigors have been modified by judicial construction, to the extent that titles to property acquired by foreigners and afterward sold, have been pronounced valid. These radical prohibitions contained in the constitution may be traced to their source. About the time of the meeting of the convention curb-stone orators of both domestic and foreign extraction, hypocritical college professors, newspaper and economic writers were again exploiting the time honored and high sounding sentiment "America for Americans." This phrase was used as a shibboleth to gain favor with the numerous labor organizations that were so prominent in politics just at that time. Several papers and journals which were circulated among the members were given exclusively to the advocating of the principle of the reservation of the public domain, and all lands, exclusively to citizens of this country. The statistics contained in these papers, together with numerous resolutions on the subject from organized bodies, were read in the convention. California was still under the control of her foreign sand-lot orators, and had passed radical restrictive legislation, both civil and constitutional, against the Chinese. All the influence that organized labor in all of its departments could command was brought to bear on this question. Undoubtedly the members of the convention with their democratic tendencies also saw a serious menace to the country in the steady absorption of land in large tracts by foreign corporations, but, instead of providing a reasonable restriction upon such ownership, they greatly retarded the industrial development of the state by the sweeping prohibition incorporated in the constitution. In a convention simultaneously held, Montana provided in her constitution that foreigners and denizens and aliens should have the same rights as citizens to hold mining property, and all other lands and hereditaments appurtenant thereto, while South Dakota declared in her constitution that there should be no discrimination between citizens and foreigners as to the rights to hold land. As these states had so many interests in common with Washington adopted a different rule on that subject, we must conclude that the influence of the constitution of California, in which were crystallized many of the peculiar interests of the coast states, predominated here. The last clause of the draft presented by the legislative committee is probably original with some member of the convention, for it had not been incorporated in any state constitution prior to that date. Section thirty-nine reads: "It shall be unlawful for any person holding public office in this state to accept or use a pass, or to purchase or accept transportation from any railroad or other corporation otherwise than as the same may be purchased by the general public, and the legislature shall pass laws to enforce this provision." This

section was undoubtedly passed against individual self interest, and in the interest of the unrestrained administration of public affairs. The attempts and success of great corporations in influencing legislation, and the administration of laws at the period of the state convention is well known. No person could be elected to any public office in which the railroad companies had the slightest interest, but he immediately became the object of the kindest solicitude of those corporations. If an attorney, he was immediately visited by the eminent counsel of the railway companies, and consulted concerning legal business that might possibly arise, and in token of the high esteem of the corporation was given a retainer, which he was informed, would in no case interfere with the discharge of his official duties and his duties to his constituents. He was asked to sign a receipt for the retainer, which consisted of a small piece of neatly printed colored pasteboard numbered ——, by which the honored recipient had the privilege of free transportation over the lines of the company within the state, and often, in the case of the legislators, the courtesy of special trips was extended to the members of his family; but in all cases the donee, always, in unmistakable words disclaimed any intention of seeking or expecting to secure any favorable consideration where the donee's official duty would prompt him to a different course. All state, most county officials, judges, members of congress and the state legislature had the free and honorable rights of going on trips of pleasure or profit as guests of the railway companies, while their less favored constituents, riding in the same cars, paying their fares, knew that they must also pay for their more fortunate neighbors. Meanwhile the honorable duly elect, who lived only to serve the needs of the people, became suddenly awakened to the fact that these corporations were in truth much abused great public benefactors. He was also made to see that the country could not possibly have been developed to any great extent without them, and that legislative restriction on the corporate will would at once arrest all industrial development. It was, therefore, his duty as a good public servant, and especially if a state's attorney, to see that these beneficent corporations were not oppressed with a multiplicity of suits. If a judge, he would hear with undivided attention the interesting and able arguments of counsel for the corporation and carefully examine all cases cited bearing on the subject. If a legislator, he would so guard the people's interests that oppressive legislation restricting the powers of these great public benefactors should not pass except over his protests and efforts. If an assessor, he would surely see that the unproductive corporate realty should be measured by a fair standard and not too high. As a matter of fact, the members of the convention recognized that these al-

leged gifts and retainers were one of the most effective means ever used for official bribery and corruption. Most of them knew from experience that no man accepting and riding on a pass has the same equitable balance of mind between the corporation and the people that he has without it. In some instances it might truly be said to be a means of removing an unjust prejudice from the mind of the recipient, but in all cases the person holding the pass could not be regarded otherwise than a paid attorney of the corporation. These restrictions on legislative action then, we may conclude, are indicative of the onward march of true democracy, for, of all oppressive and unjust instruments of government the legislature is the greatest and most irresponsible. It has been demonstrated in all states and ages of history, and it seems probable that the time will come, when, by constitutional restrictions, state legislation will be limited to a definite field of activity. So long as legislators enter a mad race for the enactment of laws, the courts must be burdened with cases giving construction to the irresponsible and unintelligible acts of the legislature. The spirit of democracy demands that the right of the people to a settled and economical administration of government be recognized, and this the people have as much right to demand as any other right enumerated in the fundamental law. We may then predict that future conventions, taught by the necessities of the past, will restrict the sphere of the legislature more and more. The Dakota plan for one house is not so undemocratic or dangerous as might at first appear. The reasons for a bicameral state legislature are entirely obsolete, and experience shows that nothing would do more to secure an economical and effective administration of government than the abolishment of the biennial session of the legislature. Future constitutional conventions will be called to consider and settle the problems of the administration of government. It has been said by a foreign writer that America has settled the utility of democratic government, but that America has not yet learned the first principle of governmental administration. Future conventions may, therefore, create an elective branch that will be charged with the administration of all governmental affairs.

Specific Work of the Convention

The specific work of the convention may be summarized as follows: It met simultaneously with the constitutional conventions of Montana, Idaho, North Dakota and South Dakota. The delegates were elected by popular vote and formed a body of able, conscientious men representing all the avenues of life. The permanent chairman was a distinguished citizen, honored for his fairness, impartiality and integrity. The temporary

chairman reflected the sentiments of the members of the convention in his introductory remarks, which were as follows: "I am grateful, gentlemen, for this honor. We are here at this time in the discharge of a most important duty. We are here for the purpose of making history, and from this good hour we will be more or less remotely connected with the history of the state. There is nothing in this connection that I can say that will enlighten you as to your duties. It has always seemed to me, as it does to every gentleman in this body, that all men cannot be great, but there is one consolation in this reflection, that every man can be true to his duty. Upon the memorable occasion of the battle of Trafalgar, in which the British forces were led by that magnificent historical hero, Lord Nelson, a pennant was run up to the head of the vessel, upon which were these words: 'England expects every man to do his duty.' The people of Washington Territory, and those who come after us expect us to enter upon the discharge of duty, and they expect and require at our hands that every man shall discharge that duty. What I have to say upon this occasion, if I would impress any one thing upon you more than another, is that we shall move up to action, every one of us with the firm resolve to do his duty. We have the defense of this commonwealth in our keeping, and if we do our duty will have the consolation of having preserved the faith, and discharged the trust imposed upon us, and future generations of this Territory will say that we have fought a good fight."

On July 5 the committee on rules reported the committees thought to be necessary for the transaction of the business of the convention. A debate immediately arose on the appointment of the membership of these committees, whether by election or by the chairman. The question was decided in favor of appointment, and the convention adjourned until July 9, when the president of the convention, Judge Hoyt, announced the appointment of the several committees, and the rules to govern the convention were read and approved. The spirit of the times, the democratic tendency and determination to effectively curb the growing power of monopolistic combinations, was shown in the first resolution introduced in the convention, which may be taken as the foundation of the corporation legislation that was soon to become part of the constitution. This resolution on Trusts and Monopolies, introduced by Mr. Kinnear of Seattle, was as follows:

"WHEREAS, The formation of trusts and combinations for the purpose of fixing the prices and regulating the production of the various articles of commerce is one of the existing and growing evils of the day, preventing fair and honest competition in the various industries in which

our people are engaged and certain to retard the onward march of the new state to commercial greatness; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this subject be referred to the appropriate committee with instructions to prepare and submit to the convention a clause providing in substance that no incorporated company in the state of Washington shall directly or indirectly combine or make any other contract with any other incorporated company, foreign or domestic, through their stockholders or the trustees or assignees of such stockholders, or in any manner whatever for the purpose of fixing the prices or regulating the production of any article of commerce; and that the legislature be required to pass laws for the enforcement thereof by adequate penalties to the extent, if necessary for the purpose, of the forfeiture of their property and franchise."

Mr. Kinnear argued in favor of this resolution. Mr. Buchannan, of Ritzville, followed in an earnest speech against trusts and the accumulation of immense fortunes at the expense of the people who receive no adequate return for the great sums absorbed from them. Mr. Sullivan, of Whitman County, advocated the adoption of the resolution with the added suggestion that they be forever afterward precluded from doing business in the state. Mr. Cosgrove approved the resolution, but thought it was not broad enough, that it ought to include the corporations and monopolies that fix freight and railroad fares. After extended debate it was moved to refer the resolution to the committee on corporations. This motion prevailed by a vote of forty-three to twenty-three.

In the published convention notes of the day, it is stated that the numerous woman suffrage advocates present were furious because the committee having that question in charge was said to be opposed to the whole question in any shape, manner or form.

On July 10, resolutions of the Tacoma Typographical Union were read, requesting that the following provisions be incorporated in the constitution.

1. Provisions for an absolutely secret ballot.

2. The selection of all servants of the people by the elective method, no appointive power to be invested in any state or municipal officer.

3. Minority representation.

4. That when one-third of the members of the legislature demand the submission of a measure to popular vote, it shall be so submitted.

5. Enabling municipalities to own and conduct such municipal enterprises and public conveyances as the people may choose to own and control.

6. The taxation of land held for use equally as high as that actually used.

7. The preservation by the state of tide lands, school lands, and all lands ceded to the state by the United States forever. The same to be treated so as to secure the highest possible perpetual income to the state and schools.

8. Forbidding the operation of all private detective agencies. No arrests to be made or laws enforced by others than the constitutionally qualified officers.

9. Providing for annual sessions of the legislature, and that no restrictions shall be placed on the length of the session.

10. An expeditious method of amending the organic law so as to make it conform to changing conditions.

These resolutions were not afterwards referred to in the report of the committees, or in the debates, so they cannot be said to be the source of any part of the constitution. But another matter bearing on the origin of the constitution is mentioned in the notes of the day as follows:

"The admirable draft of a State Constitution by W. Lair Hill, which appeared in the Oregonian of the 4th inst., has been the theme of many of the members, who look upon it in the main as just such a constitution as is needed for the new state. The Oregonian of that date has been largely in demand by the members ever since its issue."

The notes of the convention show that from the day of the organization of the committees they were flooded with resolutions, which, until the rules were amended, were required to be reported to the convention within three days after submission. Outside of the complete draft of a constitution above referred to, sufficient material was submitted during the first ten days of the session to make a dozen complete constitutions. Among the more important were the following, a resolution submitted by Mr. Griffiths, to the effect that lands owned by the state, save certain lands dedicated by special grant for school and other purposes, shall never be sold, but that the title shall remain forever in the state; also a proposition prohibiting the ownership of lands by aliens, excepting where the same are acquired by inheritance, and declaring that all future conveyances to aliens shall be void; also a proposition to the effect that no county, city, or other municipal corporation shall give any subsidy or loan its credit to any corporation or person. Mr. Prosser submitted a clause for the constitution providing that tide lands between the meander line of the United States survey and deep water belong to the state by right of eminent domain, and shall not be sold, but remain

the property of the state forever, subject, however, to be leased for any term not longer than twenty years. Mr. Sharpstein submitted a resolution to the committee on corporations, providing that no corporation shall be created except by general law, except that municipal corporations may be created by special laws; also that the credit of the state shall never be given or loaned to any corporation or person; also that no city or county shall create an indebtedness exceeding four per cent of its last assessment roll; also that no city or county shall lean its credit to any person or corporation except on a vote of two-thirds of the taxpayers at a meeting especially called and held for that purpose; also that monopolies and trusts shall never be allowed and that combinations for controlling transportation shall never be permitted. Mr. Goodman also presented a resolution for the control and regulation of railroad corporations.

The committee on the legislative department, consisting of nine members, was the first to report, and presented to the convention its draft for the legislative department on July 12. The report was considered in the committee of the whole, and a discussion immediately arose over the size of the legislature. Mr. Conegys, of the committee, in reporting the draft, said that his own preference would be for a senate of twenty-five members and a house of fifty, but the committee had made the number thirty and sixty in the hope of amendment, as a sort of compromise, and for one, he did not wish to fix a maximum number. He thought that ninety men were enough to manage the legislative affairs of the state; that large bodies were slow in handling public business, and that on the score of economy, the smaller number was preferable. Mr. Kinnear expressed similar views, and thought it unnecessary to make the house three times as large as the senate. "If," said he, "corporations desire to influence legislation, they invariably attack the smaller branch." Mr. Turner favored an increase in the number of representatives, believing that there would be less chance of corruption by corporate influences. Mr. Warner coincided with Judge Turner as to the size of the legislature, but he opposed the ratio of three to one and would have the two branches near an equality in matter of numbers. Mr. Cosgrove favored seven as the number for the house. He thought the plan of having two out of three from one party a most fruitful source of trouble, and disapproved of it. Mr. Dunbar said the corporations could obstruct in small bodies, but that would not help them get through pernicious legislation. Washington would have a greater diversity of interest than perhaps any other state in the Union, and all of three multiform interests must be represented. Again a small legislature that could be controlled by reason of the fewness of its members might cost the state millions in the end. Mr. Buchan-

man suggested that the number be thirty-six in the senate, and seventy-two in the house, but submitted an amendment providing that the number of representatives shall never be less than sixty-four nor more than one hundred, and that the senate shall be composed of not more than fifty nor less than thirty-two members, and the senate shall always have one-half as many members as the house. Suckdorf moved to substitute that the house consist of fifty-four and the senate of eighteen members. As finally determined in the committee of the whole, the house of representatives shall consist of not less than sixty-three nor more than ninety-nine members. The number of senators shall be not less than one-third nor more than one-half of the number of the house of representatives. The first legislature shall be composed of seventy members of the house of representatives and thirty-five senators. The following propositions were also proposed for the constitution by Mr. Weir: A preamble, bill of rights, and several articles of a proposed constitution made up largely from the draft presented by Hon. W. Lair Hill. Mr. Suckdorf presented a resolution providing that private business carried on under the auspices of the state shall not be declared unlawful without compensation. Mr. Buchannan presented a resolution providing for a railway commission and defining their duties. Mr. Turner introduced a laborer's and mechanic's lien law, and also laws for protecting life and health in mines. A resolution was also presented providing that it shall be a crime punishable by law for the president or any officer of a bank to receive deposits or create debts after a reasonable knowledge of failing circumstances and such officer shall be personally liable for losses in such cases. In the judiciary committee the discussion of the California judicial system was continued. A division arose over the number of the members of the supreme court, and it was agreed that the number should be increased from three to five. It was also agreed that the smaller counties should be grouped in judicial districts. The committee on state, county and municipal corporations considered the proposition of the county of Walla Walla to subsidize the Hunt railway system for two hundred thousand dollars. Many objections were made to this provision, and it was decided to take no immediate action, but to hear the citizens of Walla Walla on the subject. On July thirteenth many propositions passed to the second reading, but only two propositions attracting outside interest, might be said to be of a local or original nature; first, the one limiting municipal indebtedness. This, as did the matter fixing the number of members of the legislature, gave opportunity for original discussion and suggestion, from which the origin of that clause of the constitution became apparent. The other proposition discussed provided for the

alienation of the tide lands immediately before the cities, and to make them the property of the municipalities. The published notes of the convention show that this proposition was favored by a powerful lobby of tide land jobbers, whose only hope of reward lay in what they could gain from the legislature or municipality, should the constitution fail to make definite disposition of the same. It was shown in the debates that the people of the entire state were interested in keeping the road to and from these lands free from the hands of the speculator and from special tolls.

As soon as the proposition limiting municipal indebtedness became known, a virogous protest was made by the larger cities, and soon thereafter the Seattle *Spirit* entered into the contest and dominated the convention. Representatives from the Chamber of Commerce and other citizens appeared on the floor of the convention and urged that the limit of indebtedness be raised to ten per cent, and the following petition embodying the views of the city officials and many prominent citizens was presented:

"To the Constitutional Convention of the State of Washington at Olympia now assembled. Your memorialists, the common council of the city of Seattle, respectfully present for the consideration of your honorable body:

"First—That by reason of the great disaster that took place in this city on the sixth day of May, 1889, all of the city wharves, inclines and slips of the city of Seattle, together with all the public buildings, and streets, and approaches to the waterfront of said city were completely destroyed by fire, thus necessitating the rebuilding of all wharves, slips, inclines and approaches to the waterfront, and many of the public streets of said city, together with the municipal buildings thereof.

"Second—That the city of Seattle, with a population of thirty-five thousand people, has a sewer system totally inadequate for the health, comfort and safety of the public, and by reason of the city being destroyed by fire, we are in a position to construct such a system of sewerage as will be of great and lasting benefit to the city and public at large. The system can now be placed throughout the city by laying all the sewers in the city at this time at much less expense, and more convenience to the public, than by laying sewers in different parts of the city on different streets as the public may demand. In view of this fact, it is of great importance to the city that a thorough and complete sewerage system be at once laid throughout the city.

"Third—All of the fire department buildings, jail, city hall, and other municipal buildings were destroyed by fire, which necessitates the

rebuilding of the same at great expense to the city, and it is impossible for the city to transact its business without these much needed improvements.

"Fourth—The destruction of the city was largely due to an insufficient supply of water, and the city has taken measures to prevent similar disasters by submitting a proposition to the legal voters of the city, on July 8, 1889, for the city to own, construct, and operate its own water works. We need only to call your attention to the fact that upon the submission of the question to the public, the citizens, by a vote of fifty-one against to one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four in favor of the proposition, authorized the city to issue bonds to the amount of one million dollars for that purpose.

"Fifth—Under the charter of the city, we are authorized to incur an indebtedness of sixty thousand dollars, for all purposes, which sum is totally inadequate to meet the wants and requirements of the rapidly expanding city. In view of the foregoing, it is of the highest importance to the growing city that the matter of the regulation of the indebtedness of the city be left to the citizens thereof by a popular vote. Recognizing the great hardship that would necessarily be entailed on the city in its now dilapidated condition, should any restraint be placed on its borrowing power, your memorialists respectfully urge upon your honorable body the great importance of allowing the city, by a two-thirds vote at any general or special election, to authorize the expenditure of any sum of money for purely municipal purposes. Respectfully, Mayor and Common Council of the City of Seattle. By C. W. Ferris, Clerk."

In the debate following the introduction of this memorial that the true rule would be to limit the purposes of indebtedness rather than the amount, and, as a result the following provision was added to section six: "Provided, further, that any city or town with such assent may be allowed to become indebted in a larger amount, but not exceeding five percentum addition for supplying such city or town with water, light and sewers, when the same shall be owned and controlled by the municipality." On July 16, the committee on the judiciary reported a complete draft for the constitution following the California judicial system and the form laid down in the draft of a constitution prepared by Mr. Hill. The Hill constitution gave the supreme court revisionary instead of appellate jurisdiction, but the California plan was adopted by the convention, and it may be said that the constitution of the state of California contains the original of our judiciary system. The draft as reported by the committee contained provision for three supreme judges, to hold office for three, five, and seven years, the full term after the first election to be six years. It also provided for eighteen superior judges with a salary of

thirty-six hundred dollars per annum. The convention went into committee of the whole to consider the report of the committee on judiciary and took up for consideration each article separately. Section 1 was adopted without change. It was proposed to change the term, superior court, to district court, as was the style adopted by the convention of Montana. The change was opposed on the ground that the name would conflict with the district court of the United States. Section two, which provided for three judges, was then taken up, and Mr. Griffiths proposed that the number be increased to five. Mr. Kinnear opposed the resolution on the ground of economy, and believed that five judges were unnecessary. Mr. Stutevesant said that the plea of economy was the only one against having five judges, while it was admitted that after three or four years more would be needed. As for himself, he thought the territory to be like a new ship just being launched and started on her trial trip, and the supreme court was the pilot which was to guide her on her most important voyage, and he considered it to be of the highest importance to have good guidance now. Mr. Turner believed that quality on the bench is of far more importance than quantity, and if the bench were to be filled with weak men or bad men, the more of them there were, the worse off the new state would be, while, on the other hand, if the judges were to be up to the proper standard intellectually and morally, the difference in efficiency between five judges and three would be inappreciable. Only those states that are strongest in wealth and population have more than three judges. He did not take any stock in one-man control, or of corrupt influences affecting the bench, for, since the time of Francis Bacon, the courts, both in England and America, have been remarkably free from corruption, and in spite of much frivolous talk about the dishonesty of attorneys, he declared himself to be proud of the fact that the courts, where judges have been chosen from the ranks of the attorneys, have always been far above corruption. Mr. Buchannan indorsed Mr. Turner's views. He thought there would be very little business to come before the supreme court until the state should have a much larger population, and thought that three judges would have a "soft snap" and that to make the number five would be altogether ridiculous. Mr. Dyer favored the substitute, believing that three judges could not begin to do the work, and stated that even now with three judges the work of the Territorial court was at least six months behind hand. After a long debate along the lines indicated, the substitute fixing the number of judges at five was adopted. A strenuous effort was made by some of the delegates, notably, Mr. Buchannan, against the election of supreme court judges, and he introduced a substitute providing for the

appointment of supreme court judges by the governor. "This," he said, "is perhaps the most important subject that will come before us, and it behooves us to well consider how we lay the foundation of the state. I feel that this is the most solemn duty and hour of my life, and I cannot escape the responsibility of my position. The voice of the people, may be the voice of God. I admit it when it is the deliberate voice of the people, not the voice of the rabble. I wish to get the selection of supreme court judges away from the voice of the rabble. If they are nominated in political conventions, they will be selected for their ability to strengthen the ticket rather than for their legal ability or strength of character. I, therefore, propose that the supreme court judges shall be selected by the governor, and confirmed with the consent of two-thirds of the senate." This substitute was lost by a decided vote. After a lengthy debate and many suggestions the committee of the whole fixed the term of supreme court judges at six years, and their salary at four thousand dollars per annum. The term of the superior court judges was fixed at four years. An effort was made to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court to all cases, both law and equity, but the proposition was defeated. Mr. Sullivan, of Tacoma, presented a new and original section for the judiciary bill, providing that the superior court judges shall report each year in writing to the supreme court judges, such defects and omissions as their experience observes in the law, and the supreme court judges shall make a like report to the governor, on or before the first day of January of each year, such defects or omissions in the law as they believe to exist. Mr. Power thought that such a proposition was a very peculiar and unique one to put in a constitution. Mr. Turner thought it was an excellent one, and said the Territory had been struggling along with a code full of defects because it had been nobody's business to remedy it, and it was eminently proper for the judges to suggest these defects and remedies from time to time. The section was adopted and incorporated in the constitution as section two. The next question discussed by the committee of the whole, while considering the judiciary bill, related to minority representation, and an earnest effort was made to obtain it on the amendment by Mr. Griffiths, namely, to strike out all after the words "by lot" and insert, "two shall hold office for the term of three years, and three for the term of five years, and that at each election, each elector shall vote for three of such judges and no more, and at each successive election thereafter, when more than one judge is to be elected, each elector shall vote as follows: if two judges are to be elected no person shall vote for more than one candidate therefor, if three judges are to be elected at such

election, each voter shall vote for two candidates therefor and no more." Mr. Warner said the object of this amendment was to secure the non-political character of the bench which would do much to secure the purity of the courts. Mr. Dunbar opposed the amendment on the ground that it would take away or abridge the rights of citizens to vote. Mr. Brown favored the amendment because he thought it represented a good principle in our government, and it divested the bench of politics so far as an elective office can be divested of politics. Mr. Sullivan was opposed to minority representation, and especially minority representation obtained as proposed by this amendment because it contained an assumption that the court was or would become corrupt. The vote taken shows that the amendment was defeated by the decided vote of twenty-four to forty-three. These debates, resolutions and suggestions show that the convention was not ready to adopt the formal report of committees, without due and careful consideration, and all the resolutions introduced and the debates thereon show a determination on the part of the members to make a constitution advanced and liberal that should reflect the ideas and wishes of the great majority of the people of the state. While the draft of the judiciary committee was accepted in the main, the debates on the minor details and the substitution of one section entirely new and original shows that the provisions were understood and sanctioned by the convention. The composition of the courts and the workings of the judiciary have since demonstrated the wisdom of those who drafted the bill.

The article of the constitution on school and other lands contains much that is original, and the present and coming generations must be deeply grateful to the members of the convention for their wisdom and foresight in providing a foundation upon which our magnificent school systems, with its great revenue rests. Probably the origin of these sections, at least the portion not found in the older constitutions, may be traced to the following resolutions: "Resolved, That the proceeds arising from the sale of school lands be loaned to the State of Washington, and to municipal corporations created by the state for the purpose of funding the indebtedness created by the same, for the erection of buildings, and for such other improvements and purposes as are authorized by law, on bonds running not less than fifteen or more than twenty-five years, and bearing not less than four per cent interest, payable anually." But the following letter to the commissioner on state, school, and granted lands, from the territorial board of educators, probably contains more of the ideas on the subject as adopted by the convention than were obtained from any other source:

"Olympia, July 11, 1889.

"To the Honorable Committee on State, School, and Granted Lands, of the Constitutional Convention: We, the undersigned, members of the Territorial Board of Education, respectfully ask you to incorporate into your report the following suggestions relative to school lands if they meet your favor, in addition to the Enabling Act. That no school land be sold for less than ten dollars per acre, or leased for a longer term than five years, and that the funds arising therefrom in case of sale or lease shall be an irreducible fund whose interest only shall be used to support the public schools. We would recommend that not more than one-third of these lands be sold in five years, not more than two-thirds in ten years, and that the time for selling the last one-third be decided after ten years by the legislature, and that such lands as are not sold be subject to lease, and that all lands sold or leased, shall be sold or leased at a duly advertised public auction, in quantities not exceeding one section to any one person or company, provided that the most valuable lands be sold first, and provided further, that any school land situated within a radius of five miles from any incorporated town or city of five thousand inhabitants shall be subject to the following special regulations in addition to those already mentioned, namely, that they shall be subject to special appraisal and where the land is available for town or city lots, it shall be platted into lots or blocks and sold in quantities not exceeding one minimum of schools and public lands, who, with the state auditor, county surveyor, and county superintendent of schools for each county, shall constitute boards for the appraisal and grading of lands; the board of appraisers to have the right to consider the value of timber lands both with reference to the land and the timber thereon, and decide whether timber and land be sold separately or together. The proceeds of all of said lands to be invested in school bonds, municipal bonds, county bonds, state bonds, or first farm mortgages, at not less than six per cent interest."

These suggestions were adopted by the committee, and with slight modifications became part of the constitution. There were only slight changes made in the form and wording of the communication of the territorial Board of Education, but it was provided in the committee of the whole that the school fund should never be loaned to private persons or to corporations. The committee on education also provided an original section, defining and enumerating the sources of the common school fund, and providing that losses to the school fund or other state educational funds, which shall be occasioned by defalcation, mismanagement, or fraud of the agents or officers controlling or managing the same, shall, when

audited by the proper authorities of the state, become a permanent funded debt against the state in favor of the party sustaining such loss, upon which not less than six per cent annual interest shall be paid. With this foundation a magnificent and efficient school system has been built up. The sections of land donated for school purposes by the national government have given the western states an advantage over the eastern in educational matters, for there the public lands were disposed of before their great value was realized. Democracy demands free, universal education, and that demand to the fullest extent has been recognized in the state of Washington.

A resolution was introduced for the constitution providing that any citizen shall have a right to sue the state upon any claim or demand, legal or equitable. Many of the states had forbidden, either by constitutional or legislative enactment, the bringing of suits by citizens against the state, a theory that probably arose from the ancient protection accorded to the sovereign, but no longer potent in reason or equity. Some of the states recognizing the injustice of the custom, made provision by statute that the citizen may sue the state; and an act of Congress allows actions by citizens against the United States in certain courts. It was recognized by the convention that if this clause was incorporated in the constitution, that it would insure to the citizen a right not theii found in the constitution of any other state, and the convention concluded that the right to bring suit existed without constitutional sanction, and changed the resolution to a clause providing that the legislature should determine in what courts such suits might be brought.

A sharp discussion arose in the convention over the constitutional prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages. The committee having the same under consideration reported the petition praying for such prohibition back to the convention, with the recommendation that the prayer thereof be not granted. As the judicial committee had already reported that it was within the power of the convention to submit for ratification, in addition to the constitution, separate propositions to be inserted therein, provided a majority of the electors so decide; therefore the following minority report was submitted: "The undersigned, members of the committee on miscellaneous subjects, schedule, and future amendments, submit for your consideration the following minority report: "Whereas, certain petitions and memorials representing many thousands of our citizens, praying for insertion in the constitution of the state of Washington, a clause forever prohibiting, within the limits of the state, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and malt liquors as a beverage, have been referred to this committee for a report thereon; therefore, believing that the voice of so large

a number of people should receive proper recognition, and realizing the fact that it is the right of the majority to rule, as the underlying principle of free government, we recommend that the following separate proposition be submitted with the constitution for ratification by the people, and be inserted in the constitution should a majority of the electors so decide.: "It shall not be lawful for any individual, company or corporation, within the limits of this state, to manufacture or cause to be manufactured, to sell, offer for sale, or in any way dispose of any alcoholic, malt or spirituous liquors, except for medical or scientific purposes." " " This resolution, together with a clause providing for female suffrage, was submitted to a separate vote, at the time of the adoption of the constitution and was defeated. Some of the members received some very interesting, and even threatening letters from the more radical advocates of prohibition and suffrage, but the large majority of the delegates were unwilling to give their consent to a provision in the constitution that they believed would defeat its ratification, and while not opposed to the enactment of either provision as part of the organic law of the state, preferred that it should at first be indorsed by the people.

In the committee of the whole a division of opinion arose on the following clause contained in the original report of the committee on corporations other than municipal: "Each stockholder of a corporation, or joint stock company, shall be individually and personally liable for such portion of all the debts or liabilities contracted or incurred during the time he was a stockholder as the amount of stock or shares owned by him is to the whole amount of stock or shares of the corporation or association. The directors or trustees of corporations or joint stock companies shall be jointly and severally liable to the creditors for all the money embezzled or misappropriated by the officers of said corporation or joint stock company during the time of office of such director or trustee." The object of this resolution was doubtless to discourage the operation of wild cat companies, which had reaped such a great harvest of unjust gain by the incorporation of mining companies. The members of the convention considered this clause fixing the liability of stockholders, who were usually persons ignorant of the management or resources of the company in which they might invest, as unjust. It was also shown that the adoption of this clause would place a burdensome restriction on the organization of corporations in this state, for, with it, no man would care to lend his name to any speculative enterprise, for it fixes a liability on stockholders which no prudent man would think of assuming. It would be practically impossible to get money abroad to develop the resources of the state with this provision in the constitution, and it was

shown that such a law instead of preventing monopolies, would lay the foundation of one of the greatest monopolies with which a state was ever burdened. After a lengthy discussion the committee modified the clause, making the stockholders individually liable for the debts of the corporation only to the extent of their unpaid stock, and as finally adopted is the same as is found in the statutes of many of the Western states.

The Veto Power

Shall the veto power of the governor be sustained, restricted or abolished, was he theme of a long discussion by the members, and arose on a motion of Mr. Powers to require a three-fifths vote of the legislative assembly to pass a measure over the governor's objection. After debating the question for the period of a whole session, the friends of the order prevailed and the usual power of the governor to veto was sustained. The report of the committee on the executive branch of government vested the pardoning power in the governor under such provisions and restrictions as might be prescribed by law, but a substitute resolution was offered in the committee of the whole providing that the pardoning power should be vested in the governor and a board to be styled the governor's council, consisting of the secretary of state, and the attorney general. The fears of usurpation of power contrary to the principles of democratic government was made manifest in the debates on this resolution, and its subsequent defeat on the ground that it would pave the way for the creation of political combinations.

The draft of the article providing for county and city organization follows the ordinary provison of the organic law of other states with few exceptions. It provides for a township organization on a vote of the qualified electors favoring such organization. It requires a three-fifths vote to remove a county seat, and cities of over twenty thousand population are given power to frame and adopt a charter of their own. A proposition was submitted calling for an annual grand jury. In this matter Mr. Sullivan seemed to voice the sentiments, as well as the experience of the convention, by remarking: "A grand jury never does anything, and it is of no use to call it." This great inquisitorial body, powerful in ancient law, virtually passed out of existence when it was reduced to seven in number and made subject to the call of the superior judge.

The convention, in committee of the whole, by a close vote, refused to agree with the committee on military affairs. The first section, declaring for a state militia, passed without a division, but the convention split on the second section, and voted to strike out the eight sections after the first. The objections made to the bill by Judge Turner were as follows

"I feel that we should place in the constitution only those provisions that are fundamental. Is it fundamental that the militia be called the National Guard for all time to come? Are the details of the organization of the militia as set forth in the article fundamental? I challenge the chairman to show me any constitution that contains any such provision. I think this is a step toward military despotism." As a result of these objections the article on the militia was shorn of its objectionable features, and its organization left to the legislature.

The exertme fears of the convention concerning the usurpation of power by the legislature are shown by the remarks of a member along that line. "If," said he, "a stranger from a foreign country were to drop into this convention, he would conclude that we were fighting a great enemy and that this enemy is the legislature."

Fears for the rejection of the constitution by the people, and that they were drifting into a legislative body were expressed by Mr. Weir. "Already," he said, "there is a wail of discontent coming up from all over the state, that the convention is running into all sorts of details and enacting a complete code of laws. If the constitution is finally rejected by the people, it will be because it is too cumbersome and contains too many laws." Mr. Weir cited the remarks of the venerable and distinguished jurist, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, before the North Dakota constitutional convention, where Judge Cooley said: "In your constitution making, remember that times change, that men change, and that new things are invented, new devices, new schemes, new plans, new uses of corporate power, and that such things are going on hereafter for all time, and, if that period should ever come, which we speak of as the millennium, I still expect the same thing will go on there, and even in the millennium people will be studying ways whereby, by means of corporate power, they can circumvent their neighbors. Don't in your constitution legislate too much. In your constitution you are tying the hands of your people. Do not do that to the extent as to prevent the legislature from performing all purpose that may be within the reach of proper legislation. Leave something for them. Take care to put proper restrictions upon them, but at the same time leave what properly belongs to legislation, to the legislature of the future. You must trust somebody in the future, and it is right and proper that each department of government shall be trusted to perform its legitimate functions." No evidence is stronger, nor can it be made stronger than that found by a comparison of the five constitutions created simultaneously, that the suspicion of the people, that the state officials, legislative, judicial and administrative, cannot be trusted by their constituents, and from this sentiment is coming a revolution that

will speedily overturn the old order of things. The people will insist on the honest, capable administration of public affairs, irrespective of party or the wording of state constitutions. The foundation of this distrust is both political and social. Society is superior to government, and government under fixed constitutions containing the limitations found necessary on all branches of government, has not kept pace with the advanced conditions and demands of society. Existing institutions have not in all cases given the results demanded in an economical and expeditious manner. Party administrations have not been such as to commend themselves to the great mass of citizens. Machine politics in cities and counties has been supreme, holding power by distributing political favors to those who have no meritorious qualifications for positions of trust. The same eager desire for spoils by the appointing power has placed many men in office whose only qualification is that they will strengthen the power of the dominant party. The branches of legislative corruption have been multiform, and the temptation to accept and grant favors will not soon be eradicated. A field for legislative corruption is always open under the present plan of electing United States senators and from this field have arisen causes for popular distrust of legislative bodies.

The form of special legislation in the interest of spoils is curtailed by the provision of the constitution providing that, "In all cases where a general law can be made applicable, no special law shall be enacted." Probably there would be little cause for complaint of corporate corruption of the legislature if provisions like that inserted in the constitution of California, making lobbying a crime, were strictly enforced. But with all conceivable constitutional and legislative restrictions, public officials and legislators will continue to be criticised and censured. So long as human interests are a controlling motive, and human judgment fallible, legislators honestly erring will be accused of corruption. Of this no more appropriate illustration can be found than appears in the debates and discussions of the convention, where twenty-five members whose integrity is unquestioned voted for the incorporation of a principle in the constitution, which all experience and every fundamental right of society demonstrates to be vicious and dishonest; and this in the face of the fact that scores of counties and townships in the country were then seeking to repudiate the obligations formed under the very acts sought to be incorporated into our constitution. This was the Walla Walla proposition for the subsidy for railroad and other transportation companies. This distrust of the formation of government as now constituted is even now taking more definite form through the proposed plan of doing away with the election of state and township officers and adopting the cabinet form

for the government of county and state. This plan has the objection of doing away with popular elections, and is, without question, a step away from the popular idea of democracy, but it might, if tested under proper limitations, secure an economical and business like administration of public affairs.

The Importation of Armed Detectives

Probably no original clause introduced for the constitution is of more importance and more in accord with strict democratic principles than that introduced by Mr. Kinnear, prohibiting the importation of armed bodies of men into the state for the purpose of keeping order. About the time of the meeting of the convention a business head sprung up in the country of peculiar interest to great corporations. Through the preceding period of strikes and labor agitations and incident rioting, these corporations had sought protection by the employment of armed bodies of men, which afterward became organized and known as Pinkerton detectives. These men, in large and small numbers, were hired out to the corporations to preserve order on their premises and protect their property. They operated for several years without legislative restrictions and eventually became a fruitful source of contention with organized labor, often being a direct cause of rioting and bloodshed. The great objection to these organizations was that they were acting as a body of troops with no responsible head save the person by whom they were organized, and it was generally believed that if troops must be employed, they should consist of state militia or regular soldiers with responsible leaders. These Pinkerton men were hired out to the highest bidder, and the viciousness of this system was too plain for argument. It was shown that the state, and the state alone, should protect its citizens in life and property in the time of disturbance and riot, and that under no consideration should a person or corporation be permitted to call in an armed body of men, owing responsibility only to those who call them. The Coeur d'Alene rioting was cited as an incident of their employment and consequent lawlessness that followed. Mr. Kinnear's resolution was favorably acted upon and became a part of the constitution.

Debate on County Division

Mr. Kinnear moved the following amendment to section three. To strike out, "there shall be no portion stricken from any county unless a majority of the voters living in such territory petition for such division." Mr. Kinnear urged the adoption of the amendment, claiming that the wording of the clause sought to be stricken was so loose that the legislature would be flooded with petitions for the division of any county with which the

smallest fraction of voters were dissatisfied. He thought there should be some general law having in view the interests of the entire territory and the entire county in which the division should be requested. Mr. Durie had two objections to the clause as it stood, the fraction of voters would have the entire say and the rest of the county nothing, and then he objected to the provision about petitions, which were an uncertain indication of the feelings of any partizan in the county. Mr. Comegys thought the amendment harmless, and he considered it very unjust to coerce any section of any county to remain within the county which it desired to leave. Mr. Sullivan thought the clause as introduced, both a limitation and a privilege, a limitation upon the legislature and a privilege to the people. Dr. Minor said: "I am at a loss to understand how this most extraordinary sentence should have been incorporated into the section unless it was for a selfish and vicious purpose. No constitution in any state has such a provision standing alone and unlimited by any conditions. The section seems to have been adopted from the Illinois constitution, with this section designedly interjected into the middle, for purposes that do not appear on the surface. It was done in the interest of one section against another by interested parties. Stripped of its rubbertuge, the real meaning of the section narrows down to a contest between two counties, to the attempt of one county to forward its interests at the expense of another." Mr. Sullivan denied the statement that there are no constitutions that contain such a provision as is here sought to be stricken out. The California constitution and the Texas constitution contain such a provision. The object of this clause is to prevent jobbery, and it will thus prevent schemes of lobbying and gerrymandering which have been undertaken so often in the past. "I expect when the gentleman reads over the section again," said Mr. Stiles, chairman of the committee, "he will see the mistake he is committing. I am thoroughly convinced the wording is all right. I do not remember how the section he objects to got there, or who put it there. It is taken, however, from the constitution of California, and there is no forces about it in that state." Mr. Sohns was in favor of the amendment. He condemned the article as it read, and asserted that it was entirely wrong in principle. With it in operation one-sixth of any county could divide the whole country. Mr. Buchannan could not see the danger of leaving the section as reported by the committee. He thought it fair that a majority of the voters of any of the precincts of a county, if they desire it, shall have the right to petition the legislature to add them to any other county. He considered this sentence as simply a limit on the legislature, declaring that it shall not act except in certain cases. Dr. Minor modified his

statement before made, and stated that Maryland, as well as California, had such a provision in her constitution, and that one very similar was contained in the constitution of Arkansas. This amendment was lost and the section was adopted as first reported by the committee.

A plan for a railway commission based on the laws of the state of Iowa, where the relation between the state and railways has been studied as a science, and where practical experience demonstrates that there is no other way to deal with such problems as are constantly arising, was reported for the action of the convention. It has been found impossible to devise any general system of rules for the government of railroads that will operate as a restraint in those particular cases where restraint is most needed, hence the absolute necessity of a court or commission with ample power, to be constantly in session, ready at all times to deal with emergencies as they may arise.

Shall the Constitution Recognize Deity?

This question led to an extended debate. The discussion arose on the report of the committee on preamble and bill of rights, which made a simple declaration of the purposes of the foundation of the constitution without the customary resolutions in recognition of a Supreme Being. The resolution as first reported was, "We, the people of the State of Washington, to preserve our rights, do ordain this constitution." In committee of the whole, several amendments were at once offered. Mr. Dyer offered an amendment inserting the words, "grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty and self government." Mr. Turner offered a substitute for the original preamble, similar to the preamble of the constitution of the United States. In support of his substitute, Judge Turner said that it was all purely a matter of sentiment, but the sentiment accords with that of ninety-nine out of every hundred citizens of Washington. "We are here to make a constitution for the sovereign people of the state of Washington, and it would be a disregard of their desires to omit a reference to Deity." Mr. Griffiths cited constitutions that do not contain the name of Deity, and thought it wiser to leave the name out. Mr. Sullivan thought that the report of the committee should be sustained. The committee considered the question carefully before the report was made. The argument made in favor of inserting the name in the constitution as an expression of our gratitude is certainly on a very low basis. Mr. Eshelman declared that the constitution without God would be the forest without verdure, a bed of flowers without buds. Mr. Moore thought it would be setting a bad example before the youth of Washington not to mention Deity in the constitution. "Atheism goes hand in hand with

nihilism and communism, and the latter has its origin in the former." Mr. Tibbetts thought it was all for show. "We are now the laughing stock of this Territory for burdening the constitution with needless provisions." "Is it necessary to go back to the dark ages and copy the example of the people who taught their children to speak and say as little as possible?" Mr. Goodman reiterated the statement that it was merely "a matter of sentiment." If it thousand men asked to have a thing done for sentiment, and one opposed it from principle, he would stand with the man of principle. After an extended debate the following substitute was carried by a vote of fifty-six to eighteen: "We, the people of the State of Washington, grateful to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for liberties, do ordain this constitution." This substitute seems to have been carried by substituting the words Supreme Ruler of the Universe for the word God, and while other constitutional expressions were referred to in the debates the wording of the preamble is a personal expression of the sentiments of the delegates.

Township and County Subsidies

This was known in the convention at the Walla Walla scheme, because it was advocated by the delegates from the south and eastern parts of the state, for the purpose of relieving them from the burdens of transportation placed upon them by the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and for securing for that whole section better transportation facilities. It was shown in the convention that many thousands of dollars were annually lost to the people of that section by the unreasonable rapacity of that corporation. A competing company was ready to enter the field, but demanded a subsidy from the people, preliminary to commencing or continuing operations. The matter came before the convention on a majority report of the committee favoring such subsidies, and a minority report opposed to them. Mr. Crowley spoke in favor of the majority report. He thought that the restrictions placed in the article would make such subsidies as Walla Walla desire to give entirely safe. Other townships and counties in the east, that had been ruined by such subsidies, had had no such restrictions placed upon them. Mr. Weir was opposed to the resolution, and thought if the state was prohibited from loaning its credit to individuals and corporations the prohibition should be extended to counties and cities, and named counties in Missouri and Kansas that had been ruined by allowing such subsidies and cited the instances of the interference of the United States court to enforce and collect a judgment obtained against a county for refusal to pay a pledged subsidy. He said that it was wrong to saddle such an enormous load upon

the people of any county. In referring to the Walla Walla scheme, he said a corporation had absolved subscribers to a certain fund if they would work through a scheme on the constitutional convention, legalizing the granting of subsidies to corporations. Mr. Dunbar thought he detected a selfish spirit among those who wished to deny this means of relief to counties suffering from want of communication with the outside world. When they were on the line of a transcontinental road, and were allowed to get competition with some other railroad, the people of Klickitat county alone would be able to give eighty thousand dollars which would be nearly brought back in one year. Yet there is a theory existing that the principle is wrong, and many would therefore deny the means of securing improvements and the attending benefits. Mr. Griffiths declared that the constitution is for all time and not to tide over the temporary embarrassment of any county, but this principle runs against a greater principle, namely, private property shall never be condemned for the benefit of another private individual. Mr. Buchanan thought that subsidies were neither right, just, nor constitutional. If the constitution permitted a subsidy, any Jack Sharp might come along with a proposition to build a cheese factory, a distillery, or a brewery, and, if two-thirds of the taxpayers so decide, the county may be bonded for that or any other inflated scheme. Self interest and corporate influence would thus have a new field to exploit. Mr. Prosser desired to endorse the measure. He thought the people were entitled to do what they believe would promote the general welfare, whether it was voting a subsidy or any other measure; and that in these matters affecting local conditions and local improvements, they were far more able to determine than was the convention, and he believed the restriction of requiring a two-thirds vote of all the qualified voters would prove an ample safeguard against any scheme to railroad an unjust burden through the county. Mr. Moore thought that the principle that was sought to be engrafted in the constitution was indefensible and vicious from any standpoint. Mr. Warner was greatly surprised that there were any considerable number in the convention that would give their consent to the establishment of a principle so generally recognized as wrong and unjust. Wherever this principle had been tried it had always been found to work a hardship. Official corruption had invariably been charged in the passage of the law granting the subsidy, and following it have been many discreditable attempts at repudiation, followed with the interference with the operation of the state courts by federal authority, and the forcible collection of the tax money voted for the subsidy. Dr. Blalock failed to see the viciousness of such a proposition. So far as he was advised, none of the states mentioned had the restric-

tions contained in the report of the majority. It would be impossible with this restriction to control the election by bribery, undue influence or the lavish use of money for a proposition not in the interest of the public at large. Mr. Browne closed the debate against the majority report. He denounced the system as the most corrupt of any influence under the sun. Another evil was that the communities would be set to bidding against each other for the purpose of securing railroads, and if the proposition carried not another mile of railroad would be built in the state without a subsidy. The motion to adopt the majority report was lost by a vote of twenty-seven to forty-two, and the minority report, which was identical with a provision of the proposed constitution of 1878, was adopted by a vote of forty-eight to twenty-four.

Corrupt Solicitation

The origin of this section, number 30, of the Article on the Legislative Department clearly appears in the debate that preceded its adoption. The debate alone shows the fear that the convention entertained of possible legislative corruption, and the idea was developed that there might be more danger from personal interests in the form of "log rolling" than from outside attempts to bribe. Mr. Dunbar moved to strike out the whole section dealing with the offense of corrupt solicitation. Mr. Moore wished to know why the section should be stricken out. He said it was from the Pennsylvania constitution, and, supplemented by proper legislation, had become a very effective provision in that state. Mr. Stiles favored the retention of the section, and stated that as incorporated in the proposed constitution, it is the work of the great jurist, Judge Black. The motion to strike out was lost by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-nine.

Alien Ownership of Land

A discussion arose over this proposition on Mr. Sullivan's motion to strike out the whole section. He declared that the proposed restriction was a step backward, one hundred years. Mr. Sutsdorf supported the motion, claiming that there was nothing to be feared in this country from foreign land owners. Mr. Griffith read an extract from the American Citizen showing that thirty foreign landlords own twenty million acres of land in the United States. Mr. Moore said this was a truly American idea, and advocated the holding of American lands by Americans. The motion to strike out the section was lost by a vote of thirteen to thirty-six. And the legislative article being complete was adopted by a vote of forty-two to twelve.

Article XXVIII., called the Schedule, was adopted with little

discussion, and was taken from the proposed constitution of 1878 to which few additions and unimportant changes were made.

The convention adjourned on August 23, having been in session fifty days, and one of the very last articles passed was that declaring in favor of the state ownership of tide lands.

During the session of the convention, every interest was given leave to present its views, and every point of contest was gone over fully and intelligently. It was found to be a much more difficult task to make a constitution than it would have been fifty years previous, for many new and conflicting questions were before the convention. If there were mistakes, and time has not demonstrated that there were any of a serious nature, they may be said to be:

First, in the failure to positively define the policy of the state in the matter of the tide lands, instead of leaving all of the details to the legislature.

Second, the positive constitutional enactment against the holding of landed property by aliens.

Third, a failure to provide a practical plan for the control of railroads and transportation companies. But far more serious than any defects of the constitution has been the failure of the legislature to provide laws giving force to constitutional provisions and details of which were left to legislative enactment.

This constitution is the last complete expression of republican government, guaranteed by organic law, and, in conclusion, it may be well to inquire what is meant by the constitutional guarantee to the states of that form of government. The sovereign states of the Union constitute a nation bound together by the indissoluble ties of common interest, common purpose, and common language, and permeated with the indomitable spirit of patriotism, progress, and righteousness. Here is demonstrated the unity and strength of republican government, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Absorbed in the pursuits of personal interests, the people have been criticised for indifference in the exercise of their political rights, and in times of general prosperity they let pass unheeded the cry of the pessimist and demagogue; but, as has been often demonstrated in the great crises of our history, at the first approach of real danger, great strength, vigor and energy are manifest. If the national interest slumbers, we know it is not the slumber of weakness or decay, but for the conservation of greater energy. With this nation, in time of danger, an enlightened, individual public opinion supports, encourages and sustains the government. This is the American spirit, demonstrated in war as well as in peace, and this force is efficient because

of the sovereignty of the people, and because they believe in the integrity of the government which they have created, and which is but a reflection of their own righteous wills.

Just what is meant by the Republican form of government guaranteed by the federal constitution is not clear. It was surely not pure democracy. The history and experience of the past gave the framers of the federal constitution little ground for faith in the stability and security of unlimited democracy. The framers of the constitution met, primarily, "to form a more perfect union, but also to establish justice, provide for the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to all. They detested neither the arrogance of imperial despotism, nor aristocracy, nor an irresponsible pure democracy. They desired to present to the whole people the greatest possible measure of liberty and security, and this they believed could be done only by distributing the powers of government, with mutual balances, making each a check upon the other. The Republican form of government mentioned did not contemplate the entry upon a period of untested or irresponsible vagaries of government by the colonial states. All of these states had well planned Republican forms of government when the constitution was adopted, and the people participated in these governments by their representatives. The governments of all the colonies were administered through three distinct departments, and these the federal government did not seek to modify or change. It may, therefore, be assumed that these are the Republican forms of government which the constitution guarantees, and which it becomes the duty of the states to provide. We need to be but little exercised as to the outward constitutional forms of democracy in this country. Liberty and democracy will always thrive on Anglo-American soil. It will always insist on the sovereignty of the people and that governments shall exist solely to promote their happiness and welfare, and it will eventually insist on an expeditious, honest, and business like administration of the government. We must measure the growth of democracy by the manifestations of its spirit. It must be placed upon a firmer foundation than naked authority. It must always recognize and promote justice and righteousness. If, under our government, we find there is a deep-seated determination and purpose to deal justly with all, to beat our swords into pruning hooks, to make the desert to bloom and bring forth fruit, to restrain our selfish desires for the public good, to recognize the divinity of labor, to deal kindly with the erring and unfortunate—in fact to make the earth the Kingdom of the Lord and His righteousness, we may be sure that the spirit of true democracy is performing her perfect work in our midst.

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LEBBEUS J. KNAPP.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION*

The first step in forming a State Government for Washington, framing and adopting a written constitution, was taken by a convention chosen by the people of the whole territory, for which it was to be framed.

The convention assembled at Olympia, July 4, 1889. Each county was allowed a number of delegates, the ratio being in proportion to population; by these delegates a constitution suitable to the requirements of the territory was carefully prepared, and was then ratified by the convention, published, and the people called upon to vote for or against it.

The members were all representative men of the several districts, able and sincere, and devoted to their arduous work. There were few matters of a local condition before the body; only matters of general application, equally applicable to all sections of the new state, and it was not difficult to declare the principle to apply to all sections of the state. Hence there was no trading or need of it.

Any constitution they might adopt must be subordinate to the Federal Union and conform to the laws of Congress. Subject to the above, our constitution declared the principles of government in its Bill of Rights; designates who may vote at popular elections; provides for a legislature and declares its powers; provides for the election of a Governor and Lieutenant Governor and fixes their power and duties; creates certain courts or empowers the legislature to do so; provides for the public educational interests of the commonwealth in detail; also for the organization of the militia, and for a revenue. In fact, it either fixes every detail of the machinery of the state government or gives the legislature power so to do. It declares the principle controlling the disposal of all the shore lands of the new state, about which so much controversy and uncertainty existed among the able lawyers of that time, for it was believed and contended that the upland owners owned down to deep water; whereas the convention declared that the upland ownership extended only to ordinary high tide and that the future state would own the balance. In speaking of the character and complexion of the convention, it has been fittingly said: "The enabling act of congress provided for the election of seventy-five delegates to draw up a constitution for the new state of Washington, and provision was made to permit of representation from

*This was written for Mr. Ukapp and was made Appendix I of his thesis published in this issue. Mr. Ukapp was Secretary of the Constitutional Convention and was Chairman of the Committee on Corporations other than Municipal.

all parties, in that, while three members were to represent each district, only two of them were permitted to be of the same party. The convention as elected was composed of forty-two Republicans, twenty-nine Democrats and three Independents. They met at Olympia July 4, 1889, and for fifty-three days were in deliberation before their task was completed. John P. Hoyt, now of Seattle, was the presiding officer, and John I. Bonge, of Spokane, acted as secretary. October 1 of the same year the constitution was voted on by the people and approved by a vote of 40,152 to 11,789, and November 11 President Harrison approved of the admission of the new state to the Union.

"The convention at Olympia was regarded as one of the most noteworthy bodies of men that ever gathered in public on the Pacific Coast. Many were wealthy and all had shown eminence in their respective callings. Vigorous and forceful, they attacked their work with all the energy which characterized their behavior in private life. With an average of only fifty-five years, they combined the wisdom of age and experience with the force and directness of youth.

"By breeding and experience that body of men was fitted exceptionally well for the task before it. There was represented the best blood of the new world, from every rank of life, men who had served in the legislatures of Northern, Southern and Middle Western States, and had followed their bent to the Coast. There were Scotchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen and Germans, born among monarchial surroundings and wise in the old world laws; and there were Canadians versed in the procedure of colonial government.

"Almost every walk of life was represented in the convention at Olympia. Twenty-one lawyers were in the body, and six physicians, three teachers and one preacher added to the professional equipment. The agricultural interests of the state were protected by thirteen farmers, four stock men and two hop growers. Finance and business had for their sponsors five bankers and six lumbermen; the mineral industry a mining engineer. Of the remainder, there were editors and surveyors, real estate dealers and others, all conversant with the resources of the future state and the necessities of the people who were seeking state government. Of all the number only one was a native born citizen of the Puget Sound country, so that, with this exception, each member of the convention could draw on his experience elsewhere to decide on what was best to retain or omit."

This was a non-partizan convention and politics at no time dominated or appeared in the discussions. Its members were broad-minded and far-seeing, and constantly kept before it the constitutions of all the

states and drew from each the newest and the best, with the result that it presented to the people of the state of Washington an organic act as good if not better than the best of them all. Time has proven and time will prove its superior excellence, and its intrinsic strength, sufficient to build upon for many years to come. In it the declaration of the right principles will be ever present. The fear is it will not be followed by the officers of the state legislature. Explanations foreign to the express meaning may wipe it away or render its declaration of principles worthless. If the people would be bound by wholesome rules of government they must follow its provisions closely. It seems to me the constitutions most drawn from by the convention were, in the order given: Illinois, California, Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, Kentucky, with all the others in liberal use.

There were stenographic notes taken of the proceedings of the convention, but were never published. They should be for the use of lawyers and courts and all others interested, for, in the rendition of judgments, the bare reading of the words of the constitution gives rise to divided opinions as to the actual meaning contained therein, and, in instances of the kind, it is always the practice of the legal profession to procure information of the intent of the framers of the constitution. To the average lay mind the importance of securing at first hand the "intent" of the constitutional convention may not appear of so much importance, but every lawyer in the state will appreciate the value it will be to the courts. Outside of this, however, the general public would be interested in learning the influence brought to bear on us in forming the different sections. While of no legal value, these would be eloquent with information showing the character of the men of the convention. We all read with interest the personal reminiscences of men now long dead, but who at some time or other of their lives were connected with some great legislative or political movement. The little sidelights thrown upon such subjects by their writings convey to us a vivid picture of the things which led up to the events and help us to understand as no other means could the significance of their actions. Surely there has not been a deliberative body in the state or territory of Washington whose work was of such importance to the people as the constitutional convention, and I think it would be almost criminal, if, when we have the living material at hand, we should fail in this duty of recording completely and in sequence the labors of the convention and the discussions and findings of the committees.

Every member of the convention should be called upon to compile with all the minuteness at his command the part he took in framing the constitution, his reasons for supporting or opposing certain portions of the

constitution which were passed and the details of those which were suggested and rejected. Each member would probably have a different perspective and perhaps a different viewpoint, but the assembled expressions would give body to a volume that would form healthy and instructive reading.

The principles laid down in the constitution are plain divine justice. They were never bettered and never will be, so long as the sun comes up in the morning, but still they are often subordinated or misconstrued for personal greed or private ends, although the organic act was intended to protect man's sacred rights from the greed and rapacity of trusted servants.

From this declaration of the conditions and limitations on the principles and powers given and the care then taken to prevent abuse thereof by those in power, the constitution was amplified and partook somewhat of a legislative character, which, however, is common to all recent constitutions. Desiring to prevent public bodies and officers from the abuse of power, the people are ever jealous and suspicious of the abuse of privilege, and well they may be.

The Preamble

The Preamble to the constitution had been adopted in the usual form with the "God" in it, and an adjournment taken over Sunday. During the recess an unexpected and vigorous opposition had been stirred up, insomuch that a motion was made on convening of the convention to eliminate "God" from that instrument. After much earnest debate the motion to strike was put and carried and the word "God" stricken out. Efforts were made at different times to reinstate, but the opposition continued strong and the motion to reinstate want lost. The opposition claimed that the terrible cruelties of the Inquisition, as carried on in the name of God, and repeated by Motley in the Dutch Republic, had never been resented as they should be, and to the extent of their influence should be on this occasion. The earnestness of the contest reminded me of my college days at Knox, where there was much controversy among the various churches. It was during that time Henry Ward Beecher often came to Galesburgh, Ill., to visit his brother and lecture to the students at Knox. On one occasion, referring to the church disagreement, he drew a circle on the blackboard with a dot on the circumference representing each church, and a dot in the center called "heaven," saying that as each of the churches were of equal distances from heaven, the central point, he believed that all good persons in the various churches would be saved in heaven, though on different roads, but leading to the same place.

This idea of Beecher's was certainly humane and gentle, and appreciated by the people as tending to allay this trouble and bring them together in harmony. This made him the "famed of all men of his times" and the most noted preacher of that or this century. And in all time there has been but one preacher greater than he, not so erudite, but greater and more loving to all men. From the "mount" this other preacher gazed down into the faces of the throng, and speaking to them personally in all sincerity said to them: "When thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." This was sunshine that lent hope to all men and allayed their troubles materially. After the adoption of the constitution the controversy hushed, and for twenty years remained so. The people united to create a great state, perhaps the greatest of them all, and seeming to say, a busy, well regulate life "square as a square of steel," is the best sacrifice to the Infinite.

So long as the people shall live close to and be watchful of this constitution, and change their servants often, they may live long in their chosen land, and see it grow great and favored in the land. If, therefore, we, the framers of this constitution, have succeeded in eliminating from our institutions whatever in the past ages and times was derogatory to the full and free enjoyment of our natural rights and privileges and if we have succeeded in incorporating into our civil polity the most valuable products of the experience, as well as thought of former times, we may well abide in the assurance that our government does not rest upon the uncertain foundation of an untried experiment.

Of those members who have passed away to the land of the Infinite, we surviving ones may well repeat the sad words:

"When I remember all
The friends so linked together,
I've seen around me fall
Like leaves in wintry weather,
I feel like one, who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted,
Whose lights are fled,
Whose garlands dead,
And all but he departed."

JOHN R. KINNEAR.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE AND ITS EFFECTS UPON PUBLIC INTERESTS*

The feature of the constitution of Washington which was most frequently criticised at the time of its adoption was its length, but time and experience has shown that its principal fault is that it is really not long enough.

The American people have become so used to living under written constitutions that a sort of constitutional common law has come to exist, which enforces an unconscious uniformity in the substantial provisions of all them.

Each state is under obligation to its people to afford them republican form of government, and our ideas of such an institution are so fixed by usage and judicial interpretation that the constitution of each new state, in all the essentials, is but a copy of some older one.

Certain questions, as, for instance, the right of the people to take or injure property of individuals only upon making compensation therefor, the imperative necessity of guaranteeing the absolute secrecy of the ballot, the evils attending the public contributions to the building of railroads, and others, became so well settled in the public mind many years ago, that the people in remodeling old constitutions and in enacting new ones, insisted upon withdrawing them from possible legislative disturbances.

There is no reason why firmly settled principles or policies of government should not be expressed in written and unalterable law, even if the expression of them requires more words than were used in an older constitution. The Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of many of the older states were framed by men who had the benefit of sufficient experience or sufficient foresight to anticipate what the demands of the future would be. Yet it required twelve amendments to the federal constitution to put that instrument into satisfactory operation.

The constitution of Washington, therefore, contained little that was new, or that was not, in substance, expressed in some preceding document of like character or, at any rate, in well considered and long enacted legislation. The difficulty which most greatly embarrassed the convention, as it turns out, was in expressing definitely and certainly the meaning of many of the important acts framed and proposed by it. I doubt whether a majority of the people of the state would think it worth while

*This article appears as Appendix 2 of Mr. Knapp's thesis published in this issue. Mr. Stiles was a member of the Constitutional Convention and was later elected a Justice of the first Supreme Court of the state.

to change the plan and scope of their constitution, though they might desire to state more clearly some of its provisions, and thereby cause the course of interpretation to be changed or reversed. In its operation upon the executive, and especially upon the legislative branches of the state government, the constitution is an instrument of limitation, and both of these departments have been pressed hard upon, and as many people believe, over, the lines laid down by their fundamental law, without being checked by the judicial department, which is always slow to exercise control over a coordinate branch of government, unless compelled to do so by unmistakably binding statute. A few more words or some different words, had they been employed by the constitution, would, in every instance which now occurs to me, have served to express a meaning which would have been more satisfactory to the people, and which, I am convinced, was the understanding and intention of that body.

But the convention did its best. It worked honestly and earnestly to accomplish, in the short time allotted to it, the highest good to the incoming state. There were no cranks, and very few politicians in it, and I verily believe that in no body of like character has politics been more completely subservient to the public welfare. Its weakness was that it had to be chosen from the common people of the territory, who were not numerous, and who had not had the training in schools of the lucid and comprehensive statement. Its members had ideas enough, and they knew well what they wanted, but when it came to setting it down in precise and unmistakable language, they lacked the necessary experience. More things were taken for granted or left to implication than should have been, as the sequel proves.

One instance of oversight of this kind may be mentioned for illustration. Section 22 of the second article declares that no bill shall become a law unless on its final passage the vote is taken by yeas and nays and a majority of the members elected to each house be recorded as voting in its favor. Yet section 22 is practically a dead letter, and not a session of the legislature has been had where numerous bills did not go through and become law, without even a substantial compliance with this requirement, and the practice will continue simply because the constitution provides no way by which the question of the actual passage of a bill may be tested, the supreme court holding that there can be no inquiry into the history of a law beyond the enrolled bill.

Section 16 of the first article on the subject of compensation of property taken for the use of the public was a very clear proposition, until a member who thought that municipal corporations should be allowed to take possession of lands condemned for streets as soon as the damages

had been ascertained without actual payment into the court caused the words "other than municipal" to be inserted in it by amendment. The convention was satisfied to adopt the suggestion, but the only result of the amendment was to bring on a conflict between the property owners and the cities, in which the latter were worsted, because the words above quoted, in the place where they were found, did not have force enough to overcome the flat declaration contained elsewhere in the same section, that no private property should be taken until compensation had first been made or paid into court for the owner. The ablest man in the convention proposed the amendment, and no one was more surprised than himself at the outcome of it. A few words more or perhaps in the same words set in a different place, might have made the exception intended clear, instead of merely confusing the whole section.

Among the meritorious provisions of our constitution which had any degree of novelty at all, I pronounce the judicial system first. Not many of the states have constitutional courts, and still fewer of them have undertaken to define the jurisdiction of their courts by the higher law. We have an appellate court, with a slight measure of original jurisdiction, whose powers are broad and universal for the correction of all errors of the inferior courts, and yet whose interference stops at the line where cases are small and concern mere questions of money. No legislative whim can disturb or destroy the steady course of judicial decision. The judges are numerous enough to secure the deliberate investigation, and the length of term and rotation of office are well adapted to secure the dignified but not servile response to the popular will.

Every county has its superior court with almost universal original jurisdiction and with judges enough to keep abreast of the business. The hard times and great unexpected falling off of all commercial enterprises caused some of us to say that we had more courts than we needed, but it is noticeable that no county has yet voluntarily offered to surrender the advantage it has in having a court always open at the service of its citizens. There is less complaint in Washington than in any other state in the Union growing out of crowded calendars and delays in the administration of justice. Such complaints as justly exist here are due to the forms of practice prescribed by the statutes, and not to the courts or the system under which they exist.

In the matter of the elective franchise Washington took an advanced position. None but citizens of the United States can vote; the ballot must be absolutely secret, and registration is compulsory, in all but purely rural communities, where everybody is known. The consequence of these

provisions has been that election scandals are almost unknown here, and there is nowhere a more independent body of voters.

By prescribing limitations to the power of creating public indebtedness and restricting the objects for which indebtedness might be created the constitution has doubtless served a valuable purpose. Its framers certainly expected that it would be more literally construed, than it has been; but the peculiar exigencies of the times have caused the provisions on this subject to be more hardly pressed than any others. Unfortunately there was no definition of indebtedness in the constitution and the legislature has never supplied the deficiency. Reckless assessments in the earlier years destroyed the people and encouraged them to extravagance; and when the borrowed money was spent there were presented two miserable alternatives of repudiation or stoppage of government unless the letter of the law could be made to give way in some measure to its supposable spirit.

No other state has placed the common school on so high a pedestal. One who carefully reads Article IX. might also wonder whether, after giving to the school fund all that is here required to be given, anything would be left for other purposes. That the convention was familiar with the history of school funds in the older states, and the attempt was made to avoid the possibility of repeating the tale of dissipation and utter loss. At the minimum rate at which school lands can be sold, the state will, sometime, have an irreducible fund for its common schools of more than $25,000,000, an endowment greater than that of any other educational system now existing.

In a few of its features, mostly original ones, the constitution has, in my judgment, not worked well. It was a good thing to do away with the old plan of granting special charters to cities and towns by special act of the legislature. Two hundred and eighty-six pages of the laws of 1896 were taken up with enactments of this kind, which, it was notorious, were passed without any consideration of the legislature; and, doubtless, by this time that record would have been distanced but for the prohibition contained in Article IX. But the concession which followed, that cities of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards might make their own charters, was a melancholy mistake. It has cost the cities capable of availing themselves of this privilege more than $50,000 to get themselves under the provision of their present charters and there is scarcely an important provision in any of them that does not require an opinion of the supreme court to determine whether it is not in conflict with the "general law" before it can be enforced. This is one of the few instances where special interests got control of the convention. The county members did

not care to oppose their city brethren, and the latter, spurred by their ambitious constituents at home, really thought that nothing the legislature ever would, or could do, would be large enough to meet the requirements of the growing metropolises. The committee report on this subject favored 75,000 as the minimum population, but the convention got hold of it and ran the figures down by successive amendments to 1,500, where a halt was called by killing the whole proposition. It would have been well if it had remained in that condition, but a compromise was effected, a reconsideration had, and the result is the article named.

Article XV. has been a failure and probably always will be. It was an attempt to legislate about a subject upon which the convention had little or no information, and one, the treatment of which, must necessarily depend upon the circumstances of each particular case. Harbors are built and maintained for the benefit of commerce, and the contour of the land and the depth of water where it is proposed to establish a harbor necessarily determine the best form for its construction. There may be some places on the face of the earth, or even within the state of Washington, where an arbitrary fixed line laid out on navigable waters, with a 600-foot reserved area behind it, will serve as a safe plan for a harbor, but there are not many such. Commerce has not yet felt the effects of this article, because it has not been put into operation beyond the wholesale selling out of tidelats, and because the surveys have been so made, in most instances, that vessels do not use the harbor areas at all.

The article on impeachments is inadequate, and every attempt to follow it has proved to be a farce. The legislature has not the time, in the course of its short sessions, to lay aside its other business and attend to the details of a trial; besides, partisanship is always too rife in such bodies to enable them to act with the judicial fairness which ought to characterize such a proceeding.

The constitution ought to have destroyed the warrant system as a means of paying public obligations. The public ought to pay money to its creditors whenever their demands are due and, if necessary, it ought to borrow the money outright from those who have it to lend, instead of putting off claimants with paper redeemable at no fixed time, and at extravagant rates of interest. This state need never have been paid more than four per cent for all the money required, and the counties and cities would have done nearly as well, if all had been on a cash basis. What sort of credit would a business man have who paid for his goods only in non-negotiable notes not due until he got the money? The cash system would have checked extravagance: it would have lowered the price of supplies, and it would have prevented the loss of hundreds of

thousands of dollars in broken banks, and, perhaps, saved the banks themselves from insolvency.

There have been some excellent provisions in the constitution from which the people have had no benefit, because they depend for operation upon action by the legislature, and that body has neglected to do its duty in the premises. Considering that by section 29 of the first article every direction contained in the constitution is mandatory unless expressly declared to be otherwise, it is at least surprising that in some instances no attempt has been made whatever to set these provisions at their legitimate work. The first of these provisions which occurs is that contained in section 30, Article II., where it was prescribed that the offense of corrupt solicitation of members of the legislature and other public officers should be defined by law and appropriately punished, and witnesses were denied the privilege of refusing to testify to matters incriminating themselves. Several cases have occurred where lack of legislation on this subject has been severely felt in cases arising within the legislature itself.

Section 18, Article XII., requires the passage of laws establishing a reasonable rate for the transportation of freight and passengers by all common carriers, and no honest effort has been made to give the public the relief provided for. All that has been done for the benefit of a single interest, and applies only to certain classes of freight.

I am sure the author of section 22, Article XII., never thought that many legislatures would come and go without the introduction of a single bill to carry out his prohibitions against monopolies and trusts; yet the section ends with these words, "The legislature shall pass laws for the enforcement of this section." Just what must be the form of the laws necessary in this instance is more than I know; but I believe we are suffering from the want of them. With almost everything in the way of raw materials at our hands, we manufacture almost nothing that can be shipped from the great trust neighborhoods, because our business men dare not undertake manufacturing for fear of being crushed by the foreign octopi. There should be at least an investigation to see what effect these combinations, unlawful everywhere, are having upon our prosperity, and, if it is true that they are preying on our very vitals, whatever may be done under the section mentioned should be done with the utmost vigor.

Through obvious neglect in not prescribing regulations supplementary to Article XIII., the legislature has allowed the provisions of that article to have no practical force, so far as the appointment of boards for the control of the public institutions of the state is concerned. The senate does not, in practice, concur in the appointment of any of these officials, but

the whole matter is left to the discretion of the governor, who appoints and removes them at his pleasure. From the system into which we have fallen it results that there is not an independent appointive officer in the state, whose continuation in office is certain even for a day.

Wherever our constitution is self-executing, it has been found in the main satisfactory, but these portions which require to be supplemented by statute have met with little intelligent interpretation and much neglect. It deserves to be given a full trial and when it arrives at that state I believe it will be found to be an efficient guiding instrument, unnecessary to be materially altered for years to come.

THEODORE L. STILES.

DOCUMENTS

The following letters show the uncertainty existing as to the Territorial Government's rights over certain lands occupied by Indians with whom no treaties had been made. The dates are less than five years after the close of the Indian wars throughout the Territory and no doubt there was still need of much caution. The letters are among the manuscripts rescued from the garret of the old Territorial Capitol.

Letter From Captain Maloney

Fort Chehalis, Grays Harbor, W. T., February 21, 1861.

Gov. McGill

Sir:

I have the honor to request to know If commissioners have a right to grant Lesnce to sell liquors in this part of the Territory, it being still Indian country. The Gov says so in his message My reason for asking the Gov. There are some white men here who are constantly introducing Liquor and sell it to the Indians but are very careful of being caught I am endeavoring to put a stop to it and have pretty much done it There is one man here of the name of Williams who is going to Olympia to obtain a Lesnce and if granted it will Defy the Military Commander of doing his duty in putting a stop to this Traffic. it should never be allowed to be sold in this part of the country and until the Indian titles to their Lands are relinquished. Will the Gov give me his views on the Subject.

I am Sir Respfully
Your obedient svnt
M. MALONEY
Capt 4 Infy
Comy. Fort

Reply From Acting Governor McGill

Territory of Washington
Executive Office
Olympia, March 2, 1861.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 21st. ultn. requiring my opinion as to the right of the County Commissioners to grant licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors in that part of the Territory west of the Cascade Mountains, in which the Indian title has not yet been extinguished.

Although no provision has yet been made for the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands occupied by the Cowlitz, Chehalis, Grays Harbor, Shoalwater Bay and Chenook Indians, yet by the Organic act, and the laws of Congress regulating the sale and disposition of the public lands, this country has been opened up to settlement, and the citizens residing therein are entitled to all the privileges accorded to those of any other portion of the Territory. I do not therefore consider this country as Indian country, within the meaning of the 20th. Section of the act of 1834.

While therefore I am of opinion that the proper county authorities can legally issue licenses for the sale of liquors in that portion of the Territory over which the Indian title Still exists, yet great care Should be exercised in granting this privilege. The preservation of peace among the Indians, and the safety of the citizens demand that before the issue of a license, the Commissioners should be satisfied beyond a doubt that the character of the party applying for such license is such that he will not directly or indirectly Sell or dispose of liquor to Indians under any circumstances or to Soldiers without the written permission of their commanding officer.

Upon a departure from this course it will then be lawful for any person in the service of the United States to take and destroy any ardent spirits found in the country over which the Indian title still exists, and to institute legal proceedings against the vendors of such liquors

Should you deem it proper, I will, upon being So advised address the County Commissioners upon this subject.

I have the honor to be Captain
Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
HENRY M. McGILL
Acting Governor

Captain M. Maloney
4th Infantry U. S. Army
Commanding
Fort Chehalis
Grays Harbor
W. T.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN. By Edward S. Curtis. (Published by the author in twenty volumes and twenty portfolios. Vol. IX., 1913. Pp. 227. $3,000.00 set.)

The people of the State of Washington and especially of the City of Seattle (the author's home city) count it a literary event of the first magnitude whenever a new volume and portfolio of this monumental work by Edward S. Curtis appear. The present volume is particularly interesting to readers in the Pacific Northwest because it deals with the Indians of this section. Like the other eight volumes and portfolios that have appeared before, Volume IX. and its companion portfolio are published in that perfection of the printer's and binder's arts and they carry such an abundance of the author's really wonderful and artistic Indian photographs that words of sufficient praise seem impossible.

The scope of the ethnological work in the volume may be seen from this opening paragraph:

"With a few exceptions, the entire territory west of the Cascade Mountains from the Columbia River northward almost to the fiftieth parallel was inhabited by a multitude of tribes more or less closely related, but all speaking dialects of a common language—the Salishan. In the interior this stock extends even beyond the fifty-second parallel in British Columbia, and occupies a large portion of eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and western Montana. It is therefore one of the most widespread and most numerous families of North American Indians."

The exceptions referred to are explained in this footnote:

"These exceptions are: the Chinookan tribes on the Columbia; the Willapa at the head of Chehalis river and on the upper course of Willapa river; the Quilliute on the ocean coast at the mouth of the Quillayute river and the linguistically related Chimakum on the Strait of Juan de Fuca in the neighborhood of Port Angeles, Washington; the Makah at Cape Flattery, and the cognate Nootkan tribes on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Bellacoola, a Salish group inhabiting Dean inlet, British Columbia, will be considered in a future volume."

Besides historical material about the various tribes, the letter-press carries a wealth of hitherto unpublished ethnology in the form of myths, legends, and music. And then there are the illustrations. The volume contains seventy-five of these justly famous Curtis Indian pictures. The

portfolio contains thirty-six larger pictures. All are beautifully printed and, of course, they are all carefully selected to illumine the work in the volume. Two or three of the larger pictures, such as "The Clam Digger" and "The Mussel Gatherer," were almost enough in themselves to make Mr. Curtis famous. They were about the first Indian pictures he made and have become well known everywhere.

It is well known that the field work of this great enterprise was in part financed by the late J. Pierpont Morgan. In this volume the author pays a tender tribute to that friend, including these hopeful words: "The effort from now until the final volume is written will be for work so strong that there will be an ever increasing regret that he could not have remained with us until that day when the last chapter is finished."

It is evident from the foregoing that the present reviewer is enthusiastic over Mr. Curtis and his great work. Indeed he counts it a privilege to have cooperated on a number of occasions, including a part of one season in the field. However, the readers of this Quarterly are entitled to his perfect frankness especially in a matter of historical values.

On page 18, Mr. Curtis says: "As a direct result of Governor Stevens' treaty with the interior Columbia River tribes at Walla Walla, war broke out, the first act being the assassination of three miners by members of the Klttitas tribe, a Salish group near the head of the Yakima river" This emphatic sentence is one of several which tend to show that the author has approached a controverted period of history with much less sympathy and appreciation for the white man's problems than for the Indians' grievances. There certainly are two sides to the story. Mr. Curtis has not ignored either side, but in numerous ways he has shown what seems an unfair basis. In a footnote for the above sentence, he says: "For the details of the war in the interior and the events leading up to it, see Volume VII, pages 14-34."

In those eleven pages he makes but little use of the military reports of the day and from the field, though he uses plentifully the memory of surviving Indians. The possible faultiness of such remembered evidence or the downright treachery of the Indians, even towards each other, is shown by Mr. Curtis's quotation on pages 27-28 of Volume VII, where Chief Tamahi was hanged through false testimony of his fellow Indians. In this same record Mr. Curtis touches all too briefly on the duplicity of Chief Owhi and his associates, on the transformation of Colonel Wright from a friend to a butcher of Indians and the ever present controversy between the volunteers under Governor Stevens and the regulars under General Wool. To most students of these events it has long seemed settled that Governor

Stevens was more often right than wrong and that he was not at all slow to correct an error when one was discovered.

Governor Stevens participated in the making of ten treaties with the Indians. The inadequacy of the reservations complained of by the Nisqually and Puyallup Indians, he, himself, corrected at a meeting on Fox Island on August 4, 1856. In making the original treaties he was, of course, under instructions from the Government at Washington. He evidently had certain basic forms to guide him as in three treaties—Yakimas, Makahs, and Clallams—he mentions the Omaha treaty as reference. This Omaha treaty was concluded in Washington City on March 16, 1854, and the first treaty made by Governor Stevens was in December of that year. With that and other models he certainly tried to protect the interests of the Government as well as those of the Indians. The fishing and other rights he secured for the Indians have endured to the present time, standing more than one test in the courts.

It is with sincere regret that the present reviewer calls attention to what he deems a blemish in the work of a friend—a work that is surely destined to live in all its essential features for the enlightenment of countless generations.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE CRIME AGAINST THE YAKIMAS. By Lucullus V. McWhorter. (North Yakima, Republic Print, 1913. Pp. 56. 35 cents.)

The author and publisher is a strong friend of the Yakima Indians, near, with and among whom he has dwelt for several years. A struggle has been going on for a long between white men on the one side and Indians on the other concerning the Yakima Reservation. This consists of about one million acres of land, owned and occupied by three or four thousand Indians. No land in the state is better than much of this land, which also is located near the center, and is now surrounded by prosperous communities of aggressive and progressive white people. These see themselves hampered by lack of land—suitable, good land, the values of which among them range, for agricultural purposes, from fifty dollars to one thousand per acre. They also see the Indians possessed of a tract that will average three hundred acres to every man, woman and child, not one per cent of which are they cultivating. They have tried and are trying continually to get some of this land, and in doing so they are aiming to get it on the best possible terms to themselves and with little regard, of course, to the rights or wants of the Indians. The story is practically identical with those told of the Indians and whites at Victoria, B. C.,

at Tacoma, at Chicago, and all over the continent of America and other parts of the now civilized world. This is not justifying any wrong to the Indians, with whom the reviewer strongly sympathizes. They are weak and helpless. The Government should protect and aid them. They should be permanently homed, taught, made self-supporting, and fairly and honestly assisted in leasing or selling the lands that they have no use for. Vicious, lawless, worthless white should be kept away. A number of Yakima Indians are educated, prominent, useful citizens. This number should be increased as rapidly as possible. Mr. McWhorter's aim is in these proper directions. So is that of many other people. Changing from savagery and barbarism to enlightenment and civilization is, however, a slow process. It usually takes several generations. This little book will help, despite its plain, vigorous and in places rather harsh language. With this view it is well that Mr. McWhorter wrote it.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

Missionary Explorers Among the American Indians. Edited by Mary Gay Humphreys. (New York, Scribner's. Pp. 306. $1.50.)

This volume is devoted to the work of six American missionaries: John Eliot, Samson Occum, David Brainerd, Marcus Whitman, Stephen Riggs and John Lewis Dyer. The editor has told the lives of these men largely in their own words. Where this has been impossible, other contemporary sources have been used. The whole has been skillfully compiled and the result is an entertaining volume for popular reading.

Of particular interest to readers in the Pacific Northwest is the chapter relating to Marcus Whitman and a prefatory allusion to the Whitman controversy bespeaks an impartial treatment. An examination of the chapter, however, proves this hope to be fallacious. A commendable use has been made of unquestioned sources such as the diary of Mrs. Whitman and early letters written by members of the Oregon mission, but the editor's connecting narrative contains statements and inferences that cannot be accepted by the student of this period. The eulogies of Nixon and Mowry have evidently been followed without question and an exaggerated idea is given of Whitman's political services.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Political Parties in Oregon, 1893-1868. By Walter C. Woodward. (Portland, The J. K. Gill Company. 1913. Pp. 277.)

This is a book well worth while. The author is himself an Oregonian, educated at Pacific University and the University of California

and is at present Professor of History and Political Science at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. In the opening sentence of the preface he says: "It is rather a striking fact that with all that has been written concerning the various phases of the history of the Oregon Country, so little attention has been given to its political development, in the more restricted sense." That sentiment seems abundantly justified in the compact pages that follow.

The work is arranged under three parts—"The Period of Provisional Government, Introductory," "The Period of Territorial Government, Political Organization," and "The Period of State Government, Civil War Period." There are fourteen chapters ranging from "Political Basis as Found in Settlement" to "Political Realignment." His sources have been, in the main, the contemporary newspapers of Oregon. He has also made use of much manuscript material in the collections at Portland and in the Bancroft Library, now at the University of California.

Readers in the State of Washington will find special interest in this footnote on the first page of the text: "In the discussion of the political development of Oregon, it is that territory comprising the present state which is under special consideration. However, in the study of the early period, the area of the state of Washington is included up to 1853, when the latter was set off from Oregon as a separate Territory."

The book carries a number of fine half-tone engravings—portraits of the hardy old editors, politicians and statesmen of early Oregon. There are abundant citations to authorities and the author pays a deserved compliment to that never failing friend of writers in and of the Northwest—George H. Himes, the Nestor of the Oregon Historical Society.

Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria. By Edgar Fawcett. (Toronto, William Briggs, 1912. Pp. 294.)

This is a well made book, crowded with illustrations (four portraits often on a single page) and is well named, as it is anecdotal and personal in its flavor. The people of British Columbia and not a few on this side of the boundary will surely find the work entertaining and suggestive. The author has gracefully dedicated the book to "Sir Richard McBride, K. C. M. G., Premier, Native Son, and Pioneer."

Bibliography of Washington Geology and Geography. By Gretchen O'Donnell. (Olympia, Frank M. Lamborn, Public Printer. 1913. Pp. 63.)

This is a revision and amplification of the first work of the kind in this state, by Dr. Ralph Arnold in 1901. Miss O'Donnell (now Mrs.

George E. Starr) has done a good piece of work for the Washington Geological Survey, but Professor Henry Landes, State Geologist, realizes that it is still a preliminary work and so in an introductory note he urges all readers to send in information about books or articles that should be included in a subsequent revision.

THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1912. By J. Castell Hopkins, F. S. S. (Toronto, The Annual Review Publishing Company, Limited. 1913. Pp. 699+90.)

As indicated by the title, this standard reference work is devoted to the whole of Canada, but from page 595 to 620 may be found a review of public affairs in British Columbia. This, of course, is of interest to all here in the Pacific Northwest. The book is well indexed and beautifully illustrated. There is a special supplement of 90 pages "containing important public addresses of the year and historical data regarding Canadian interests and institutions."

SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN, JUNE, 1913. (San Francisco, the Club. Pp. 81-124.)

In addition to the usual beautifully illustrated articles about the mountains of California, this number has a fine article by Miss Lulie Nettleton of Seattle entitled "The Mountaineers' Winter Outing on Mt. Rainier." The pictures accompanying this article are by Anahal Curtis and Professor Milnor Roberts.

Other Books Received

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annual Report. (Hartford, the Society. 1913. Pp. 39.)

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. The Lincoln Way. (Springfield, Illinois State Journal Co. 1913. Pp. 22.)

JAMES, JAMES ALTON, editor. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library. 1912. Pp. 715.)

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Calendar of the Papers of John Jordan Crittenden. (Washington, Government Printing Office. 1913. Pp. 333.)

ROWELL, JOSEPH C., and LEUPP, HAROLD L. List of Serials in the University of California Library. (Berkeley, University of California Press. 1913. Pp. 266.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Death of Ex-Governor Saloman

Edward S. Saloman, born Dec. 25, 1836, in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, died July 18th last in San Francisco. At eighteen years of age he came to the United States, and made his home in Chicago, where he studied law and became an attorney. In 1860 he was elected city councilman. A year later he joined the First Illinois Infantry, as second lieutenant. In 1862 he was major, in 1863 colonel, and later was breveted brigadier general. After the war he became clerk of Cook county, Illinois. In 1870, by appointment from President U. S. Grant, he became the eighth governor of Washington Territory, his predecessors being Isaac Ingalls Stevens, Fayette McMullan, Richard D. Gholson, William Pickering, George E. Cole, Marshall F. Moore and Alvan Flanders. Two years later he was succeeded by Elisha P. Ferry, whereupon he removed to San Francisco, where he spent the last forty years of his life, prominent as an attorney, politician, orator, member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and public-spirited citizen. Two weeks before his death, on the 4th of July, he was the orator at the Gettysburg celebration in Oakland. Mrs. Saloman died several years ago. A son and a daughter survive them.

During their residence at Olympia the governor was very active—officially, socially and politically. He made warm friends and bitter enemies. Troubles ensued in the Republican party, which continued several years, and ended only by the removal of several of the most active participants, including Saloman. Accompanying him from Chicago were a considerable number of Germans, who settled in the territory and became useful citizens. He was said to be a cousin of Gen. Frederick Saloman and Gov. Edward Saloman of Wisconsin, who served their adopted country as their titles indicate during the Civil War.

Marking Historical Spots

During August George H. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society; W. H. Gilstrap, secretary of the Washington Historical Society; and the following pioneers: Scott Shauer, 1849; John Miller Murphy, 1850; Thomas Prather, 1852; William Mitchell, 1853; and Allen Weir, born in Washington Territory, 1860, together toured Thurston Coun-

ty picking out historical spots to be marked. It is hoped to extend that laudable work beyond the limits of Thurston County.

Statue of Governor McGraw

On July 22, the Richard E. Brooks statue of Governor John H. McGraw was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on what is now known as McGraw Place, Westlake Boulevard, between Olive and Stewart streets, Seattle.

Chief Seattle Day

On August 30, the Indians at Suquamish, where Chief Seattle lies buried, celebrated Chief Seattle Day. The Rodman Wanamaker Commission to the American Indians participated, as did, also, the Tilicums of Elltaes.

Old Settlers of Southwestern Washington

On August 15, the old settlers of Southwestern Washington held a reunion at Rochester. About seven hundred were in attendance. The principal feature of the occasion was an address by Ezra Meeker, marker of the Oregon Trail.

Death of General Kautz's Widow

The widow of General A. V. Kautz died on August 11 at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Harry L. Simpson, at Wenonah, N. J. Mrs. Kautz had many friends in the Northwest, where her distinguished husband was stationed during the early part of his military career. There is a glacier and a river on Mount Rainier that bears his name, which was bestowed on account of his explorations there more tha nhalf a century ago.

Yukon Pioneers

The annual meeting of the Grand Lodge of the Yukon Order of Pioneers was held in Dawson, Yukon Territory, on August 14. Richard Gillespie was elected Grand President and Arthur F. Engelhardt, Grand Secretary.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

VII Settlement of Old Oregon (Continued)

5. Hall Jackson Kelley.
   a. Varied career as a youth.
   b. Became interested in the Oregon Question in 1815.
   c. Years of agitation.
   d. Pamphlets.
   e. Inspiration of Wyeth.
   f. Trip to Oregon in 1834.
   g. Map and memoir.
   h. Real help in spite of eccentricities.

6. William A. Slocum.
   a. Delegated by President Jackson to visit Northwest.
   b. Journey not made until 1837.
   c. Investigated Hudson's Bay Company's work.
   d. Report especially strong as to American retention of Puget Sound.
   e. Memoir before Congress.

7. The Missionary Epoch.
   a. Indian plea for religious teachers.
   b. Methodist Mission, 1834.
      i. Led by Rev. Jason Lee.
      ii. Traveled with Wyeth and fur hunters.
      iii. Located in Willamette Valley.
      iv. Reinforcements.
      v. Branch missions.
   c. The Whitman Mission, 1836.
      i. Sent out by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

ii. The Whitman-Spalding party.
iii. Reinforcements.
iv. Branch missions.
v. The winter's ride, 1842-3.
vi. The Massacre, 1847.

d. The Catholic Mission, 1838.
i. Begun by Fathers Blanchet and Demers.
ii. Extensive reinforcements.
iii. Branch missions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—This brief outline covers one of the most controverted phases of Oregon or Northwestern history. Any student desiring to delve deeply into the Whitman question will find the two books cited here to be the fullest on each side of the case and the footnotes in these books will lead to almost endless materials. As usual, the other books are chosen for the accessibility in many of our Northwestern libraries.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXIX. (Oregon, Vol. I.), pages 54 to 142, 184 to 225, 315 to 348, 639 to 699. The index in Oregon Vol. II. will be helpful for separate items in the field.

EELLS, MYRON. Marcus Whitman. This book of 349 pages was published by the Alice Harriman Company in Seattle in 1909 after the death of the author. It is the fullest account on the pro-Whitman side. There are numerous citations to authorities.

LEE, D., and FROST, J. H. Ten Years in Oregon. This is a source book published in New York by the authors in 1844. It is not common, but may be found in some of the libraries of the Northwest.

MARSHALL, WILLIAM I. Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence About Marcus Whitman. This work in two rather large volumes (450 and 368 pages) was published by Clarence B. Bagley through the house of Lowman & Hanford Company, Seattle, after the author's death. This work is by far the fullest account of what might be called the anti-Whitman side of the controversy. It is, of course, exhaustive and cites to abundant materials.

MEANY, EDMOND S. History of the State of Washington. For the ground covered by this syllabus consult pages 88-89, 98-99, 106-131.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest. Use the index, but be sure to read pages 128-129, 145-164, 218-224.

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, Geological and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

(No. 2.)

THE FRENCH TITLE.

Extract from the Report of the Committee on Military Affairs, made in Congress in 1843.

The treaty of Utrecht was concluded in 1713. By the tenth article it was agreed between Great Britain and France, to determine within one year, by commissioners, the limits between the Hudson's Bay and the places appertaining to the French. The same commissioners were also authorized to settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the two Powers, and there is strong reason to believe they actually established the boundaries according to the terms of the treaty, although no formal record of the fact now exists. The evidence that the boundaries were thus established is, first, "the fact of the appointment of the commissioners for that express purpose;" and that two distinct lines may be found traced on the different maps published in the last century, each purporting to be the limit between the Hudson's Bay territories on the north and the French possessions on the south, fixed by commissioners according to the treaty of Utrecht." One of these lines "is drawn irregularly from the Atlantic to a point in the 49th parallel of latitude, south of the southernmost part of the Hudson's Bay, and thence westward along that parallel to Red River, and, in some maps, still further west. This line is generally considered in the United States, and has been assumed by their government, as the true boundary settled by the commissioners agreeably to the treaty above mentioned." Thus we find Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, at Madrid, in 1805, writing to the Spanish minister as

follows: "In conformity with the tenth article of the first-mentioned treaty, (treaty of Utrecht,) the boundary between Canada and Louisiana on the one side, and the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Companies on the other, was established by commissioners by a line to commence at a cape or promontory on the ocean in 58 degrees 31 minutes north latitude; to run thence southwestwardly to latitude 49 degrees north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely westward." These extracts are taken from the Memoir of Mr. Greenhow, who, it is proper to add, considers the opinion that these boundary lines were actually established by the commissioners "at variance with the most accredited authorities." In this opinion the committee does not concur; so far from doing so, it is thought the presumption that the 49th parallel was adopted by the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht, is strengthened by the line of demarcation subsequently agreed on by the treaty of Versailles, a 1763, between France and Great Britain, and also by the treaty of peace of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain. By the former, the "confines between the British and French possessions were irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source to the Iberville," etc. By the latter, that part of the northern boundary of the United States which is applicable to the subject is described to be through the Lake-of-the-Woods, "to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the Mississippi river." The most northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods is perhaps a few minutes north of the 49th parallel of latitude. By the convention of 1818, between the United States and Great Britain, in the second article, it is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or if the said point shall not lie in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territory of his Britannic majesty, from the Lake-of-the-Woods to the Stony Mountains."

This line, it will be observed, is a deviation from the boundary established by the treaty of 1783; for that was to extend due west from the northwestern point of the Lake-of-the-Woods, *without any reference to its latitude*. By this, we are in the contingency named, to run by the shortest line from the specified point on the Lake-of-the-Woods to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Whence, it may be asked, the solicitude to adopt this

particular parallel, except as it corresponded with preexisting arrangements, which could have been made under the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht alone? for under no other had any reference at that time been made to the said forty-ninth degree.

This coincidence between the boundaries established by Great Britain and France in 1763, and between Great Britain and the United States in 1783 and 1818, can scarcely be accounted for on any other supposition, than that the said line had been previously established by the commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht. This conclusion is strengthened by a further coincidence in the boundaries fixed in the said treaties of 1763 and 1783. In both, the Mississippi is adopted as the boundary. One of the lines then (the Mississippi) previously established between Great Britain and France being thus, beyond all cavil, adopted between the United States and Great Britain, may it not be fairly inferred, in the absence of all proof to the contrary, and with strong corroborating proof in favor of the inference, drawn from the stipulations of treaties, lines of demarcation on old maps, etc., that the other line, (forty-ninth parallel,) equally beyond cavil established by the United States and Great Britain, was also the same one previously existing between Great Britain and France? but such line had no existence, unless under the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht. For these reasons, the committee has adopted the opinion, that the forty-ninth parallel of latitude was actually established by the commissioners under that treaty. It may not be unimportant here to observe, that this forty-ninth parallel is not a random line, arbitrarily selected, but the one to which France was entitled upon the well-settled principle that the first discoverer of a river is entitled, by virtue of that discovery, to all the unoccupied territory watered by that river and its tributaries.

We have seen that, by the treaty of 1763, the Mississippi, from its source, was adopted as the line of demarcation between the British and French possessions. Louisiana then extended north as far as that river reached; in other words, it stretched along the whole course of the Mississippi, from its source, in about latitude forty-nine, to its mouth, in the gulf of Mexico, in latitude twenty-nine. By the stipulations, then, of this treaty alone, without calling in the aid of the previous treaty of Utrecht, the northern boundary of Louisiana is clearly recognized as a line drawn due west from the source of the Mississippi: we say due west, because the east line alone of the boundaries of Louisiana being specifically and in express terms established by the treaty, her surface can only be ascertained by the extension of that whole line in the direction in which her territory is admitted to lie. This simple and only practicable process of

giving to Louisiana any territory under the treaty, fixes as the whole of her northern boundary, a line running due west from the source of the Mississippi, which may, for the purpose of this argument, be fairly assumed as the forty-ninth parallel, without injustice to any party.

Having thus ascertained the northern boundary of Louisiana, it becomes important to inquire what were its western limits, as between Great Britain and France; we say between Great Britain and France, because here another competitor appeared, (we speak of 1763,) in the person of the king of Spain, upon whose title we shall insist, if we fail to establish that of France.

The treaty of 1763 professing to establish and actually establishing lines of demarcation between the contiguous territories of the contracting parties, it cannot be denied, except upon strong proof, that all the boundaries about which any dispute then existed, or subsequent disputes could be anticipated, (that is, where their respective territories touched each other,) were then definitely adjusted and settled. These territories are known to have touched on the north and on the east; and accordingly in those quarters we find the lines clearly described. Is it not evident, that had they touched in other points, had there been other quarters where questions of conflicting claims might have arisen, the lines in those quarters also would have been fixed with equal precision? But to the south and west there is no allusion in the treaty; an omission conclusive of the fact that in those directions Great Britain had no territory contiguous to Louisiana. But Louisiana extended, by the stipulations of the treaty, west from the Mississippi; and Great Britain, having no territory or claim to territory which could arrest her extension in that direction, is precluded from denying that the French title covered the whole country from that river to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The parties to the treaty of 1763 made partition of almost the whole continent of North America, assigning to England the territory east of the Mississippi, and north of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. No claim was at that time advanced by Great Britain to territory in any other quarter of this vast continent; a very pregnant conclusion against the existence of any such claim. Her Government, ever vigilant for the increase of her territory, with a view to the extension of her commerce, manifested upon the occasion of this treaty an avidity of acquisition which the continent was scarcely large enough to satisfy. Never very nice in scrutinizing the foundation of her pretensions, nor over scrupulous in the selection of means to enforce them, she was at this juncture in a position peculiarly auspicious to the gratification of her absorbing passion of territorial aggrandizement. Conqueror at every point, she dictated the terms of peace, and asserted

successfully every claim founded in the slightest pretext of right. Still no title is either advanced or even intimated, to possessions west of the Mississippi.

Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, in a report from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to the House of Representatives, made January 4, 1839, has the following sentence: "As between France and Great Britain, or Great Britain and the United States, the successor of all the rights of France, the question (of boundary) would seem to be concluded by the treaty of Versailles, already cited, in which Great Britain relinquishes, *irrevocably*, all possessions west of the Mississippi. On the footing of the treaty of Utrecht, ratified by our convention, of 1818, England may possibly, by extension of contiguity, carry her possessions from Hudson's Bay across to the Pacific, north of latitude 49°; but by the treaty of Versailles we possess the same right, and an exclusive one, to carry our territory across the continent, south of that line, in the right of France."

It may, perhaps, be urged that the limits of Louisiana, on the west, are confined to the territory drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries; the extent of her claim, founded on the discovery of that river, being restricted to the country so drained. The principle upon which this limitation is attempted may be safely admitted, without in any degree affecting the right for which we contend; because, first, Great Britain is precluded from asserting it by her admission, in 1763, that Louisiana extended indefinitely west from the Mississippi; and, second, because the principle being of universal application, if the discovery of the Mississippi by the French confine Louisiana to its waters east of the Rocky Mountains, the discovery of the Columbia by the Americans will extend their claim to the whole country watered by that great river, west of those mountains, and our true claim has this extent. Yet, to avoid unprofitable disputes, and for the sake of peace, we have expressed a willingness (met in no corresponding spirit, the committee is sorry to say,) to confine ourselves to much narrower limits.

(No. 3)

Copy of the Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain, Commonly called the Nootka Treaty, of October, 1790.

"ARTICLE I. The buildings and tracts of land situated on the north-west coast of the Continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that Continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

"ART. 2. A just reparation shall be made according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence and hostility which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and in case said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property whatever on the said Continent, or on the seas and islands adjacent, they shall be reestablished in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

"ART. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed, that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in negotiating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coast of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the instructions specified in these following articles.

"ART. 4. His Britannic majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation, and the fishing of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and with this view, it is moreover, expressly stipulated, that British subjects shall not navigate or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

"ART. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first Article, as in all other parts of the north-western coast of America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of the two powers shall have made settlements, since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

"ART. 6. With respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, no settlement shall be formed hereafter by the respective subjects in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain; provided, that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon, huts and other temporary buildings, serving only for those purposes.

"ART. 7. In all cases of complaint, or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves perviously to commit any violence or acts of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective courts who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

ART. 8. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of six weeks, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

"In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, have in their names, and by virtue of respective full powers, signed the present convention, and set thereto the seals of our Arms. Done at the palace of St. Lawrence, the 28th of October, 1790.

[L. s.] "EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BANCA.
[L. s.] "ALLEYNE FITHZHEBERT."*

(No. 6.)

BRITISH STATEMENT, OF 1826.*

The government of Great Britain, in proposing to renew, for a further term of years, the third article of the convention of 1818, respecting the territory on the north-west coast of America, west of the Rocky Mountains, regrets that it has been found impossible, in the present negotiation, to agree upon a line of boundary which should separate those parts of that territory, which might henceforward be occupied or settled by the subjects of Great Britain, from the parts which would remain open to occupancy or settlement by the United States.

To establish such a boundary must be the ultimate object of both countries. With this object in contemplation, and from a persuasion that a part of the difficulties which have hitherto prevented its attainment is to be attributed to a misconception, on the part of the United Sates, of the claims and views of Great Britain in regard to the territory in question,

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[No.'s 4 and 5 of the Appendix, consisting of a correspondence between Captains Grey and Ingraham and the Spanish commissioner at Nootka in 1791, and an extract from Captain Gray's log-book respecting the occurrences at Nootka in 1792, and the visit of Captain Vancouver referred to in the preceding pages, were deemed to be of not enough importance to warrant any further increase of this portion of the work.]

*Note to this Reprint Edition.—Wilkes here misspells the name which is Alleyne Fitzherbert, Baron of Heston. It is interesting to know that in 1792, the year after the signing of the convention, October 30, 1792, Captain George Vancouver named a beautiful mountain which we can still see in this reference: "This I have distinguished by the name of Mount Fitzherbert, In honor of His Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid."

*This statement is here inserted in full because it is a complete exposition of the position of Great Britain; and that the groundwork of her claims is particularly interesting as showing the other side of the story.

the British plenipotentiaries deem it advisable to bring under the notice of the American plenipotentiary a full and explicit exposition of those claims and views.

As preliminary to this discussion, it is highly desirable to mark distinctly the broad difference between the nature of the rights claimed by Great Britain and those asserted by the United States, in respect to the territory in question.

Over a large portion of that territory, namely, from the 42d degree to the 49th degree of north latitude, the United States claim full and exclusive sovereignty.†

Great Britain *claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of that territory.*‡ Her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of joint occupancy, in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion in abeyance.

In other words, the pretensions of the United States tend to the ejection of all other nations, and, among the rest, of Great Britain, from all right of settlement in the district claimed by the United States.§

The pretensions of Great Britain, on the contrary, tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the pretensions of the United States.

Having thus stated the nature of the respective claims of the two parties, the British plenipotentiaries will now examine the grounds on which those claims are founded.

The claims of the United States are urged upon three grounds:

1st. As resulting from their own *proper* right.

2dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from Spain; that power having, by the treaty of Florida, concluded with the United States in 1819, ceded to the latter all their rights and claims on the western coast of America north of the 42d degree.

3dly. As resulting from a right derived to them from France, to whom the United States succeeded, by treaty, in possession of the province of Louisiana.

The first right, or right *proper*, of the United States, is founded on the alleged discovery of the Columbia River by Mr. Gray, of Boston, who, in 1792, entered that river, and explored it to some distance from its mouth.

§At the period of this convention, the United States plenipotentiary was instructed to agree to the extension of our northern boundary line, westward from the Lake of the Woods, along parallel 49°, to the Pacific, with the further instruction, that in case such compromise should not be accepted, we should feel ourselves entitled thereafter, to insist upon the Fuca Straits as our boundary.

Time has exercised it nevertheless.

‡Truly so, and this must always be the case between rightful owners and mere pretenders.

To this are added the first exploration, by Lewis and Clark, of a main branch of the same river, from its source downwards, and also the alleged priority of settlement, by citizens of the United States, of the country in the vicinity of the same river.

The second right, or right derived from Spain, is founded on the alleged prior discovery of the region in dispute by Spanish navigators, of whom the chief were, 1st, Cabrillo, who, in 1543, visited that coast as far as 44 degrees north latitude; 2d, De Fuca, who, as it is affirmed, in 1598, entered the straits known by his name in latitude 49 degrees; 3d, Guelli, who, in 1582, is said to have pushed his researches as high as 57 degrees north latitude; 4th, Perez and others, who, between the years 1774 and 1792, visited Nootka Sound and the adjacent coasts.

The third right, derived from the cession of Louisiana to the United States, is founded on the assumption that that province, its boundaries never having been exactly defined longitudinally, may fairly be asserted to extend westward across the Rocky Mountains, to the shore of the Pacific.

Before the merits of these respective claims are considered, it is necessary to observe that one only out of the three can be valid.

They are, in fact, claims obviously incompatible the one with the other.* If, for example, the title of Spain by first discovery, or the title or the other of those kingdoms have been the lawful possessor of that territory, at the moment when the United States claim to have discovered it. If, on the other hand, the Americans were the first discoverers, there is necessarily an end of the Spanish claim; and if priority of discovery constitutes the title, that of France falls equally to the ground.

Upon the question, how far prior discovery constitutes a legal claim to sovereignty, the law of nations is somewhat vague and undefined. It is, however, admitted by the most approved writers that mere accidental discovery, unattended by exploration—by formally taking possession in the name of the discoverer's sovereign—by occupation and settlement, more or less permanent—by purchase of the territory—or receiving the sovereignty from the natives—constitutes the lowest degree of title, and that it is only in proportion as first discovery is followed by any or all of these acts, that such title is strengthened and confirmed.

The rights conferred by discovery, therefore, must be discussed on their own merits.

But before the British plenipotentiaries proceed to compare the rel-

*By no means! An equitable settlement might at one time have divided the territory between the two first parties claimant; and then just closed in favor of the United States, while it makes absolutely against Great Britain, strengthens the title of the United States in the same degree as of France as the original possessor of Louisiana, be valid, then must one

ative claims of Great Britain and the United States, in this respect, it will be advisable to dispose of the two other grounds of right, put forward by the United States.

The second ground of claim, advanced by the United States, is the cession made by Spain to the United States, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819.

If the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Spain, in respect to all that part of the coast of North America, had not been finally adjusted by the convention of Nootka, in the year 1790, and if all the arguments and pretensions, whether resting on priority of discovery, or derived from any other consideration, had not been definitely set at rest by the signature of that convention, nothing would be more easy than to demonstrate that the claims of Great Britain to that country, as opposed to those of Spain, were so far from visionary, or arbitrarily assumed, that they established more than *a parity of title* to the possession of the country in question, either as against Spain, or any other nation.

Whatever that title may have been, however, either on the part of Great Britain or on the part of Spain, prior to the convention of 1790, it was from thenceforward no longer to be traced in vague narratives of discoveries, several of them admitted to be apocryphal, but in the text and stipulations of that convention itself.

By that convention it was agreed that all parts of the north-western coast of America, not already occupied at that time by either of the contracting parties, should thenceforward be equally open to the subjects of both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement; the sovereignty remaining in abeyance.

In this stipulation, as it has been already stated, all tracts of country claimed by Spain and Great Britain, or accruing to either, in whatever manner, were included.

The rights of Spain on that coast were, by the treaty of Florida, in 1819, conveyed by Spain to the United States. With those rights the United States necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which they were defined, and the obligations under which they were to be exercised. From those obligations and limitations, as contracts, towards Great Britain, Great Britain cannot be expected gratuitously to release those countries, merely because the rights of the party originally bound have been transferred to a third power.

The third ground of claim of the United States rests on the right supposed to be derived from the cession to them of Louisiana by France.

In arguing this branch of the question, it will not be necessary to

examine in detail the very dubious point of the assumed extent of that province, since, by the treaty between France and Spain of 1763, the whole of that territory, defined or undefined, real or ideal, was ceded by France to Spain, and, consequently, belonged to Spain, not only in 1790, when the convention of Nootka was signed between Great Britain and Spain, but also subsequently, in 1792, the period of Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia. If, then Louisiana embraced the country west of the Rocky Mountains, to the south of the 49th parallel of latitude, it must have embraced the Columbia itself, which that parallel intersects; and, consequently, Gray's discovery must have been made in a country avodedly already appropriated to Spain, and, if so appropriated, necessarily included, with all other Spanish possessions and claims in that quarter, in the stipulations of the Nootka convention.

Even if it could be shown, therefore, that, the district west of the Rocky Mountains was within the boundaries of Louisiana, that circumstance would in no way assist the claim of the United States.

It may, nevertheless, be worth while to expose, in a few words, the futility of the attempt to include that district within those boundaries.

For this purpose, it is only necessary to refer to the original grant of Louisiana made to De Crozat by Louis XIV., shortly after its discovery by La Salle. That province is therein expressly described as "the country drained by the waters entering, directly or indirectly, into the Mississippi." Now, unless it can be shown that any of the tributaries of the Mississippi cross the Rocky Mountains from west to east, it is difficult to conceive how any part of Louisiana can be found to the west of that ridge.

There remains to be considered the first ground of claim advanced by the United States to the territory in question, namely, that founded on their own proper right as first discoverers and occupiers of territory.

If the discovery of the country in question, or rather the mere entrance into the mouth of the Columbia by a private American citizen, be, as the United States assert, (although Great Britain is far from admitting the correctness of the assertion), a valid ground of national and exclusive claim to all the country situated between the 42d and 49th parallels of latitude, then must any preceding discovery of the same country, by an individual of any other nation, invest such nation with a more valid, because a prior, claim to that country.

Now, to set aside, for the present, Drake, Cook, and Vancouver, who all of them either took possession of, or touched at, various points of the coast in question, Great Britain can show that in 1788—that is, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River—Mr. Meares,

a lieutenant of the royal navy,* who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the north-west coast of America, had already minutely explored that coast, from the 49th degree to the 45th degree north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca, in the name of his sovereign; had *purchased land*, trafficked and *formed treaties*† with the natives; and had *actually entered the bay of the Columbia*, to the northern head land of which he gave the name of *Cape Disappointment*‡—a name which it bears to this day.

Dixon, Scott, Duncan, Strange, and other private British traders, had also visited these shores and countries several years before Gray; but the single example of Meares suffices to quash Gray's claim to prior discovery. To the other navigators above mentioned, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer more particularly.

It may be worth while, however, to observe, with regard to Meares, that his account of his voyages was published *in London in August*, 1790, that is, two years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the Columbia.§

To that account are appended, first, extracts from his log-book; secondly, maps of the coasts and harbors which he visited, in which every part of the coast in question, *including the bay of the Columbia*, (*into which the log expressly states that Meares entered,*) is minutely laid down, its delineation tallying, in almost every particular, with Vancouver's subsequent survey, and with the descriptions found in all the best maps of that part of the world, adopted at this moment; thirdly, the account in question actually contains an engraving, dated in August, 1790, of the entrance of De Fuca's Straits, executed after a design taken in *June*, 1788, by Meares himself.‖

With these physical evidences of authenticity, it is needless to contend for, as it is impossible to controvert, the truth of Meares's statement.

It was only on the *17th of September*, 1788, that the Washington, commanded by Mr. Gray, first made her appearance at Nootka.

*Meares was a Portuguese *lifelong*, and not in any branch of English service, and though a speculating half-pay lieutenant, was, to all intents and purposes, as much a private citizen as Captain Gray. See Appendix, No. 2.

†The only treaty he formed, was an agreement with Maquinna, the king of the surrounding country, granting him leave to make a temporary building, on the express condition, that when he finally left the coast, "the property of the house should be transferred to him." He took care to take possession, in addition, in the way which Meares distinctively failed to fulfil, for the boards were struck off and taken on board one of his vessels, and the roof was given to Captain Hendrick.

‡Cape Disappointment, because he failed to discover the river he sought.

§That is to say, he was "absent" two years before Captain Gray was satisfied.

‖It will be recollected it was "Meares himself" who despatched word to England of the wonderful discoveries of Captain Gray, in the Straits of Fuca.

If, therefore, any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain, on a basis too firm to be shaken.

It must, indeed, be admitted that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river—a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when, in 1788, four years before he entered the very same bay.

But can it be seriously urged that this single step in the progress of discovery not only wholly supersedes the prior discoveries, both of the bay and the coast, by Lieutenant Meares, but equally absorbs the subsequent exploration of the river by Captain Vancouver, for near a hundred miles above the point to which Mr. Gray's ship had proceeded; the formal taking possession of it by that British navigator, in the name of his sovereign, and also all the other discoveries, explorations, and temporary possession and occupation of the ports and harbors on the coast, as well of the Pacific as within the Straits of De Fuca, up to the 49th parallel of latitude.§

This pretension, however, extraordinary as it is, does not embrace the whole of the claim which the United States build upon the limited discovery of Mr. Gray, namely, that the bay of which Cape Disappointment is the northernmost headland, is, in fact, the embouchure of a river. That mere ascertainment, it is asserted, confers on the United States a title, in exclusive sovereignty, to the whole extent of country drained by such river, and by all its tributary streams.

In support of this very extraordinary pretension, the United States allege the precedent of grants and charters accorded in former times to companies and individuals, by various European sovereigns, over several parts of the American continent. Among other instances are adduced the charters granted by Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., and George II., to sundry British subjects and associations,‖ as also the grant made by Louis XIV. to De Crozat over the tract of country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

§We, we claim those latter, on the ground of other discoveries, and also on the score of Spain.

‖ Of the charter to Carver*on*, to say the least of it. The United States, in proving the principle, merely alluded to these latter charters as instances of Britain's recognition of the rule with her own subjects in the New World, **when it was in favor of herself.** While the correctness and usage of the principle was otherwise indubitably proved, the above instances were not necessary to be cited, and were only adduced by the United States to the application **to us.** It is, therefore, unfair to cite these charters, together with the application of their rule to the pretended discovery of the Columbia river by Vancouver and Meares, that we felt warranted in inserting on the last page, that Great Britain advances the principle herself.

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